



**INDIANA
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**

172

THE
AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE
FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

VOL. XXX

NO. 1

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.
PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS

1909

77413

P1
.A5
v.30



The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

YTIK3VINU A3 21
YK333U

11.5-10

CONTENTS OF VOL. XXX.

No. 117.

I.—Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. Third Article. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,	1
II.—On the Text of Menander's Epitrepontes, with Notes on the Heros. By EDWARD CAPPS,	22
III.—Aphrodite and the Dione Myth. By GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS.	38
IV.—Propertius III 24. By B. O. FOSTER,	54
V.—Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University. II. By HARRY LANGFORD WILSON,	61
VI.—Effect of Sigmatism as shown in Homer. By JOHN A. SCOTT,	72
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	78
Schroeder's <i>Mysterium und Mimus im Rig-Veda</i> .—Thomson's <i>The Basis of English Rhythm</i> .—Omond's <i>Metrical Rhythm</i> .—Abicht's <i>Herodotos</i> .	
REPORTS:	92
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.—Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.	
BRIEF MENTION,	105
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	114
BOOKS RECEIVED,	117

No. 118.

I.— <i>Synthesis Doliolorum Dresseliana</i> . By EDWIN W. FAY,	121
II.—Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland. By TENNEY FRANK,	139
III.—Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University. III. By HARRY LANGFORD WILSON,	153

IV.—Duplication by Dissimilation. By WILLIAM CHURCHILL,	171
V.—The Meaning and Etymology of the Gīrnār Word <i>Sāmpāṇ</i> . By TRUMAN MICHELSON,	183
VI.—The Soma Offering in a Fragment of Alkman. By WINIFRED WARREN WILSON,	188
VII.—Charity that Begins at Home. By W. A. HEIDEL,	196
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	199
Prentice's Greek and Latin Inscriptions.—Boesch's <i>De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione</i> .—Huelsen's <i>The Roman Forum, its History and its Monuments</i> .—Schelling's <i>Elizabethan Drama, 1558–1642</i> .	
REPORTS:	214
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.—Romania.	
BRIEF MENTION,	225
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	237
BOOKS RECEIVED,	341

No. 119.

I.—Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets. By WILFRED P. MUSTARD,	245
II.—Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts. First Part. By TRUMAN MICHEL- SON,	284
III.—Notes on Latin Syntax. By EMORY B. LEASE,	298
IV.—Cross-Suggestion: A Form of Tacitean Brachylogy. By GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG,	310
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	322
Recent Literature on Ancient Animal Names and Effigies.—D'Ooge's <i>The Acropolis of Athens</i> .	
REPORTS:	338
Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.—Romania.	
CORRESPONDENCE,	351
BRIEF MENTION,	353
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	362
BOOKS RECEIVED,	366

CONTENTS.

v

No. 120.

I.—Recognition Scenes in Greek Literature. By B. PERRIN, . . .	371
II.—The Date of the Extant Prometheus of Aeschylus. By D. A. MACRAE,	405
III.—Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts. Second Part. By TRUMAN MICHELSON,	416
IV.—The Saturnian Metre. By J. FRASER,	430
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	447
Plessis' <i>La Poésie Latine</i> .—Abbott's <i>Society and Politics in Ancient Rome</i> .—Tolman's <i>Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions</i> .	
REPORTS:	459
Hermes.— <i>Revue de Philologie</i> .	
BRIEF MENTION,	474
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	481
BOOKS RECEIVED,	484
INDEX,	487
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLS. XXI-XXX,	493

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXX, 1.

WHOLE No. 117.

I.—STAHL'S SYNTAX OF THE GREEK VERB.

THIRD ARTICLE.

Moods and Tenses is the natural sequence in English. It is the sequence in Goodwin, the sequence in my Problems of Greek Syntax. But, of course, it is hard to separate them in detailed treatment. Moods are temporal and Tenses are modal (A. J. P. XXIII 127); and in my Greek Syntax I have followed the order Tenses and Moods as Aken has done in his Tempora und Modi, as Stahl has done in the Syntax of the Greek Verb, which I take up again for others. For myself as for all special students of the subject the book is an *ineluctabile fatum* and will hold me in its grip to the end.

Stahl begins, as we all begin, with Apollonios and finds himself forced to admit that the old grammarian's ψυχικὴ διάθεσις (A. J. P. XXIII 126) is based on a correct view of the nature of the moods. Yet he contends that it cannot be called a definition because it does not give the *differentia specifica*, which means so much more to a German than 'specific difference' does to us, at least to judge by the way in which Stahl plays with German and Latin synonyms (A. J. P. XXIX 264). The Greek word for mood is ἔγκλισις—a poor word as it would seem, because it is also used for *accentus inclinatio*. But after all, 'tone' of utterance is not so bad a description of mood (S. C. G. 183). It seems a pity that διάθεσις has been appropriated for 'voice'—but Stahl cites Schol. Theod. II 5, 6 (=Gr. Gr. IV 2, p. 5, l. 2), which makes ἔγκλισις equivalent to διάθεσις: καθ' ὃ ἐγκλίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡγουν εἰς ὃ ῥέπει ἡ ψυχὴ—a figure taken from scales and weights. How sad to find the sacrosanct realm of syntax invaded by a

naughty trope (A. J. P. XXIX 239) and a trope that has evidently been imported into the word, which means nothing more than *κλίσις* does in the noun.

Stahl now attacks the problem of the meaning of the several moods, the problem of the possibility of reaching a basic signification for the same. 'Basic significations' are not in good odor just now. 'Sphere of usage' is safer or 'types of application' (A. J. P. II 84). Indicative and Imperative he dismisses as too clear for discussion and spends all his energies on Subjunctive and Optative. 'The basic signification', says Stahl, 'must be sought in the simple sentences and in the oldest documents'. Then follows a long argument to prove that language began with simple sentences and that parataxis is earlier than hypotaxis. <Unfortunately, hypotaxis came in before our record. Simple sentences are not necessarily easier than compound, and in this whole discussion I am often reminded of the silliness of Swiss Family Robinsons in words of one syllable, as if one syllable were necessarily easier than two. But the great trouble is with the oldest documents and now classical scholars are asking one another 'with a wild surmise' whether the underground stream of language which has come to light of late may not be of more value than the oldest documents. The appeal is to Homer, as Paul's was to Caesar; but alas! for Paul's pseudo-poet on the throne and our real poet on the throne. The Homeric evidence must be accepted with great caution, as has been repeatedly urged, e. g., A. J. P. XXIV 353. The simplicity may be an artificial simplicity. The predominance of parataxis over hypotaxis is a matter of style as well as of period. Hypotaxis holds fast to constructions that parataxis has abandoned. The futural subjunctive abides defiantly in the dependent clause of temporal sentences and dares the future indicative to invade its domain. The modal nature of the future, obscured in the principal sentence, forces itself upon the most superficial observer in the dependent clause. A rude inscription of a late date may be more instructive than the artistic language of the epic (A. J. P. XXIII 253 foll.). That means, of course, that we have to restudy all our problems. But that necessity is one of the conditions of a progressive science like Syntax.>

It is an old story—we have many twice-told tales in Stahl—this advance from the simple structure of the sentence in Homer to the elaborate periods of Isokrates, from the *λέξις εἰρομένη* to the

λέξις κατεστραμμένη, both terms that, by the way, seem to have come from the Ionic home of the Epos. <But there are long sentences, balanced sentences in Homer, who does not hesitate to transcend the limit of the period as laid down by the rhetoricians. It is not a matter of advance in art merely; it is a matter of sphere.> This familiar theme of the growth of the hypotactic sentence Stahl proceeds to illustrate by the hypothetical sentence and by the relative sentence, both illustrations based on disputed assumptions. To him *et* is 'da', 'so' (cf. L. G.¹ 590, N. 1), and the relative is originally an anaphoric demonstrative (A. J. P. XXIX 259). This leads him to discuss *δε τε*, in the *τε* of which he sees a copulative conjunction and not *he* alone. Those who, like Stahl, translate *δε τε* 'and he', are fooled by their own translation. 'He also' would probably be nearer the mark. Only the German 'also' and the English 'also' differ portentously, a significant lesson in semantics. Whatever the first meaning of *τε*, the doubling of it, *τε . . . τε*, which is the original use (according to Delbrück, S. F. IV 145), produces the effect of correlation, as much so as if *τε—τε* were *ὅς—οὗτος* (A. J. P. XXIII 256). *τε—καί* follows suit with the effect of *ὅς—οὗτος καί*. The business style of the ISS is averse to *τε—καί* and the less processional orators do not affect it, as Fuhr taught us a generation ago, just as they do not overdo *οὗτος—ὅς τε*, of which Isokrates is so fond (A. J. P. XIV 241). Isokrates had time enough or took time enough for this artistic parade. This correlation helps to explain the connotation 'so' (Monro, H. G. § 331 n.), and 'who-so' readily becomes 'whoso', readily becomes generic, like *δὲ τις* which was originally not the generic but the characteristic relative. Monro considers *δε τε* generic,¹ H. G., § 266, and the fact that *δὲ τις* kills *δε τε* is not without meaning. The crowding out of *ὅς* by *δε τε* in the consecutive sentence can not be explained on the 'copulative conjunction' theory nor the curious difference between *ὅλος* and *ὅλος τε*, *ὅλος* giving the character (disposition), *ὅλος τε* the situation (position). See A. J. P. VII 165. The distinction, as I have put it, has been widely accepted. Stahl says that *ὅλος* is 'Beschaffenheit', *ὅλος τε* 'Vermögen' (p. 496), though he grants that the especial sense 'imstande sein' is prevalently expressed by *ὅλος τε*. <An impertinent fellow is represented in Plato's Republic 329 C as asking Sophokles some home questions as to

¹ 'ὅς τε', he says, 'lays stress on the general permanent element in facts.'

his standing in the Court of Love. The first question pertains to his state of mind, πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς τὰ φροδίδια; Comp. Conv. 176 C: ἐπειδὴ οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εὐδεῖς τῶν παρόντων προθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ πολὺν πίνειν οἶνον. The state of mind (οἶος) is, of course, not unconnected with the state of body (οἶός τε), and that leads to the next question: ἦτις οἶός τε εἰ γυναικὶ συγγίγνεσθαι; To this second question by a natural chiasmus Sophokles replies first with the usual formula in case of indecency εὐφήμει and proceeds to answer the other with more or less sincerity: ἀσμενέστατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον (αὐτό being = the d—d thing, A. J. P. XXVI 237). Cicero's translation (Cato Maior 47), which has helped to make the passage famous, is a poor and coarse affair. Quite apart from Cicero's lack of appreciation of the delicacies of Greek syntax—a matter that has been made evident, if that were needful, by special studies—it will be remembered that his recent experience with Publilia may not have been the most pleasant. The alliance was scarce contracted when it was dissolved.>

Stahl's method with the moods is this. Find the fixed usages that need no adminicles and separate them from the shifting usages, from the usages that are accompanied by a distinguishing tag. The fixed usages are those that are to be relied on as the original usages. The others are derivative. <But what are we to do in Latin? To me *velim* is βουλοίμην ἄν, to Professor Morris it is βουλοίμην (A. J. P. XVIII 139, XIX 231). Then something is to be said in favor of the clarification of language, of the survival of the essential. What does prose usage tell us? The pure subjunctive is an imperative everywhere. The tag ἄν turns the subjunctive into a more exact future, a future of assumption, which is limited to the dependent sentence. The optative is everywhere the mood of the wish, the dream, the fancy. ἄν turns it into a more exact future, a future of assertion, which is practically limited to the principal sentence. This is the sum of the whole matter, the result which Stahl reaches after pages and pages of disquisition. But it has the disadvantage of being crystalline and we must go back to the turbid genesis.>

The Homeric subjunctive appears in declarative sentences as well as in sentences of will, a subdivision of sentences of desire ('Begehren', ἱμερος). In declarative sentences it is used for the future. In sentences of 'desire', apart from prohibitive sentences and sentences of apprehension, the usage is confined to the first person both in the affirmative sentence and in the question.

In the former we have to do with the will of the subject, in the latter there is an appeal to the will of another. So we have (1) the voluntative (volitive) subjunctive which is limited to the first person and sways level with the positive imperative, in short, our old friend the 'geheischte Wirklichkeit' of Krüger, and (2) the futural subjunctive <also known as the prospective subjunctive> really a tense. In the deliberative question 'was will ich tun?' becomes 'was soll ich tun?' The English equivalents 'what will I do?—what shall I do?' may be paralleled in the English of Shakespeare's time and in the dialects (Scotch, Irish); but I dare not use the illustration for fear of being classed with those benighted people who, as Whitney says somewhere, confound their inclinations with their obligations—an epigrammatic remark intended for the southern tier of the United States, but linguistically applicable to a far wider range and ethically to everybody. The dubitative (deliberative) subjunctive needs no illustration. About some of the examples of the futural subjunctive one might quarrel. Indeed, it might be maintained that the parallel with the future is not conclusive as to the purely futural character. There is so to speak a δει shade about τί πάθω (S. C. G. 384); which τί παύσομαι; lacks. Nor does Stahl note the prevalence of the aorist tense which shows in my judgment a certain striving after a *futurum exactum*, in spite of recent theories, which minimize the aoristic character of the second aorist (A. J. P. XXIX 245). On its way to the *futurum exactum* the aor. subj. was checked by the development of the opt. and δ, which crowded the subj. out of the principal sentence so that it had to be content with the domain of the subordinate clause, where it holds a court of its own as we have seen (A. J. P. XXIX 267).

But this use of the futural subjunctive in Homer, says Stahl, is not confined to the simple sentence. It is found in the dependent sentence as well and in like manner the voluntative of affirmative sentences appears in final clauses and in dependent deliberative questions. <To us who are born to the English tongue, who have to use 'will' and 'shall' for the future and shift them from person to person, from question to answer, to the provincial Frenchman who says: Il veut pleuvoir, this transfer from modal to temporal seems to be much ado about nothing. Why, the Greek himself occasionally used ἰθαυ for the future.>

We now approach the delimitation of the realm of the will between subjunctive and imperative. The subjunctive has the prov-

ince of the first person, the imperative the provinces of the second and third except in aoristic prohibitions in which the subj. has sway though in Homer μή with aor. subj. is confined to the second person.¹ This whole question is complicated with the merging of an original I. E. injunctive form with the subjunctive,—a difficult question which confronts every student on the very threshold of Greek syntax and which does not seem to have been brought any nearer to a solution by Stahl, and as the matter has been treated with great fulness by Professor C. W. E. Miller in this Journal—XIII 418–423 (comp. also Delbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, II, pp. 356 and 364), I pass on to Stahl's treatment of sentences involving fear. According to him we must distinguish between the prohibitive subjunctive of prohibition and the prohibitive subjunctive of apprehension. These negative sentences, he says, have been 'shoved on' to verbs of fear and have thus become dependent. <Do they ever become really dependent? Are the clauses ever reversible, as happened though comparatively late in final sentences? It is precisely in these sentences of fear that the underlying parataxis makes itself felt and is more important. Neither in Greek nor in Latin can the constructions be brought out didactically without a resort to parataxis (L. G.² 550)>.

As the subjunctive is used in Homer in a futural sense, so the future, says Stahl, is used as an expression of will. In the one case we have a temporal use of the mood, in the other a modal use of the tense. <But what if the future was a mood to begin with?> The first person retains its modal force to a large extent. It is found, as we have seen, side by side with the subjunctive (see above, p. 5). The second and third persons in the simple sentence are purely indicative and the 'imperative' future with its negative οὐ is a prediction and not a command; nor is it less effective for being a prediction (S. C. G. 269; A. J. P. XVIII 121, XXIII 246).

The evidence for the voluntative character of the subjunctive, the theory which a few years ago was considered dead and buried (A. J. P. XXIX 368), is summed up thus: (1) The voluntative meaning is the fixed meaning. The futural sense vanishes after Homer and is confined to synthetic sentences. (2) This volun-

¹ Monro § 278, (a) cites for the third person, Il. 4, 37, where perhaps the passage may be taken paratactically, and Od. 22, 213, which seems distinctly imperative. Cf. also A. J. P. XIII 423, note 3. C. W. E. M.

tative meaning needs no prop, whereas the futural subjunctive usually takes the adminicle of $\kappa\epsilon$ and δ , and in the later development is absolutely dependent on δ . (3) The futural element is not of the essence of the subjunctive, since the necessity of a special futural form is felt even in Homer. If the futural element were of the essence of the subjunctive, the future indicative would have been superfluous. (4) As the futural meaning belongs to all the persons, why does the voluntative meaning limit itself to the first person—if indeed this meaning is a derivative from the futural sense? <If indeed!> (5) Remnants of futural presents show that the subjunctive was not the original expression of the future. (6) The voluntative meaning of the future is secondary <about which much has been said and more might be said>. (7) Analogies are not wanting for the use of expressions denoting 'will' to serve as futures. <But for that matter 'shall', which has an imperative significance, has also abundant analogies and in Earlier English 'shall' was so far deadened, not only in the first but also in the second and third persons, that the A. V. often produces a false impression on the reader of to-day, as all students of the English Bible know. (Cf. Moulton, Grammar of N. T. Greek, Prolegomena, p. 150 footn. See S. C. G. 370).

The optative in Homer represents not only desire but fancy ('Vorstellung'). As a mood of desire it conveys a wish of the speaker and either stands alone or is introduced by $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\lambda$ γάρ also by $\epsilon\lambda$ alone, more rarely by $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$. Now, as a wish is not accompanied by an effort after realization, it belongs to the region of 'Vorstellung', of fancy (p. 236), and so in the declarative sentence the optative as the mood of fancy may serve to express the view or opinion of the speaker. Furthermore, the wish may become a mere concession of a thing to be done, of a statement that is to be accepted. <But the examples of this optative of opinion practically = optative and δ are very few and some of them by no means certain. As we exclude from certain spheres of Greek all aorists in which a flick of the pen will change α into ϵ and restore the normal future, so passages in which $\gamma\epsilon$ occurs cannot be considered cogent, and other explanations often lie near. See the list in S. C. G. 450. Od. 14, 123 is not cited in full by Stahl. Now 'garbling' is a hard word to use but I have lived to see so much 'proved' by fragments of sentences that in my S. C. G. I have insisted on indicating gaps. Od. 14, 122-3 runs thus: οὐ τις κείνον ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν | ἄγγελλον κείσει γυναῖκα τε καὶ φίλον

υλόρ, with a double *ᾶ* sound that might have seduced Sir Galahad. Not that I dispute the existence of a pure optative in the potential sense for the early period. There is no more theoretical difficulty about it than about the double sense of the opt. (subj.) in Latin (see above, p. 4), but we must insist on the close scrutiny of every alleged example or we shall be swamped with potentials in prose literature. See Wyse on Isaeus 3, 50, 1.

Stahl sums up for the optative as he has summed up for the subjunctive. (1) In sentences of desire the optative goes back to the wish. (2) The optative of fancy (*Vorstellung*) with overwhelming preponderance, indeed with comparatively greater preponderance than the subjunctive, takes to itself a modal particle. (3) In declarative sentences the optative loses its 'timelessness' and becomes futural. In Ionic Prose and Attic this futural signification of opt. + *ᾶ* appears only in principal and 'parathetic' clauses (A. J. P. XXIX 273). <The trouble, as has been already pointed out,—for I must allow myself to repeat (A. J. P. XXIX 402), as Stahl has allowed himself to repeat—lies in the want of a clear recognition of the difference between the time of the action and the time of the ascertainment of the action, a difference recognized in sentences of fear, which are especially valuable because of their primitive character, but not emphasized elsewhere. The resolution of the aor. opt. with *ᾶ* as a rough equivalent of the periphrastic perfect opt. with *ᾶ* serves to simplify matters, and I have not scrupled to call the aorist a shorthand perfect (S. C. G. 439).> (4) The wishing sense of the optative is further supported by the analogy of the subjunctive.

In Stahl the heart of the matter is usually wrapped up in a mass of verbiage. But now and then there is a luminous sentence as where he says '*das Gewünschte erscheint zugleich als Erfordernis*'—(p. 240)—but he does not seem to see that this statement disposes of one of his pet examples of the timelessness of the opt., *ἄλοιστο* (A. J. P. XXIX 402).

And now we are called on to survey the weary road over which we have travelled, to distinguish again between the '*Urteilssatz*'—the declarative sentence—and the '*Begehrungssatz*'—the sentence of desire, the one objective, the other subjective. The indicative (*ὁριστική*) represents the predicate as a reality. It is the reigning mood of the declarative sentence. In the sentence of desire there is a distinction between will and wish. The wish is represented by the optative. When it comes to will, we ask whether the will has

to do with the action of the speaker or that of another. For the former the subjunctive (*ὑποτακτική*) is employed, for the latter the imperative (*προστακτική*). But the subjunctive has transcended its sphere. It has annexed the negative injunctive in the aorist and invaded the realm of the aor. imperative. Both <these saucy varlets> subjunctive and optative have encroached on the province of the indicative. The Will begets a Future, the Wish becomes father of a Thought. The Future begotten of the Will was legitimate enough so long as the first person only was the conceived person, but the Will proceeded to take possession of the other persons and to bar the way of the venerable imperative into the declarative sentence.

Now this I call descriptive syntax, not genetic syntax. It certainly does not give the *rationale* of the process and Stahl has not advanced the theory a jot; but I am pleased to observe that after the waterspout of words has passed, the indicative still represents the predicate as a reality, that the subjunctive still anticipates as an act of the will or an act of the judgment, swayed by the will, that the optative is still the mood of the wish and that the wish is still the father of the thought—and that Stahl's fellow-workmen in the grammatical field are not wiped off the face of the earth.

Repetitio est mater studiorum is the familiar Jesuit motto inscribed on the walls of Stonyhurst, and he is not a true teacher who does not drive the truth home by reiterated blows of the pedagogical hammer. But what is necessary in the classroom becomes intolerable in a text-book. One asks in amazement what kind of public is to be reached by this book of 800 pages on the syntax of the Greek verb. It is an insult to the only possible readers of such a work to have the beggarly elements of syntax flaunted before the eye of the mind, to be told over and over again that the definitions must be taken in a Pickwickian sense, that there must be a certain elasticity of conception, that there must be different ways of looking at things, that the indicative is no guarantee of objective truth—and that liars can use the indicative as freely as George Washington. But courage! Perhaps we shall have something new when we come to 'the historical development of the moods'.

'The historical development of the moods fulfils itself chiefly in the domain and under the influence of the dependent sentence' (A. J. P. XXIII 128). That is one way of putting it; but is it the

best way? There is, there can be, nothing in the dependent clause that has not its legitimate explanation in the behaviour of the leading clause. There is no new heaven for the optative to aspire to, no new earth for the indicative to plant its feet on.

In Stahl's treatment of the moods we find ourselves confronted again with absolute and relative. As we have had absolute and relative time, so we have absolute and relative modality. By absolute time is meant time relative to the speaker (A. J. P. XXIX 391). By relative time, time relative to something else. Absolute modality deals with the conception of the speaker, relative modality deals with the modality attributed to the person spoken of—attributed by whom? By the speaker. It is all the speaker.

The oldest form of repeating the words or thoughts of another is *oratio recta*. Some languages never get beyond that stage, says Stahl. In other languages, as in English, it is hard to say whether *oratio recta* or *oratio obliqua* is the easier (A. J. P. XXVII 206; cf. XXIX 264). The 'time-forshoving' seems to give no trouble at all. But that may be personal impressionism. In Greek the dependency is indicated by infinitive and participle and also by a number of introductory relative and interrogatory conjunctions. The person-forshoving (precession) was a matter of course. The modal precession comes afterwards, theoretically, for as far back as we can go the optative represents the subjunctive after historical tenses. Against a special iterative optative as distinguished from an iterative subjunctive Stahl protests, as well he may. <Subjunctive and optative are not iterative. It is the leading verb that is iterative, and that makes the sentence iterative. It is thirty-six years (L. G.⁹ 597 footn.; cf. L. G.⁹ 594 n. 1; A. J. P. III 437) since I objected to the abuse of the terms general and particular—which Goodwin had brought into fashion. 'Whether a condition is particular or general depends simply on the character of the apodosis.' Generic subjunctive and generic optative are strictly speaking quite as much misnomers as iterative subjunctive and iterative optative, but nobody is or ought to be misled by the convenient phraseology. An iterative subjunctive is a subjunctive in an iterative sentence. The prevalence of the 'sidemoods' (S. C. G. 365) in sentences of this sort is due to the greater exactness of the temporal relation, as is shewn by the fact that the home of these constructions is the temporal sentence, in which priority and contemporaneity are of prime importance. Relative

and conditional follow suit. The genesis of this construction is illustrated by an old proverb which Stahl selects doubtless in order to show off his critical acumen. For ἰγγύα, τάρα δ' ἄρα, he reads ἰγγυᾶ = ἰγγυᾷ. But as the imperative is excluded from the dependent sentence, the subjunctive is used so that we have the series αἰ ἰγγυῆ, ὅτε ἰγγυῆ, ὅτου ἰγγυῆται—<an unlucky example, because of the coincidence of indicative and subjunctive forms>. In other words the subjunctive is an imperative, for Stahl's 'postulierte Annahme' is little else than Krüger's 'geheischte Wirklichkeit'. The sense of the postulate grows weaker and weaker until the subjunctive becomes a mere means of comprehending all the individual cases of a series of phenomena 'individualisierende Zusammenfassung', as Stahl calls it. <But as we have just seen, it is the leading verb and not the subjunctive that does the 'Zusammenfassung'. The subjunctive merely punctuates. The generic character of the subjunctive is mere connotation.> Then follows a long discussion of the use of the subjunctive in comparisons. Comparisons may be made with recurrent actions, the subjunctive being usually employed, although the indicative may be used as in Latin; for, being a Grecian, Stahl is not capable of making the mistake that has actually been made in paralleling the Greek subjunctive with the Latin subjunctive-optative in this class of sentences (see A. J. P. XXV 481).

Now as the subjunctive contains in itself a tendency to realization <cf. Bäumlein's definition, Gr. Modi, p. 177: Tendenz zur Wirklichkeit> it cannot refer to the past, so that in the generic sentence the language <poor thing!> finds itself shut up to the optative which is not bound to any sphere <'Gedanken sind zollfrei'>. Hence the so-called frequentative optative.¹ Of course the original meaning of the optative is effaced here, as the original meaning of the subjunctive is effaced. But if the subjunctive is shut up to the future, the optative is not shut up to the past, and so we find the optative side by side with the generic subjunctive.

And now we proceed to the doctrine of ἄν (κεν). Attempts to establish a difference between ἄν and κεν are scornfully dismissed (S. C. G. 426; A. J. P. III 446, XXIII 139). The proportions of κεν to ἄν in Homer are 3, 3: 1. <Monro gives the figures for the Iliad as 4: 1, showing by comparison a decline in the Odyssey.

¹ By the way, it is an interesting fact, emphasized by Monro, that εἰ with the 'iterative opt.', a very familiar construction (A. J. P. XXIV 360) in prose, is non-Homeric (H. G. § 311). Cf. my Pindar, I. E. xcvi.

In Pindar the two particles nearly balance.> The expulsion of *ā* from Homer meets with no favor at the hands of Stahl. *ā* belongs to the Ionic element of the epos and both particles are found not only in the epos but in elegiac poetry; they are found in Simonides, Pindar and Bakchylides, manifestly after the Homeric pattern. The combination of *ā* *κεν* is significant. Rewriting the oldest part of Homer into Aeolic lacks Stahl's sanction. We do not know what the original Aeolic was, a sad conclusion for the restorationists.

Nothing is said of the etymology of *ā* and *κεν*, and it is as well. For the ascertainment of the force of these particles Stahl lays down his method of procedure. First comes Homer and first in Homer comes the principal sentence. Outside of the principal sentence the usage is still in process of development. The particles are not used with the infinitive <saving negligible examples, Pindar I. E. cv>. They are not used with the participle and the use with the preterite is restricted to the unreal past. As to the future indicative—which at any rate is a later formation—it takes the modal particles only by reason of its affinity with the subjunctive. This leaves us, according to Stahl, as the point of departure for the investigation only the subjunctive and the optative. <As the subjunctive and optative have to do mainly with the future this would seem to indicate an affinity of the particle *ā* with the futural idea just as the affinity of *ὁ ἄλλος χρόνος*, of 'another time' is with the future, but that is a heresy with which Stahl could not possibly have any sympathy, and so I return to my task.>

Commenting on the above statement Stahl remarks that there is no indicative unreal of the present <which recalls Goodwin's triumphant insistence on this point (M. T., Rev. Ed., §435)>. There is no habitual or 'intermittent' (S. C. G. 431) indicative with *ā* in Homer. Nothing but the black unreal of the past, as if that were not enough. <To be sure, in the absence of countervailing reality, the unreal of the past becomes a potential.> For the combination of the modal particle with the future Stahl contends stoutly, but the examples he adduces are all *κεν*'s and it requires a great deal of good will to see in Pindar, N. 7, 68: *μαθὼν δέ τις ἄν ἐπεῖ*, an imitation of Il. 4, 176: *καὶ κέ τις ἔδ' ἐπέει*.¹ <The suggestion *ἀνεπεῖ*, by whomsoever first made (Pindar, I. E. civ; cf.

¹ This suggestion of Stahl was anticipated by Leaf, Il. 23, 66.

Aeschin. 3, 155), has been accepted by Schroeder in his new edition and approved by Wilamowitz in his essay on the Seventh Nemean. The emendation is in the line of another, which Stahl accepts, Plat. Legg. 712, ἀνερωτηθεῖς, for which he gives Madvig the credit (S. C. G. 433). Cf. Goodwin M. T., Rev. Ed., § 195. Such trifles are not worth quarrelling about (A. J. P. XII 99, XXIII 348). The future with *ἀν*, a legitimate construction, was probably crowded out by the optative with *ἀν* and its two admirable tenses (see S. C. G. 444), just as the fut. indic. has been crowded out of the temporal clause by the subjunctive with *ἀν* and its two admirable tenses. > 'Two facts', says Stahl, 'emerge from the examination of the use of the two modal particles in the principal sentence'. (1) It is used in declarative sentences and not in sentences of 'desire', and (2) it does not affect in the least the meaning of the mood. There is no difference <I should prefer to say 'no translatable' difference> between εἴησι and κεν εἴησι, between Od. 6, 275: καὶ νῦν τις ἴδ' εἴησι and Od. 4, 391: καὶ δὲ κέ τοι εἴησι. There is no difference between εἴη in Il. 15, 197: βέλτερον εἴη and in Il. 14, 336: νομισσῆτόν δέ κεν εἴη. What is the use of it then? Why, by the modal particle the speaker gives expression to his view or conviction that reality belongs to the utterance, and the essence of it is subjective affirmation, a subjective affirmation, we are told, which is to be distinguished from the objective affirmation of ἦ and the rest. <It is, in short, an indicative tag and is often used parallel with the indic. Hatful to me as the gates of Hades is this paltering with objective and subjective, and I honestly think that the old theory of Gottfried Hermann, which Stahl dismisses in a few words, has more substance in it than all this vague talk. The great trouble is that Hermann did not know how to apply his own theory and made *ἀν* with the subjunctive and the optative with *ἀν* farther from reality, whereas every ingenuous mind must feel that they are near to reality (comp. A. J. P. III 447). Against the conditional notion of *ἀν*, Stahl lifts up his heel, but where does his subjective affirmation come from? The acceptance of the condition.>

<Subjective and objective have clearly been overdone, and the frequent use of these terms gives an old-fashioned tone to Stahl's discussions. 'Impersonal' is better than 'objective', 'personal' than 'subjective'. 'Achromatic' and 'chromatic' perhaps still better. But as all affirmation is personal, it is hard to see how we can draw the line between Stahl's *ἀν* and such confirmatory particles as

ῥῆ 'verily', δῆ 'clearly', μήν, which outswears the other particles, τοι, which is an appeal to an ideal second person, an appeal to humanity, a cry of the heart for sympathy, whereas σοι is an appeal to the heartless world, to the cruel *rerum natura*. ἄν and κεῖν, as the old conditional theory, point to the speaker's consciousness of limitation, *pro tanto* a guarded affirmation. Of course, this consciousness of limitation may be construed as subjectivity, if you choose. It gives a *quod sciam* reserve. Will and wish that have eventuality in them are nearer to reality than pure will and wish; and in the striving after a more exact future, the subjunctive with ἄν and the optative with ἄν furnish admirable substitutes, the one for the subordinate sentence, the other for the principal. The new future, a manner of desiderative to begin with, cannot make head against the fine old moods and has to yield the road to present and aorist subjunctive with ἄν, to the present and aorist optative with ἄν, wherever temporal exactness is required (A. J. P. XXIII 247).> Of course, says Stahl, this 'modalized' subjunctive has the same rights in the dependent sentence that it has in the independent sentence, but oddly enough it renounces all its rights excepting in the dependent interrogative sentence. Such a limitation as this must give us pause, and we ask with other grammarians whether these are really interrogative sentences or only 'in case' sentences, which are ultimately elliptical conditional sentences (A. J. P. XXIX 273).

In Homer, says Stahl, the optative is used in ideal protases and in equivalent temporal and relative clauses and also in a futural sense. Against the old notion that the ἄν sentences of wish are ideal conditions without an apodosis <like so many bottomless cherubs> Stahl sets his face like a flint (comp. L. G.² 261, n. 1); and also against Lange's theory that the ἄν-condition develops from the wish. Against this latter view he argues at length. One of his objections is that the protasis of a conditional sentence may involve a wish against as well as a wish for. <Why not? The imagination conjures up shapes of ill as well as shapes of weal.> In synthetic sentences <non-detachable sentences I should call them in contrast to the detachable or 'parathetic' sentences>, the generic and oblique optatives cannot have ἄν (κεῖν). 'One cannot affirm and postulate at the same time'. <An ordinary Philistine might say that Stahl, like the rest of us, is performing the double feat at every turn.> Il. 9, 525, the only

passage of the kind, is corrupt, and Stahl suggests *ὅτε περ* after the analogy of 4, 259. The optative as a *modus obliquus* is limited in Homer <as in Greek generally> to dependence on a past tense. This limitation, not being founded on the notion of indirect discourse <as we see from German (cf. Schlicher, A. J. P. XXVI 60-88; B. L. G., A. J. P. XXVII 205)>, must be explained psychologically. The check in the development is due to the liveliness of the Greek spirit which refused to <obliquify> the present and the future, which would not renounce the immediate representation of the past. <Sheer phrase-making.> The optative as the *modus obliquus* of the subjunctive *modus directus* has the same limitations as the optative as *modus obliquus* of the indicative. It must have a past tense to lean on and there is always the reserve of *repraesentatio*. There is no difference <except a difference of liveliness> between the original subjunctive and the oblique optative. <The increase of this *repraesentatio*, therefore, is an indication of the increasing liveliness of the Greek language. The Epos is slow, the New Testament is gay. In a recent number of the IGF. XXII, Anz. 26, Meltzer has reinforced what I have said (A. J. P. XXIII 130) and has cited Wackernagel's objection to these psychological and phraseological explanations>. Then follows the chapter of the 'assimilation' of subjunctive and optative, after pure optative and optative with *ἄν*. The exceptional use of the opt. w. *κεν* (*ἄν*) in synthetic dependent sentences is treated at great length. For *ἐνίη* with opt. Od. 4, 222; Il. 19, 208; 24, 227 Stahl would read *ἐνελ. ἐλ κεν* with the opt. after an optative must be taken potentially. 'There is no essential difference', says Stahl, 'between a conditional potential optative and a conditional ideal optative and, besides, the optative with *ἄν* can be used as a future.' It is interesting to observe how Stahl insists on distinctions which he proceeds to wipe out again. In this whole nebulous region of the moods he reminds me of nothing so much as Shelley's Cloud:

I silently laugh
At my own cenotaph,
And out of the caverns of rain,
Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,
I arise and unbuild it again.

But while he says that there is no essential difference between the conditional optative and the potential optative in protasis, he

bids us beware of the false doctrine, heresy and schism that there is a futural element in the optative itself, for one of Stahl's cardinal principles is the timelessness of the optative. In winding up this section Stahl wages war against the topsy-turvy and un-historical method of regarding the later usage of the language as a norm for the Homeric use, and protests against changing the Homeric use except in conformity with Homeric practice. Of course, he is beating the air here as he is walking on it elsewhere, for nobody will advocate such practices, and as he professes to be averse to polemics, he might spare the circumambient sphere.

And now we come back to $\alpha\upsilon$ and $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$. The temporal indifference of the optative in declarative sentences <the same temporal indifference that we have recognized in the Latin perfect subjunctive, A. J. P. XXIX 402> has led to the introduction of $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ and $\alpha\upsilon$ in Homer for potential and conditional affirmation, of which Stahl goes on to give a few examples (S. C. G. 430). The chief use of the modal particles with the indicative is to denote unreality. Most of the examples are negative (4: 1). Stahl thinks that the negative started the thing <as indeed one always suspects the 'Geist der stets verneint' of being at the bottom of all trouble>. In Homer unreality in the present is represented by the optative + $\alpha\upsilon$ ($\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$) <parallel with the wider reach of the present subjunctive in Earlier Latin, which ought not to be pushed to the front in elementary text books>. The unreal imperfect indicative always refers to the past in Homer. The modal particle is never lacking in real unreality. <The suspensive imperfect = $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ must be considered, I suppose, as unreal unreality. The fact is, the line between the ideal and the unreal is determined by the presence or the absence of an opposing reality; see L. G.⁹ 258, note 2, 596, 2>. The unreal wish is expressed in Homer by $\delta\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ with a particle (S. C. G. 367), as well as by the optative. We see then in Homer the prevalence of $\alpha\upsilon$ and $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ with subj. and opt. in certain relations. As time goes on what was tendency in Homer becomes rule. The modal particle $\alpha\upsilon$ associates itself more and more with subjunctive and opt., attaches itself to infinitive and participial sentences, serves to differentiate classes of sentences, serves to give sharper signification. There is a loss as well as a gain (A. J. P. XXIII 254). The futural subjunctive and the futural optative go different ways. The futural subjunctive reigns in the dependent, the futural optative in the principal sentence. There are traces of survival here and there as in Pindar

P. 9, 120 where, however, $\delta\upsilon$ may belong to $\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and not to $\psi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (see B. L. G. in loc. or Bakchyl. 5, 110; A. J. P. XXVII 482). Opt. with $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ ($\delta\upsilon$) disappears from the protasis of the conditional sentence <except where the writer is quoting actually or mentally>. $\delta\upsilon$ ($\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$) with the fut. inf. has a sworn foe in Stahl <as it has in me, for I have put it thus: ' $\delta\upsilon$ with the fut. ind. is dead before $\delta\upsilon$ with the inf. comes in'. To be sure we have Il. 22, 110, which Stahl ignores, as well he may, and Il. 9, 684, which is an *oratio obliqua* echo of v. 417>. Then we have a long chapter devoted to the correction of the texts that exhibit the solecism and Stahl proceeds to batter down open doors and bravely slay the slain. Pindar P. 1, 109, he reads $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ <which has MS warrant> where I say 'the construction is due to *anacoluthia* rather than to survival', and he quotes Bekk., Anecd. 127, 24, where I quote Lucian (Sol. III 555 R.)—a more interesting authority. <Cf. also [Just. Martyr] Ep. ad Diogn. 2, 4.> 'In Attic', says Stahl, 'the optative with $\delta\upsilon$ loses its temporal indifference and ceases to refer to the past (see S. C. G. 435). Inscriptional parallelisms between subj. + $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ and opt. in protasis are next discussed, and several passages elsewhere in which one might expect the subjunctive and finds the opt. (cf. P. O. 13, 101, I. E. cvii). The survival of the pure subjunctive in clauses where subjunctive with $\delta\upsilon$ might be expected is documented by a long array of passages from post-Homeric poets, especially in Attic tragedy <which not only loves epic touches but is often hyperepic>. The Pindaric passages are cited, but S. does not stop to notice the uniformity of Pindar's usage (I. E. cvii). At the omission of $\delta\upsilon$ in the dialogue of Attic tragedy, he balks; in Attic comedy, he proceeds to emend. In Ionic prose (Herodotos) he notes the omission in temporal sentences of limit <where the notion of finality helps to keep the construction alive, as the subjunctive is kept alive in English sentences of the same sort (A. J. P. XXIV 401)>, but he wages war against the omission in Attic prose except in Thukydides. The historian of the great tragedy of the Peloponnesian war may well be influenced by tragic usage, so that when he omits $\delta\upsilon$ in temporal sentences of limit and in generic subjunctive sentences we are not shocked beyond measure (cf. A. J. P. XXIII 140). However, Thuk. VI 21, 1: $\epsilon\iota \xi\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\upsilon \alpha\iota \pi\acute{o\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \phi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ he considers 'bedenklich'. But while S. is so merciless in damning the omission of $\delta\upsilon$ in subjunctive clauses outside a certain range, he

is extremely liberal in allowing the omission of the particle *ἄν* in opt. clauses. See my S. C. G. 450, where I have discussed the matter at some length. Pindar P. 10, 21: *θεὸς εἴη | ἀπήμεν κίαρ*, where recent editors recognize a concessive opt., he pronounces nonsense.

In post-Homeric Greek Stahl recognizes a great advance in the use of the *ἄν* with the preterite that runs counter to reality, in the affirmative-potential use of *ἄν* of regular or occasional occurrence, but the limitation of the intermittent use is emphasized <which can readily be discerned from the range of examples in S. C. G. 431>. Another extension that Stahl notes is the unreal wish with *εἴθε, εἰ γάρ*, which according to him is conclusive against the origin of the unreal condition from the unreal wish. <It would be useless to urge the point that emergence in literature is not identical with emergence in language. This is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of much that passes for historical syntax>, and Stahl goes on to shew that in contrast with this innovation the optative is used by preference for the realizable wish. But who knows, and who in a moment of excitement cares, what is realizable, what not? No wonder that passionate wishes for the unreal sometimes take the optative form. It is a pity that Stahl had not thought of that when he was enlarging on *δαίτο* (A. J. P. XXIX 402).

At a point beyond the limits of this article Stahl (S. 369 fig.) distinguishes four kinds of optative with *ἄν*. 1) The affirmative. 2) The potential. 3) The conditional. 4) The desiderative. Needless to say I have no sympathy with this kind of analysis. There is no specific gravity to keep the rings apart as in some kinds of *pousse-café*; and moreover in what he calls here the desiderative form of the wish *βουλοίμην ἄν* (p. 274) he has to admit that with verbs of wishing and willing the optative with *ἄν* is pleonastic. Everybody knows that *βουλοίμην ἄν* is preferred in sober prose to the pure optative of wish, which is a rare form except in poetry (S. C. G. 398). The orators prefer the calmer statement to the passionate wish, just as we say 'I should like' rather than 'would that—' which one might live a life time without hearing in current conversation. According to Stahl *ἐβουλόμην (ἤθελον) ἄν* is a 'forshoving of modality' to match *βουλοίμην ἄν*. It is sadly illogical according to him. It is not the wish but the thing that is unreal. This is a deplorable inelasticity in Stahl. The indicative in final clauses after an unreal wish and the like is

explained in his own tortuous way. It is simply an organic part of the wish or condition, and for that matter the leading clause might be omitted (A. J. P. IV 434). The old-fashioned generic optative dies out more and more. <The survival with the infinitive, for the majority of the later examples belong under this head, is easily explained on the ground of the affinity between optative and infinitive (S. C. G. 400; A. J. P. XXIV 106).> In the post-Homeric stage generic subjunctive and generic optative (optative of indefinite frequency) become more sharply distinguished <a matter of connotation, as we have seen>. The parallel use of the indicative Stahl calls 'einheitliche Zusammenfassung' in contradistinction to the 'individualisierende Zusammenfassung' of the subjunctive and optative. This sounds very subtle, but as soon as Stahl begins to apply it and says that the present indicative in conditional sentences is used when a general assumption is made and there is no thought of the individual cases he runs counter to the feeling of the language. Elsewhere he sins chiefly by over-refining. Here he reverses the true state of things. εἰ τις, as I said long ago, is a two-edged sword (A. J. P. III 438). Pindar shifts according to the tense from pres. indic. to aor. subj. (I. E. cvii).

The treatment of the optative in oblique discourse presents nothing new, as f. i. the occasional use of the mood after the perfect of the farther end = aorist. Nor is it worth while to dwell on the examples of the optative as representatives of the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*. Causal sentences with optatives for indicatives belong to the rarities. The corresponding construction in Latin—*quod* with the subjunctive—is usually represented in Greek by ὅτι with the participle. The O. O. examples of the opt. in causal sentences are nearly all from Xenophon <in conformity with his hyper-orthodox love of the mood>. Relative sentences in which the optative stands for the indicative are also infrequent. Notorious is Soph. O. R. 1247: ὑπ' ὃν θάνατον μὲν αὐτός. Sometimes the opt. is due to the merging of relative and interrogative, as Pindar O. 6, 49, where see my note, sometimes to the assimilative swing of other O. O. optatives. Nowhere does Stahl recognize the principle that the shift from ἵνα with subj. to εἰ with opt. is a mechanical tradition from the time of an original εἰ with subj. (S. C. G. 399), and when he comes to Soph. Tr. 903: κρύψας' ἑαυτὴν ἵνα μή τις εἰσίδῃ, he is greatly guilty of a resolution like this: ἵνα μή τις ἂν αὐτὴν εἰσίδῃ, unless we treat Stahl's Greek as he himself has treated so

many passages and suppress $\delta\iota$ before $\alpha\upsilon$. $\delta\iota\theta\alpha$ as catercousin to $\theta\alpha$, which never quite lost its relative sense, might readily take the final construction of $\theta\alpha$. The old question whether the opt. + $\delta\iota$ can be used in a clause representing $\delta\iota$ with subj. (cf. P. 9, 120) is decided by Stahl in the negative. Nearly all the passages are shaky. There are two cases. Either $\delta\iota$ holds over from the $\delta\iota\alpha$, $\delta\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon$ of the original form, a bit of sheer carelessness in the transfer, or, which Stahl will not allow, there is a notion of potentiality. <On $\delta\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon$ + opt. see A. J. P. IV 418 footn.; XXIV 403.> Then follows a long list of passages in which subjunctive and opt. forms are used without any material difference.

The old form, the Homeric form of indirect discourse with merely a shift of the persons, does not die out <nay, it lives on, awaiting its restoration>, but the oblique opt. gains ground more and more. Herodotos and Thukydides favor the direct form; Xenophon the 'modus obliquus'; Plato not so much. This general statement is followed by statistics, the provenience of which is not given. Then come the consecutive sentences, practically post-Homeric (A. J. P. VII 166). Thence they spread. As for the inf. with $\delta\iota$ or $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ Stahl denies the genuineness of Il. 9, 684 (see above, p. 17). The earliest example is Sappho 68. <Lyric fragments must always be cited with extreme caution.> Next comes Pindar with $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ <I. E. cv>. The participle begins to take $\delta\iota$ in the Attic drama. On P. 10, 62 'see Christ', see others. The orators use both constructions freely, the infinitive more freely than the participle, because there are more infinitive constructions than participial <a somewhat superfluous observation, if it were not for the nonsensical use so often made of statistics>. Then follows a long chapter on the position of $\delta\iota$ and the repetition of $\delta\iota$ <S. C. G. 459 foll.>.

Οὕτω τὰν μεσάρων ὁδὸν ἄνυμι. Instead of absolving my task in two or three numbers, as I had hoped to do, I have thus far traversed much less than half of Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. But I will no longer abuse the patience of the readers of the Journal and the contributors thereto. The American Journal of Philology is not the American Journal of Greek Syntax, and I must say good bye to Stahl, at least for a long time, and instead of discussing the rest of the portly volume, I will content myself with jotting down references to the various articles in which I have handled the subjects that remain. There are coincidences and differences enough to furnish forth another series of articles, but

I doubt whether it would be worth while to go over the well-trodden paths for the sake of illustrations to my own writings. I shudder as I recall the conditional sentence III 158 foll. and the temporal sentence II 465 foll.; XXIV 388 (where Fuchs has his hole), and the final sentence IV 416 foll.; VI 53 foll., and the consecutive sentences VII 16 foll., and the infinitive, both the articular, which I christened, and the anarthrous III 192-202; VIII 328-37; IX 254; XXVII 201, and the participle IX 137 foll., and the negatives I 45-47; III 202; X 124; and then think of the notes to my Justin Martyr, to my Pindar, and the recurrent syntactical spirits in *Brief Mention*. I might, it is true, have written a little article headed 'What I have learned from Stahl', but even then there would have been a running comment with indications as to what I did not need to learn from Stahl.

One word more, and that a word of apology to the eminent author and the benevolent reader. In going over by the fierce light of print what I have written about this monumental book, which reminds me by its massiveness of the Palais de Justice at Brussels, I am very sorry for my tone, which would have been unpardonable in a younger man, hardly to be forgiven even in a man who is Stahl's senior. Unfortunately the fragments of Solon are jumbled in my mind, as they are in the MSS, with the verses of Theognis,—Solon the sweet-tempered, Theognis the sour. The likeness of my old master, Boeckh, looks down upon me as I write. His Solonian motto at sixty-five was *γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*, and I try to live up to that motto, but every now and then a musty piece of wisdom is offered to me for my digestion, and then I am fain to say with the Megarian: *μή με δίδασκ'· οὗτοι τηλίκος εἰμι μαθεῖν* (A. J. P. XXVIII 107).

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

CORRIGENDA. A. J. P. XXIX 263, l. 35, read 'the mood of the wish'. 264, l. 18, read XXVII. On the same page I should have noted that *πτώσεις ἰδίαι* and *πτώσεις κοιναί* are terms that I adopted many years ago from Westphal, Gr Formenl. XIV, *πτώσεις κοιναί* being the regular cases, *πτώσεις ἰδίαι* the case-like formations such as *-θι* and *-θεν*. XXIX 272, footn., read Ginneken.

II.—ON THE TEXT OF MENANDER'S EPITREPONTES, WITH NOTES ON THE HEROS.

In the discussion of the plot of the *Epitrepontes* in the last number of this Journal, XXIX, 410 ff., the attempt was made to show that the Tischendorf fragment Kock III, p. 421, as well as the verso of the same parchment strip, which Jernstedt published, is to be assigned to this play; that these two passages come from the final scenes of the third Act; and that the papyrus fragments R² and R¹ probably precede respectively the *recto* and *verso* of the parchment strip.¹ It was there maintained that this identification and arrangement restored to the play a series of consistent Smicrines scenes beginning with NT¹, and that these scenes in turn brought welcome and valuable information regarding the plot of the play.

Without further discussion the six passages which we have thus connected with each other are here given, with such restorations as seem best to suit the context. Restorations inclosed in square brackets are credited to their authors in the notes; those in pointed brackets are proposed by the writer. That we may have a definite starting-point for the reconstruction of the latter half of Act III, we should have before us the last lines of the monologue of Onesimus, contained in NT¹.

ACT III.

Scene 4 (end). Onesimus alone.

Onesimus: . . . ἀλλ' οὐτοσί

¹ If we can depend upon Lefebvre's indication of a lower margin of R (he is wrong in some cases), R² would thus belong at the bottom of p. 15 of the quaternion and R¹ at the bottom of p. 16. The interval between the last broken lines of R² and the Tischendorf fragment, and between the latter and R¹, would be from none to three verses; while between R¹ and the Jernstedt fragment the interval would be three verses or more, according to the size of the parchment page.

360. τίς ἐσθ' ὁ προσιών; Σμικρίνης ἀναστρέφει
 ἐξ ἄστεως πάλιν ταρα[κτι]κῶς ἰ[χ]ων
 αὐθις· πέπ[υσ]ται τὰς δα<πάνας Χαρ>ισ<ίου>
 παρὰ τινος οὗτος; ἐκ[ποδῶν] δέ β]ούλομαι
 365. ποεῖν ἰ[μαυτὸν] δο[κ]εῖν
 προ κα]ί με δεῖ¹

[Exit Onesimus through parodos.

Scene 5. Smicrines alone.

Immediately after the departure of Onesimus Smicrines enters from the city. He explains why he has returned, no doubt verifying Onesimus' conjecture, v. 362. He certainly has not yet learned of the birth of a child by Pamphila, for that is revealed to him only toward the end of the play (v. 514). He of course knew of the alienation of Charisius and his daughter; doubtless his motive in visiting them in Act I was to effect a reconciliation (M¹, v. 11, p. 429 supra). He then believed that it was only a domestic squall that would blow over. He is not at all excited when we meet him in the Arbitration Scene; he is gruff and overbearing, but that was his nature. He had not then known, evidently, of the wild course of life, with its attendant extravagance, on which Charisius had embarked. It is about this that he has now heard rumors, this is the unpardonable offense in his eyes. Onesimus has read his character aright when he suggests the δαπάναι; cf. v. 481, ὁ χαλεπός, ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἤκων, and v. 483, λογιστικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρός.

Smicrines probably announces here his intention of separating Pamphila from Charisius by legal action and thus saving the imperilled dowry. Had he known of Pamphila's illegitimate child, he could not have contemplated this action. But it was Charisius' deliberate purpose to force her to take this step, rather than himself to bring suit against her, and for this reason he has plunged into reckless debauchery and extravagant expenditure—or rather he makes a pretence of so doing for the sake of making the desired impression upon his miserly father-in-law.² And the

¹ 362. πέπυσται Wilamowitz. At the end τασλα ισ pap., with no indication of letters beyond.—364. Wilamowitz.—365-6. Körte.

² It is only by this supposition that we get an insight into his true character. He is chaste in his relations with Habrotonon (vv. 220, 462) and prides himself

present Act shows us that his purpose has been accomplished—or would have been if his lapse from virtue the year before had not become known and given a different turn to affairs.

A gap of some twenty-seven lines, then NT². In this interval enter Onesimus¹ and the Cook from the city side, and while they speak Smicrines observes them at a distance. Onesimus takes the Cook to task for being so late in keeping his engagement. Onesimus had been sent to the city to summon him in the first Act; in the third Act we are told that the company is gathering (v. 195) and that the Cook has not arrived (v. 166).

Scene 6. Smicrines (at one side), Onesimus, Cook.

NT². Cook (continuing): . . . <οὐ γὰρ μαγείρας ἐστὶ δὴ>
 οὐδεὶς, σ<αφῶς οἶδ',> ἔχθρὸς ὑμῖν. Ones.: ποικίλον
 ἄριστον ἀρι[στούμε]ν! ὃ τρισάθλιος
 ἐγὼ κατὰ πολλ[ύ]! τὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
 δ[ια]σκεδᾶν <πρὸς τυ>κ<τ>ός· ἀλλ' εἰάν ποτε
 5. π<εραβῇ τις ὑμῶν, ὃ> μάγειρ', οὐ [τι]ς τύχη
 <σώσει σε. Cook: μαγείρ' ἐμ>ὲ καλεῖτ'. εἰς μακαρίας²

[Exit Onesimus into the house of Chaerestratus.

The purpose of this brief scene between Onesimus and the Cook is twofold: to bring the Cook to the house, that progress may be made with the day's festivities (and incidentally to furnish some lively cook-scenes to relieve the plot), and to enrage Smicrines still further by this ocular demonstration of the truth of the reports he had heard. It is to be an expensive entertainment. The Cook is of course accompanied, as an artist of his class should be, by a troupe of assistant cooks and waiters.

In the lacuna of ca. 54 verses that intervenes between NT² and R² it is possible that the Cook talks for a time with Smicrines

upon his impeccable conduct (vv. 429 ff.). His ἐψηλότης has even irritated his less squeamish father-in-law (NT²). For a justification of this view see *supra*, p. 421 ff.

¹ The new Photius fragment supports the view that it is Onesimus who here speaks to the Cook: τί δ' οὐ ποιεῖς | ἄριστον; δ' δ' ἄλβει πάλαι κατακείμενος. The quotation seems to be from the earlier part of this same scene.

² 2. Wilamowitz.—3. Robert, πολλά γε Korte, καταπόλλυς Leo.—4. For ὅπως w. infin. see Kühner-Gerth II, p. 377, Anm. 7. The object to be understood would be τοὺς ξένους.—5. μή με Croiset.


before entering the house. Fr. 175 K. would then belong here, spoken by the Cook with reference to Charisius.

Scene 7. Smicrines, Cook.

NT², v. 12.

Smic.: ε τινος

R². Smicrines (continuing):


 <καὶ μ> ἄλα
 <οὐκ αἰμώξ> εται;
 5. <τοῦ> βίου
 [το]ῦ δυστ[υχοῦς]
 [τὸ]ν δυστυχῇ
 ν. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ
 ὥστε πράττω τῶν ἐμῶν
 10. <ἀπάγει> ν τὴν θυγατέρα
 σὺ καὶ σχεδὸν
 ν¹

To this scene, after a very short gap, belongs the Tischendorf fragment. Smicrines reveals his true character with brutal frankness. He is not concerned about his daughter's happiness nor shocked at what he believes to be Charisius' moral downfall, but only anxious lest the dowry be squandered.

Tischendorf fragment.²

Smicrines (continuing): <πίνει δὲ τιμωτάτον>
 ἄνθρωπος οἶνον· αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀκλήτ[τομαι]
 ἔγωγ'. ὑπὲρ [δὲ] τοῦ μεθύσκεσθ' οὐ λέγω·
 ἀπ[λη]στία γάρ ἐσθ' ὁμοιον τοῦτό γε,
 εἰ καὶ βιάζεται κοτύλην τις τοῦβολου
 5. ὠνούμενος πίνειν ἑαυτόν. τοῦτ' ἐ[γὼ]
 προσέμενον. οὗτος ἐμπεσὼν διασκ[εδᾷ]

¹9. τῶν ἐμῶν πράττω pap., corrected by Leo.—10. Von Arnim compares v. 466.

²An excellent photograph of this parchment, which I owe to the courtesy of M. Kobeko, Director of the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, clears up a number of doubtful points in this text. The ω at the end of 13 is practically certain; the word ἡμέρων must be the adjective, sc. ἀνδρῶν, cf. Dem. 21, 49: ἄνδρες σὺν τῷς ἡμέραις καὶ φιλόανθρωποι. In 15 I read NΠ . εω for Jernstedt's ντ . . ω; the ε has a short lower arm, as e. g. once in 6; before ποτέ the

τὸν ἔρωτα. τί δ' ἐμοὶ τοῦτο; πάλιν οἰμώ[ξεται]!
 προῖκα δὲ λαβὼν τάλαντα τέτταρ' ἀργύ[ρον],
 οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς νερόμιχ' αὐτὸν αἰκέ[την].

10. ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι. πορνοβοσκῶ δώδεκα
 τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμας δίδωσι, δώδεκα!
 <πέπυσ>τ' ἀκ[ρι]βῶς οὔτοσι τὰ πράγματα.
 <τί δ' εἰ>ς διατροφήν ἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμέρω[ν]
 <ἀρκεῖν λ>ελ[όγ]ισται; δὴ δόλοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας.
 15. [τελεῖ]ν π<λ>έω πεινῶντι τίς <λόγο>ς ποτέ;

[Chaerestratus approaches with Onesimus.

Scene 8. Smicrines, Chaerestratus, Onesimus.

16. Ones.: <ὁρῶ τιν'> δε <σε> προσμένει, Χαιρέ<στρατε>.
 Chaer.: [τίς δδ' ἐσ]τὶ δ[ή], γλυκύταθ'; Ones.: ὁ τῆς <νύμφης
 π>ατήρ,
 <καταλοιδορ>ῶν ὡς ἀθλιότες τες <τῆς τύχης>.
 Smicr.: <καὶ νῦν ἔχει τιν', ὁ> τρισκακοδ[αίμων, ψάλ]τριαν,
 <τὴν τ' οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦ>σαν γυναῖκα <βούλεται>

letter C is visible. The supplement λόγος (due to B. L. G.) might crowd the space a little. In v. 16 not χαιρῶ but χαιρε (or ο), making the proper name almost a certainty. In 5 of the verso ροπον is as likely as τοπον.

The punctuation in the recto is important for the restoration: ἐαυτὸν: in 5 (w. paragraphus), ἔρωτα in 7 (w. paragraphus), δίδωσι in 11, πράγματα in 12, -σται and ἡμέρας in 14, γλυκύτατε and -ατήρ in 17. The indications of alternating speakers in 5 and 7 can hardly be correct; the successive charges against the delinquent person must proceed from the same speaker. The whole passage has the character of a tirade uninterrupted by a second person. The marks in 5 and 7 are probably due to the questions and answers which the speaker addresses to himself, which led the scribe to assume a dialogue. Precisely the same thing happened in the Cairo papyrus, Epitr. 476, 477, where double point and paragraphus are wrongly inserted in the discourse of Onesimus.

¹ The positive form of statement in v. 1 shows that the fault just mentioned was not simply drinking, or drinking to excess, but wasting money in drink. ἐκπλήττομαι, Cobet.—3. ἀπληστία Wilamowitz, ἀπιστία MS.—4. τοῦβολοῦ Cobet.—7. τὸν ἔρωτα could easily be a corruption of τὰ πατρώια. Smicrines does not care if Charisius uses up his own inheritance. Cf. Diph. 553 K., τὰ πατρώια βρύνει καὶ σπαθῶ. With τὸν ἔρωτα the figure is unparalleled.—8. Cobet.—9. Cobet.—12. τὰκ MS, πέπυσ' Van Leeu., ἀκριβῶς Hiller.—13. εἰ, τί δ' Jern., εἰς Cobet.—14. εἰλ . . . σται MS, λελόγισται

[ἀνάστα]τον. Ones.: πολλὰς ἐβουλόμην ἄμα.

Ch.: <τί λέγεις>; On.: μίαν μὲν τὴν ἐφεξῆς. Ch.: τὴν ἐμὴν;

10. Ones.: [τὴν σ]ὴν γ'. ἴωμεν δεῦρο πρὸς Χαρίσιον.

[A crowd of drunken youth approaches.

Chaer.: [ἴωμ]εν, ὥς καὶ μαιρακυλλίων δῆλος

[εἰς τ]ὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων

[οἷς μὴ] ὕοχλεῖν εὐκαιρὸν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

[Exeunt Chaerestratus and Onesimus into the former's house.

CHORUS.

Act IV.

Scene 1. Onesimus alone.

Enter Onesimus from the house of Chaerestratus.

Ones.: ἐπισ[φαλῇ μὲν] πάντα τὰνθ[ρόπει' ἐμοί],

15. οἶμ[αι], πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος

καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κριτῆς

ὁ δεσπότης· πρὸς τοῦτον εἶνα δεῖ ζῆν ἐμέ.

ὁ γέρω <· δ' ἐκεῖνος, ὁ κατάρματος Σμικρίνης> ,

οὐδὲ λό<γον ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει>¹.

On Jernstedt's 2b only scanty remains of the first three lines of the new act are preserved; viz., ἐπι . . πανταυθ in v. 14, and κατ at the beginning of v. 16. But on the third strip of parchment of the Uspenski collection Jernstedt read, side by side with and over some remains from Menander's Canephorus (identified by Kock), the first letters of six verses written backward. These letters he recognized as an offset from the bottom of 2b, for the first and third lines begin ἐπισ and καίτου respectively. Evidently 2b and 3a had at some time been stuck together, and 3a had

¹ 1. οὕτως Kock, ἀγαθόν Jernstedt.—3. Jern.—4. υἱα, Jern.—5. Van Leeuwen, τοπον MS.—6, 7. Fully one more letter is required in the space in 6 than in 7. φράσωμεν Jernstedt. For the participial construction see Kock on Arist. Nub. 1365 and Rh. Mus. 48, p. 235.—8. Kock.—10, 11, 12. Jernstedt.—13. Kock. The changes of speakers in vv. 1, 7, 8, 9 are indicated by the colon. It is possible that v. 5 should be given to Onesimus; in that case read τίνα δὴ τρόπον.—15. οἶμαι MS. These verses are quoted, from ἐμοί, omitting οἶμαι.—19. ἐμῶν or ἡμῶν, ἔχων, ἔχω or ἔχει are variously quoted. The γέρων of v. 18 is of course Smicrines, the δεσπότης is Charisius.

taken most of the ink from 2b. From these remains Jernstedt recognized the original of Men. fr. inc. 581 K., by the aid of which he restored vv. 15-17. The beginning of Men. fr. inc. 836 K., quoted to illustrate *λέγος* = *φροντίς*, also coincides with the remains of v. 19 and suits the context admirably. *τὰνθρώπει* in v. 14 is due to Professor C. W. E. Miller, for Jernstedt's *τὰνθρώπων*.

During the song of the Chorus Onesimus has witnessed the interview between Charisius and his father Chaerestratus, who no doubt had been affected by the threats of Smicrines and desired to bring about a change in his son's course of life. Probably Charisius now gave him a full explanation of his motives and the ends to be gained by his apparently dissolute conduct. The insolence of Smicrines and his overbearing demands have not caused him to change his purpose. After an expression of loyalty to his master (with which cf. Habrotonon's injunction in Q¹), Onesimus explains to the audience the present state of affairs.

The affairs of the household have reached a crisis. So far the plan of Onesimus and Habrotonon has not succeeded, because the mother of the child has not been found. Probably one of the early scenes in Act IV was a conversation between Onesimus and Habrotonon as the latter is about to see Charisius and tell him of the discovery of his child. Here would fall also the scene or scenes of the jesting Cook, of which we have several small fragments, and the dialogue between Smicrines and Pamphila if Men. fr. 566 K. is rightly referred to this play by Robert. The interval of three and a half pages between the beginning of Act IV in the Jernstedt fragment and the Sophrona-Habrotonon scene in H¹ was probably devoted mainly to the counter-plot of Onesimus and Habrotonon.

Habrotonon has so carefully explained her scheme to Onesimus in vv. 295 ff. that we have a fair idea of the situation into which we are introduced at the beginning of H¹, in spite of the fact that about three and a half pages of the papyrus (ca. 125 vv.) are lost between the Jernstedt fragment and this, and in spite of the exceedingly mutilated condition of the first eleven lines of H¹. Habrotonon has visited the wife of Syriacus, wept over the baby, and pumped the foster-mother for information; she has then interviewed Charisius with the child in her arms. He evidently believes her story that she was the girl of the Tauropolia episode (H¹, vv. 22 ff.). When she appears at the beginning of H¹, she

has just come from this interview, very happy at the outcome, and she is now prepared to undertake at her leisure the search for the mother (v. 320). A few moments before Sophrona had come from Pamphila's house and had explained to the audience the pitiful condition of her mistress, hopelessly alienated from her husband, and on the point of a rupture with her father, who has threatened to take her away by force if she will not consent to go of her own accord. The bitter quarrel between Pamphila and her father which she has witnessed fills her with despair. At first she does not see Habrotonon with the child, decked out with the *γυαρίσματα*, but the woman's demeanor and words soon draw her attention. She infers that the child does not belong to the woman who carries it; later she sees the *δέραια* and recognizes the child. Habrotonon, on her part, has at the first glance recognized in Sophrona the attendant of the girl of the Tauropolia episode.

Körte's new readings have considerably advanced our understanding of vv. 7-11 of H¹, which may have run about as follows:

Habrotonon (continuing): καλῶς σε, παῖ,—

Soph.: οὐ <παῖδα τόνδ' αὐτῇ τεκεῖν δ> οκεῖς, <γύν>αι.

Habr.: αὐτῇ 'στὶν [ἦν ἐγ]φῶδα! χαῖρε, φιλτάτη

γ<ύναι, σὺ> δ<εἶξον> δ[εὺ]ρό μοι τὴν σ[ἦν θείαν].

10. Soph.: λέγ' ἐμοί, [τί] λέγεις; Habr.: πέρυσσι <γεν>έσθ'
<ἀμ'> ἐμοὶ <σὺ φῶς>

τοῖς Ταυροπ(ο)λίαις; εἰπ<έ· μ>ελ<λεις;> ἢ<σθ' ἐκεῖ>;¹

To leave no doubt that the woman she sees within the house is really the wife of Charisius, Habrotonon deftly questions Sophrona. In v. 20 the first words of this leading question are broken away, and most of the attempts to restore them involve a different management of the speakers from that indicated in the papyrus. Here we must assume, as Laird has well shown (Class. Phil. 3, p. 335) that the ring again comes into play. When Sophrona asks, "Are you absolutely certain that Charisius is the father", I conceive that Habrotonon answered with another question, one that would bring certainty to Sophrona as to the identity of the father and to herself as to the identity of the

¹ 8. Körte.—9. δέυρο Von Arnim. σὴν θείαν Robert.—10. τί J. W. White, γ' δ Crönert and Körte. The paragraphus indicates a change of speaker in or at the end of this line.

mother. So holding out the ring she asks, "Do you know this to be his, whose wife I see within"?

Habr.: Χαρισίου. Soph.: τοῦτ' ὁλοθ' ἀκριβῶς, φιλέτη;

Habr.: <τόν> δ' (i. e. the ring) ὁλοθα τοῦδ' ὄνθ>, οὐ γε τὴν
νύμφην ὄρω,

τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν; Soph.: ναίχι. Habr.: μακαρία γύναι!

The following miscellaneous textual changes are suggested:

131. Syr.: οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, εἴ τι τῶν τούτου σε δεῖ
ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ζητεῖ<ν> λαβεῖν.

ζητεῖς pap. "It is not right, just because you have got to give up some of this child's property, to try in addition to get him too". Davus has set up the alternative (vv. 71 ff.) that Syrisus shall either keep the child as it is, without the tokens, or give it back, protesting against the claim that the tokens go with the child. As the text stands *εἰ* is made to do double duty and with a different sense in each clause—'because' and 'if'. I doubt whether so awkward a construction can be paralleled. I see that Van Leeuwen in his second edition, while retaining *ζητεῖς*, queries *ζητεῖν* in the note. It is the simplest remedy.

156. Dav.: [ὅπως σ]ὺ νῦν
τούτῳ φυλάξεις αὐτ<ὰ> σώσεις τ' ἀσφαλῶς>,
εὖ ἴσθι, τηρήσω σε π[άν]τα [τόν χρό]νον.

The construction *τηρεῖν ὅπως* with the future indicative is so common that Lefebvre's restoration of v. 156 should be accepted, though not his punctuation, which cuts off the *ὅπως*-clause from *τηρήσω*. Cf. Arist., Pol. 7. 1309 b 16, *τηρεῖν ὅπως κρεῖττον ἔσται τὸ—πλήθος*, and Isoc. 7, 30. We require an object of *φυλάξεις* referring to the tokens (Leo, Hense, Ellis αὐτά), and as much emphasis as possible on the injunction itself. Hense's *ἐπιμελῶς* or *ἀσφαλῶς* was in the right direction; I prefer the latter on account of v. 191, *ἢ σῶζε τοῦτον* (the ring) *ἀσφαλῶς*. For *σώσεις* cf. also v. 180, *οἶον τὸ σῶσαι χρήματ' ἐστὶν ὀρθανοῦ!*

210. καλῶς [ἔχει]
ἕτερόν τι πρὸς τούτοις κυκᾶν. <καίτοι γ' ἐμοὶ>
πάνταῦθα κακὸν ἔνεστιν ἐπεικῶς [μίγα].

Onesimus confronts a dilemma. If he shows Charisius the ring, the evidence of his guilt, the result may be disastrous to

him: Charisius may be reconciled with Pamphila and visit severe punishment on his slave, who shares the secret (*συνειδότης*, v. 210). The other alternative would be to return the ring to Syriacus—a course which Onesimus in v. 219 pronounces absurd. He is sorry that he ever told his master about Pamphila (v. 205), but that act cannot be recalled. It has been generally assumed that Onesimus resolves in vv. 210f., as he does in v. 356, to avoid stirring up trouble in the future; but not only does the papyrus not favor Wilamowitz' φυλάξομαι, according to Körte, but the sentiment of v. 212 and the phrasing of v. 211 seem to point the other way. The only resource left to Onesimus is to devise some additional complication, though he recognizes the fact that this course also is not free from risk. While he is wavering, undecided, Habrotonon appears, and between them they finally work up the *ἑτερόν τι κύημα*. The personal pronoun *ἐμοὶ* is needed to complete the thought of v. 212, for Onesimus is thinking of only his own risk. *ἔχει* Eitrem, *μέγα* Wilamowitz, supported by the traces in the papyrus.

215. *ἐρᾶσθα* < *ε* *προσεδόκων* >, cf. Anax. 22, l. 29 K. *οἱ δ' ἐρᾶσθαι προσδοκῶντες*. Von Arnim proposed *μὲν ἐδόκουν*, but in contrast with Charisius' hatred is rather the expectation which Habrotonon had cherished than her belief.

251. *αἶ, δύσμορ', εἴ* < *π'* >· *εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου,*
τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει;
κοῦκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;

εἴτ' Lefebvre, but I suspect a *π*. *εἰπέ* would better represent Habrotonon's indignant question than the more deliberate *εἶτα*.

260. *Ταυροπο* < *λίοις*· *π* > *αἰσὶν γὰρ ἔψαλλον κόραις*
αὕτη θ' [όμοῦ συ]νέπαιζ < *ε* >· *οὐδ' ἐγὼ τότε—*
οὐκὼ γὰρ ἄνδρ' ᾔδειν τί ἐστι, καὶ μάλα
μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην— Ones.: *τὴν δὲ παῖδ' ᾔητις [ποτ'] ἦν*
οἶσθας; Hab.: *πυθοίμην ἄν, κτέ.*

Körte reports, in v. 260, . *αἰσιν γὰρ* and reads *αἶσιν γάρ*, though this does not wholly fill the space and though the old dative form is without parallel in Menander. But not only is the form objectionable, the whole sentence is intolerably awkward. For *παισὶν κόραις* cf. Arist. Lys. 595 *παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκεν* and Theophilus II, 12 Kock *παιδὸς κόρης (ἐρῶν)*.

In v. 261 there should be a pronoun referring to the girl, of whom Habrotonon is about to relate the story. "I was playing the lyre for the girls and this girl was one of the merry-makers". It is hard to see how the music-girl, who was hired to play the psalter for the dance, could herself have participated in the dance. αὐτή and the third person seem necessary. Then Habrotonon, before coming to the point of her story, makes a digression to explain why her suspicions were not aroused at the time—she was innocent, then, of all thought of evil. Onesimus recalls her to her subject by his impatient question. Körte's *pori* gives precisely the right tone. The poet brings in admirably, and for a distinct purpose, this incidental allusion to Habrotonon's girlish innocence.

268, αὐτή 'στιν τυχόν. It is the possibility of the *identity* of the girl whom Habrotonon had seen and the girl who took the ring from Charisius (v. 236) that concerns Onesimus.

303. ἐὰν δ' αἰκεῖον ᾖ
αὐτῇ τὸ πρῶγμ', <εὐ' ἴσθ', ἐπέ>ξει φερόμενος
ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον.

The papyrus gives εὐθὺς ἤξει, one syllable short. Since Hense cited the very similar expression in Lyc. c. Leocrat. 59, ἤξει δ' ἴσως ἐπ' ἐκείνον τὸν λόγον φερόμενος, it has been felt that ἤξει is not likely to be corrupt, and one-syllable words, like μάλ', Hense and Van Herwerden, and οἷδ' Richards, have been suggested. But the expression here is likely to have been somewhat more picturesque than the orator's phrase, and a closer parallel is found, as to language, thought, and situation, in Eur., Ion 327, where Creusa says to Ion:

οὐδ' ᾗξας εἰς ἔρευναν ἐξευρεῖν γονάς;

328. Punctuate: ἐὰν δὲ μηκέτι ζητῇς ἐκείνην ἐξεπίτηδες, ἀλλ' ἔφε, παρακρουσαμένη με.

- Q¹. Onesimus (continuing): . . . [τὴν τὸν Ἀπόλ]λω! . . .
Χ[αιρέστρ]αθ'. ἦθε τὸ μετὰ τα<ῦτα "δεῖ σ'," ἔφη>,
"ὅπως [δια]μενεῖς ὄν Χαρισίφ [τὸ πᾶν],
οἷός περ (ἡ)σθα, πιστός." οὐ γάρ ἐσ<τί τοι>
5. ἐταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδέ τὸ τυχόν <ὅ τι ποεῖ>.
σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἐ<ξηύρηκέ σοι>.
ἐλευθερο<ῦ>. πῆξ! μὴ βλέπ' εἰ<ς τὴν γῆν ἔχων>.

καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν κατὰ μόν<ας Χαρίσιον>,
τὸν φίλτατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατ<ον παῖδά σου>,
<λαβὼν . . >¹

456 (441). τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἐστὶ σου
<τὸ σὸν> γάρ, οὐκ ἄλλότριον.

If we adopt Körte's τέκνον, the γάρ is noticeably far from the beginning of the sentence. Körte estimates the lacuna at about five letters. For the proposed restoration cf. v. 459 ναί, καὶ σὸν γ' ὁμοίως.

528 (512): Smic.: σύ μοι χολήν
[κ]ινεῖς παθαινομένη. σὺ γὰρ σφόδρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι
<τέρα>ς λέγει νῦν. Soph.: οἶδ' ἴ[γῳγ'], εὖ ἴσθ', ὅτι
<τέρατ'> ἂ<μφ>ότερα συνῆκε. Smic.: πίνδειον λέγεις.

For τέρας λέγειν cf. Plat., Hipp. mai. 283 c, τέρας λέγεις καὶ θαυμαστόν. σὺ γὰρ σφόδρα cannot introduce a question, as Nicole's conjecture αὐτός would require. In v. 531 αἰεστερα Körte. In her answer Sophrona refers to the words of Onesimus in v. 502, τέρασιν ὅμοια πεντάμηνα παιδία ἐκτρέφομεν. The "prodigies" which Onesimus has correctly interpreted are of course the two nothoi, which he has proved to be one.

NOTES ON THE HEROS.

At the bottom of A¹ the first part of eight consecutive verses (8-17) is broken away in the papyrus. Before and after the break the text is perfectly sound. The restoration of these verses is not of great importance so far as the plot of the Heros is concerned, but it is important that whatever context we supply in this portion of the conversation of the two slaves, Geta and Davus, should not be repugnant to the characters which the poet desired to give them. And this seems to me to be true of the restorations which Van Leeuwen has printed in his text.

The leading characteristics of the two slaves are sufficiently outlined in the forty odd good verses which remain. Davus is painfully serious and so absorbed in his woe that he barely

¹ 1. Robert.—2. Χαίρεστραθ Sudhaus, ταῦτα Leo.—3. διαμενεῖς Ellis.—4. ἦσθα Von Arnim, οἶσθα pap.—6. εκω pap. Körte, κω being very uncertain.—7. ἐλεύθερος pap.—8. κατὰ μόνας Van Herwerden.

notices the light badinage of Geta. And of course, in his infatuation for Plangon, he exaggerates the difficulties of the situation. These seem to be merely: (1) that Plangon, a free-born girl, is placed in the position of a quasi slave¹ on account of her dead father's unpaid debts and has to do light housework for Davus' mistress; and (2) that Davus' master, who has given a provisional consent to his marriage with the girl, is absent on a trip to Lemnus (vv. 45 f.) and so has not yet asked for the approval of Plangon's brother to the match. But Davus rehearses these trivial troubles with a tragic pathos² that evokes the ridicule of Geta, as had the exaggerated exhibition of grief in the opening lines. Geta, besides being a wag, is a cynic on the subject of the tender passion. When Davus acknowledges that he is in love, Geta suggests (vv. 18 f.) that the real trouble is over-feeding, and somewhere in this first scene (see below) he makes an even more brutal reply (fr. 345 K., recognized by Leo and Legrand).

From these indications we are able to recognize clearly enough the characteristics of these slaves, both familiar types. And, if I am able to catch the drift of the last eight lines on A³ in their sadly mutilated condition, the sarcastic humor of Geta runs on and continues to interrupt the exposition of the present situation which Davus is trying to give. The following is offered with diffidence, but seems to me to represent the probable course of the conversation.³

Da.: ὑπέσχηται τ' ἐμ[οῖ] σ[υνουικεῖν]
αὐτήν, διαλεχθεῖς πρό[τε] τὸν ἀδελφόν.] <Ge.: πῶς ἄρ' εἶ>

¹ This is the meaning of ὁρῶν | συντρεφομένην, ἀκακόν, κατ' ἐμαντόν in v. 19: "when I see a girl, innocent thing, kept in my station", which Van Leeuwen has misunderstood. Van Leeuwen sets up the contrast κατ' ἐμαντόν and ὑπὲρ ἐμαντόν, cf. Epitr. 104. But συντρεφομένην κατ' ἐμαντόν = ὡς δούλην; cf. the familiar phrases κατ' ἀνθρώπον, κατὰ σε, κηδεύσαι καθ' ἐαυτόν, Aesch., Prom. 890, etc. So Geta understands Davus, for he asks in v. 20 δούλη ὅστιν; and the answer is οὕτως, ἡσυχῇ, τρόπον τινά.

² The laughter of Geta in v. 38 is explained by the contrast between the words of Davus and the emotion with which he speaks them.

³ A change of speakers is indicated by the paragraphus in vv. 44, 48, by the double point without the paragraphus in v. 49. I have assumed a break in v. 45 also; but it is of course possible that Davus resumes at the beginning of the verse. Certainly it is he who tells of the absence of his master Laches.

45. <πενθη>ρός; Da.: ἀποδημεῖ τρ[ιταῖος ἐπὶ τινα]
 πρᾶξιν ἰδ[ίαν] εἰς Λῆμ[νον]. <ἤκοι γ' ἀσφαλῶς>!
 Ge.: ἐχόμεθα τῆς αὐτῆς <ἐπιθυμίας· πάλιν>
 σφύζοιτο! Da.: χρηστὸν <τοῖς θεοῖς θῦσαι· τάχ' ἄν>
 ὀνησῆς εἰη. Ge.: πολὺ π<ρεπόντως καὶ καλῶς>
 50. φρονεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ κα<ὶ πένθη ἄν σφόδρ' ἄν ἐρῶν>
 θύσαιμ' ἄλλοις, ἢ τὸν Πο[σειδῶ], <τοῖς θεοῖς>!

Here Geta apparently calls a woodgatherer to bring wood for the proposed sacrifice. Fr. 345 K. may have come immediately after, somewhat as follows:

ὦ ξυλοφόρ', <εἰς θυσίαν σὺ δεῦρο φέρε ταχὺ>
 <πλήθος ξύλων.> Da.: σὺ πάποτε' ἠράσθης, Γέτα;
 Ge.: οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην.

ἔμοι συνοικεῖν 43, πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν 44 Lefebvre; τριταῖος ἐπὶ τινα 45, ἰδίαν εἰς Λῆμνον 46 Crönert; ἄλλοις ἢ τὸν Ποσειδῶ 51 Wilamowitz. The first part of v. 45 is very difficult. Lefebvre reports τελεμερος, while Körte, who regards λ also as certain, can make nothing of the other letters. Since a remark by Geta breaks the narrative of Davus, and the adjective in -ρος can hardly belong to the following, πενθηρός, luctuosus, suggests itself as at least worth testing. It is cited by Herodian and Draco as used by Anaxilas (fr. 34, p. 274 K.) of a black mourning garment.

Let us now return to the broken lines 8-17. For their restoration, at least in substance, there are several certain clues, apart from the all-important one of the character of Geta. In 15b we have: Ge. τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρῶς; Da. ἐρῶ. Therefore 15a must contain Davus' admission of his passion, as all critics have seen. 14b, Da. μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς [τῶν] θεῶν, implies just as clearly a curse 14a, though the fact has been overlooked. The indications in the ends of vv. 8-13 are not so clear, but if we observe the character of Geta and what has preceded we can supply a consistent context. Now in the first lines Geta, seeing the violent manifestations of grief on the part of Davus—beating the head, pulling out hair, groans—draws the natural conclusion that he has committed some enormous offense and is in dread of condign punishment. He is confirmed in this assumption when Davus, in answer to the question τί στένεις, responds with a wail, οἴμοι. Geta's conclusion is: τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ ποτηρὲ σὺ.¹ He accordingly,

¹ So to be punctuated, and not as a question (as Leo and Van Leeuwen).

following up this idea, suggests that, besides the physical punishment, Davus is likely to have his little hoard of money taken from him and requests that it be given to him for safe-keeping. The preserved verse-ends show that Davus does not fall in with this suggestion, that Geta becomes angry and finally lets out a curse, which has the effect of bringing Davus to his declaration in v. 15.

- Ge.: εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχρην κερμάτιον, εἰ συνηγμένον
 [σοὶ τυγχάν]ει τι, τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τίως,
 <μὴ πλείον' ἔλκῃς ἐπὶ> σεαυτὸν πράγματα;
 10. <οὐ φῆς σύ γ'; εἰκότως σ>υτάχθομαι γέ σοι
 <ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰ φθονε>ρ<ός>. Da.: σύ, μὰ Δῖ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι
 <ληρεῖς· κακῶ γὰρ ἐμπ>έπληγμαι πράγματι,
 <λύπη τε δεινῇ πάνυ δι>έφθαρμαι, Γέτα.
 <Ge.: κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιό—>. Da.: μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς [τῶν] θεῶν,
 15. [βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι.] Ge.: τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρᾷς; Da.: ἐρᾷ.¹

EDWARD CAPPS.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

¹8. So Körte.—12. ληρεῖς and ἐμπέπληγμαι Croiset.—15. βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι Van Leeuwen. The number of lost letters indicated by Lefebvre in these line is: 9, 15; 10, 15; 11, 15 to >ρ<; 12, 16; 13, 16; 14, 16; 15, 16.

III.—APHRODITE AND THE DIONE MYTH.

The following investigation into the psychology of early Greek religion will undertake to determine why¹ the Greeks, when introducing the Oriental Aphrodite into their own pantheon and receiving her as their own, thought of her as a daughter of Dione. There operated here a complex of conceptions and a multitude of emotions, including both intuition and induction, whose logic it will be our purpose to analyze.

When the Greeks welcomed the great goddess of the East, whose life-creating animus pervaded the whole Universe,

καὶ κρατεῖς τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γεννᾷς δὲ τὰ πάντα,
ὅσσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστι καὶ ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ
ἐν πόντου τε βυθῷ,²

the choice of Dione from among the autochthonous Greek divinities, as mother of Aphrodite, brought the latter goddess into the closest association with the body of Greek beliefs, by reason of Dione's great antiquity.³ Yet under this comparatively obvious determining factor, there lay at least two other, deeper fundamental reasons; viz., the common association of Aphrodite and Dione with the great facts of *Life* and *Fertility*, and the common identification of these two goddesses with the creating element of *Moisture* in the organic universe.⁴ The latter fact

¹ Gruppe: Gr. Myth. u. Relgsgesch., p. 1353, n. 2; Pauly-Wissowa: Real-Encycl. "Aphrodite", p. 2769; Preller-Robert: Gr. Myth.⁴, p. 125, n. 2; Farnell: Cults, ii 621. "As Zeus was given her for a father, it is not easy to explain why Dione rather than Hera was selected as her adoptive mother, etc."

² Orphic h. lv 5 seq.; cf. Plant., Mercator, scaena sup., Act. 4, sub fin.; Cornutus, De Nat. Deor., c. 24; Lucret., De Rer. Nat. i, proem; Hom., h. iv 1-5; Preller-Robert⁴, p. 354, n. 4.

³ Cl. Rev. xx, 1906, pp. 365, 416, Cook; Leaf: Iliad, E. 370, n.

⁴ The commonly accepted view regarding Dione, as an *Earth*-goddess, is reflected in Cl. Rev. xvii, 1903, p. 177 f., Cook; Farnell: Cults, i 39; Jebb: Soph. Trach., n. 1166, App., p. 202; Daremberg et Saglio: Dict. des Ant. Gr. et Rom., s. v. Dione.

made the Greek myth analogous¹ to the more ancient tradition of Aphrodite's birth from the sea; the natural close association in thought of Water and Life, and the prevalent ancient belief in a *Lebenswasser*² constitute the common inspiring motive of both of these myths. They possessed a similar content; that of Hesiod the Boeotian being more simple and direct—a clearer reversion to the primitive intuition of an early race that recognized the aquatic origin of life; that of Homer expressing the same dogma, but in the more elusive terms of a crystallized mythology. It seems, finally, altogether reasonable, too, to yield to the fascination of a correlation of mythology and philosophy, and to conclude that the philosophy of this myth that made Aphrodite daughter of the "august"³ Dione, is not far removed, in spirit, from the fancy of the earliest philosophy that *ἕδος* is the great *ἀρχή* of all.

Aphrodite in Homer is essentially a Greek goddess, who has become thoroughly naturalized,⁴ although her Oriental origin is not ignored. Indeed, the Homeric terms, *Κύπρις* and *Κυθέρεια*, are but a reflection of a commonly accepted Greek belief,⁵ regarding the track of her voyage from the East, and the mode of introduction of her cult into Greece. However, in the representation of her in the Greek epic, we recognize an evolution far beyond the primitive religious faith that created or accepted her,—when, first a religious value, associated with an elemental instinct of procreation and of race-preservation, and springing from a sense of wonder at the phenomenon of birth was reaching definition.⁶ In

¹ Cf. Preller-Robert,⁴ p. 352, "So ist gleich die Dichtung von der Geburt u. Abkunft dieser Göttin eine doppelte, principiell verschiedene" calls attention to the incompatibility of the two myths of Homer and of Hesiod, since the Homeric account as clearly connects the goddess with Greek traditions, as the Hesiodic does with Oriental. Eust., Il. v 370 is probably in error.

² A. Wünsche: Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser, 1905, p. 71 seq.

³ Cf. Bruchmann-Roscher: Epitheta Deorum, Suppl. Lex., s. v. *Διώνη*.

⁴ Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, Γ 374, Ε 131, 312, 348, 362, 428, 820, Ζ 193, 224, Υ 105, Φ 416, Ψ 185, Θ 308; Hom., h. ii 17, iv 81, 107, 191.

Aphrodite, an Olympian, Γ 407, Ζ 224, Υ 40, ν 73; Hom., h. vi 13; cf. Paus. iii 12, 11.

⁵ Her. i 105, i 131; Paus. i 14, 7, iii 23, 1, iii 17, 5, viii 53, 7; cf. Paus. viii 24, 6, vii 26, 7.

⁶ There is, however, little trace in Homer of Aphrodite as personification of a natural force; see Ε 429, ν 74; cf. Gruppe 1365; see Farnell: The Evolution of Religion, pp. 89, 105; Brinton: Religions of Primitive Peoples, p. 193.

the Greek epic she had acquired a well-defined personality,¹ (mainly aesthetic in character) which had many elements of a later development, the product of Greek refinement in general and of the poet's imagination in particular. If the two passages in the 5th Iliad and in the 8th Odyssey do not belong to the original nuclei of the poems but are comparatively late additions,² the Greek atmosphere about Aphrodite is all the more pronounced. In the former the Cyprian³ goddess, wounded by Diomedes, flees to Olympus, to her Dione-mother; in the latter (conversely) the Olympian divinity, after the memorable Ares-intrigue, retires to *Cyprus*, as the *locus* of her chief cult and her home. This Graeco-Oriental goddess, whose Oriental character and origin were more clearly marked or suggested in contemporary worship,⁴—in Cyprus, in Delos, in Cythera, in Laconia, in Arkadia, in Attica, in Boeotia, and, perhaps, in Corinth, Argos and Elis,—the poet represents as daughter of Zeus and Dione, in order, probably, to admit her—following a popular impulse—“into the Hellenic pantheon by a sort of legal adoption”,⁵ and legitimize her functioning among the Greeks. Yet even admitting this, the problem remains unsolved,—of the underlying reason for the particular choice of Dione, and of the significance or suggestions attaching to that divinity, that made Aphrodite's affiliation with her, as daughter, a perfectly natural one and not an arbitrary correlation. For this “Homeric” formula, dictated by the *Zeit-Geist*, is but the literary deposit of an earlier, genuine religious unrest and of a popular feeling concerned with the grave

¹ Cf., e. g., *φιλομυειδής*, *χρυσή*, *ἐλικοβλέφαρος*, *ἰοστέφανος*, *εὐστέφανος*, *δία*, *γλυκυμελιχός*, *αἰδοίη*, etc.; cf. Γ 54, Ε 214, also Aphrodite's relations with Hebe, Charites, Horae, Eros, Ares and Hephaistos,—symbolizing love, beauty, youth.

² Leaf: Iliad, vol. i, p. 193 and p. 217, n. on 330.

³ *Κύπρις*, Ε 330, 422, 458, 760, 883, θ 363; Hom., h. vi 1, x 5, iv 2, 58, 59, 292; *Κυθήρεια*, σ 193, θ 288; Hom., h. iv 6, 175, 287, vi 18, x 1; cf. O 432; cf. Enmann: *Kypros*, 21; Leaf: Iliad, Ε 330, n; Tümpel, in Pauly-Wissowa, “Aphrodite”, p. 2769; Preller-Robert⁴, p. 346.

⁴ Paus. i 14, 7; Tac. h., ii 3; Hom., A 20; Strab. xiv, c. 6, p. 683; Paus. ix 40, 3; Plut., *Thes.*, 18, 21; Callim., *Del.* 307; Il. Σ 590; Paus. viii 16, 3; Paus. iii 23, 1; Hom., O 432; Paus. iii 17, 5; Paus. viii 5, 2, viii 53, 7; Paus. i 14, 7; Paus. ix 16, 3; Paus. ii 37, 2; Athenaeus 573 C-D, lib. xiii; Paus. ii 19, 6; Paus. v 13, 7; Hom., B. 104; cf. Tascher: *Les cultes ioniens en Attique*.

⁵ Farnell: *Cults*, ii 621.

question of attaching the Oriental goddess to Greek beliefs. It is inconceivable that in a matter of so much moment to Greek religious experience, mere chance should have played the leading rôle, or that this association should have rested upon accidentals or fanciful relations. It is *a priori* unreasonable to suppose that the great Oriental goddess, with a host of traditions and a wealth of associations that belonged distinctly to her, should have been allied to any member of a foreign polytheism who did not possess a somewhat similar religious value or sacred character.

Before defining the character of Dione, in general, or in its particular bearings upon the Aphrodite myth, some other considerations must be taken into account for their relation to this problem. From the East there came to Greek shores, traditions of Aphrodite's birth from the sea, which probably were current in the "Homeric" age and before; the great Heavenly goddess of the East, with manifold relations to sky, earth, underworld and sea, was *sprung* from the *moist* element; Syrian¹ and Phœnician² legends of such an origin survived to a later period, while, very anciently, festivals, reminding of her sea-birth, were celebrated on the island of Cyprus.³ The conception of such an origin developed naturally among people, located as were the Cyprians and Phœnicians. "In the latest stage of Phœnician religion", indeed, "when all deities were habitually thought of as heavenly or astral beings, the holiest sanctuaries were still those of the primitive fountains and river-gods, and both ritual and legend continued to bear witness to the *original* character of these deities".⁴ It was this goddess who was the prototype of

¹ Hyg., f., p. 197 Schm. (p. 148 Bunte); Luc. Ampel., Lib. Mem. ii 12 (Woelfflin); Nig. Fig. c. Schol. Germ., p. 81, 20 seq. et p. 145, 9 seq.; Dositheus, *ixθύες*; cf. Diod. S. ii 4, 2; Xen., Anab. i 4, 9; Luc., De Dea Syr., 14. It seems a rational assumption that these passages represent an original Oriental tradition, as old as the cult of Aphrodite and as ancient as her ritual, connecting her with water and the sacred fish.

² Nonn., Dionys. xli 98 seq., 146; Phil. Bybl., F. H. G. iii 569, 25; cf. Movers: Phœnizier, Ersch-Grubersche Real-Encycl., p. 388, n. 42, 43 Roscher: Lex., "Aphrodite", p. 393-394. This seems a survival and a reflection of a primitive Phœnician legend.

³ Clem. Al., Protr., 2. 14, p. 13 P (ii 38, p. 33 P.); Arnob., Adv. Nat. v 19 Jul. Firm. Mat., De Err. Prof. Rel., 10; cf. Martin P. Nilsson: Gr. Feste, 1906, p. 365; Alb. Dieterich: Matter Erde, p. 1.

⁴ Smith, W. Robertson: Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, p. 107 (Ed., 1894); cf. Barton, Geo. Aaron: A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social

the Homeric Aphrodite, and the Homeric legend of Aphrodite's descent from Dione was but a translation into the terminology of Greek mythology,—of an earlier myth, the validity and significance of which the Greek mind was probably not slow to appreciate. At any rate, this myth of her sea-birth certainly gained a wonderful hold upon the Greek imagination.

Hesiod¹ records the momentous event of Aphrodite's birth from the sea,—a phenomenon that seems to us to bid defiance to natural laws and, at first blush, seems but a weird creation of a reckless imagination, that, within the realms of mythology, seemed to love such extravagances.² Whatever the cause of this fancy, at any rate Aphrodite's affiliation with the sea and with moisture in general was, in the historic period, writ large in Greek religion and life; in time, through poetry, logical abstractions, and social religious tendencies, Aphrodite of the sea, became goddess of fair winds, protectress of harbors, patroness of voyages, mistress of ships, river-goddess, goddess of rains and friend of sea-life, in general, which was dedicated to her.³ All of this represents the power of the impression that one aspect⁴ of the Oriental divinity made upon the Greek mind, in which it received such a wide application. Moreover, Aphrodite's relations with Poseidon⁵ were strongly marked in Greek worship, and whatever motives

and Religious, p. 86. "Ishtar was originally a water-goddess, the divinity of some never failing spring or springs and . . . some sacred tree to which the spring gave life represented her son." Cf. Movers: *Phönizier*, Ersch-Gruber. *Real-Encycl.*, p. 400, n. 61.

¹ Hes., Th. 173 seq.; Hom., h. vi.

² S. Clem. Rom., hom. v, c. 12, § 142, p. 181 (Migne); cf. Zeller: *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, 1892, p. 364.

³ Paus. i 1, 3, C. I. G. 4443;—Paus. ii 34, 11, Emped. (Stein) 203-205, Serv., ad Aen. i 720;—Athenaeus 675 F., A. P. ix 143, 144;—C. I. Gr. ii 793 b. 18, 802 b. 35, 789 b. 80, 791, 79, Eur., Med. 527;—Hesych., Aphrodite *Αδωγερής* (cf. Paus. viii 25, 1);—Tertull., Apol., 23;—Plut., De Sollert. Anim., ii 983 F; Plaut., Rud. ii 1, 16=305; Lucian, De Dea Syr., §§ 45, 46; Luc. Ampel., Lib. Mem. ii 12; cf., too, titles of Aphrodite, in Bruchmann-Roscher: *Epitheta Deorum*, Lex., Suppl.

⁴ Gruppe, 1351, n. 2; Roscher, 401, 3.

⁵ Gardner and Poole: *Cat. Grk. Coins*, Br. Mus. (Thessaly vol., p. 132, Pl. xxiii 13, p. 175); Paus. ii 38, 1, viii 13, 2, vii 21, 10, vii 24, 2; Schol., Pind. O. vii 24; Plut. ii 146 D, 164 D (vii Sap. Conv.), Qu. Gr. 44; C. I. G. 4443; Athenae. vi 253 E; Rev. Arch., 1881, p. 238; Latyshev: *Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux. Gr. et Lat.* ii 25; C. I. G. 7390; Serv., Verg., Aen. i 570, and, perhaps, Hom. θ 345.

interfered with a similar intimate association in cult, of Aphrodite with Dione,¹ did not obtain in this case; the development of the Aphrodite-Poseidon worship, which was wide spread, bespeaks the deep impression that existed in the Greek consciousness, of a community of interests and of points of contact between these two. Aphrodite's birth from the sea became the leading and the commonly accepted version of her origin.² While her sea-birth seems to have figured but slightly in cult,³ a conservative religious reserve may have accounted for this.⁴ At any rate, it was a cherished Greek belief that received the very widest currency in literature and became a favorite art-motive;⁵ the undeniable power of its appeal is proved by the fact that long after the original operating cause for such a fiction had probably become for many obscure,—in times when Aphrodite was variously regarded as a real vital divinity, as a lovely metaphor, as a cold abstraction,—this picturesque conception of the travail of the waves from which arose Aphrodite Anadyomene still survived, as dominant as of old.

It is very significant that there were no *ancient* Greek traditions, representing Aphrodite as earth-born, or connecting her with parents that were distinctly earth-divinities. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that her complex character admitted of a various development whereby in Attica⁶ the goddess became an earth-divinity, while in Sparta⁷ she was worshipped as the armed Heavenly-goddess, and in Argolis⁸ had a cult connecting her with the sea. The minor myths of Aphrodite's

¹ See Farnell: *Cults*, ii 621 a.

² Cf., e. g., Hes., *Th.* 188 seq.; Hom., *h.* vi 3-4; Orph. *h.* lv 2; Anacreon, 53. 30 seq.; Plat., *Krat.*, 406 C; Bion, *Id.* 9 (15), 1; Plut., *qu. conv.* v 10, 4, ii 685 F; Himer., *Or.* i 20, *Ecl.* 18; Nonn., *D.* xiii 458, xxxv 190; A. P. ix 386, 3; Opp., *Kyn.* i 33; Procl., *Plat. Krat.*, p. 116-117; Clem. Al., *Protr.* ii 38, p. 33 P. (2. 14. p. 13 P.); Clem. Rom., *hom.* v 13, p. 182; Hesych., *Λαδωγενής*; Anonym. Laur., *Studemund: An. Varia* i 269; C. I. G., 5956; Plaut., *Rud.* iii 3, 42=704; Catull. 36, 11; Cic., *De Nat. D.* iii 23, 59; Ampel., *Lib. Mem.* 9. 9; Lucan, 8, 458; Tac., *H.* ii 3; Macrobi., *Sat.* i 8, 7; Apul., *Met.* iv 28; Pervig. Ven. 7; Pauli Fest. 52, Cytherea.

³ Farnell: *Cults*, ii 636.

⁴ The hint of Himerius is, at least, suggestive; Himer., *Ecl.* 18, 2:

τὰς δὲ ὠδῖνας ταύτας αἰτινὲς ποτε
εἰσὶ, μυστικοὶ λόγοι κρύπτειν
κελεύουσι.

⁵ Paus. v 11, 8; ii 1, 7-8 (national in importance); see Gruppe, 1348, 5.

⁶ Paus. i 19, 2.

⁷ Paus. iii 15, 10; iii 17, 5.

⁸ Paus. ii 34, 11.

birth, that made her daughter of Kronos and Euonyme,¹ child of Caelus and Dies,² or the offspring of Aphros and Astynome³—were all comparatively late, and, seemingly resting upon motives

¹ Aphrodite's correlation with the Moirae may have rested upon several suggestions, common to the two circles of the Aphrodite and the Moirae myths (*Annali dell' Instituto di Corr. Archeol.*, vol. xli, 1869, C. L. Visconti; Wachsmuth: *Die Stadt Athen*, i 412). At any rate, such an association took place in Attica, and evidently very early (Paus. i 19, 2). The Moirae were regarded as earth divinities, and Aphrodite's association with them affected even the ancient myth of her sea-birth, inasmuch as, in common with the Moirae and the Erinyes, she came to be regarded as offspring of Kronos and Euonyme (Epim., Schol., Soph. O. C. 42; Schol., Tzet., Lyk. 406; F. H. G. i 419, 9, Istros, [Euonyme=Gê]). Moreover, as Euonymus seems to have been the name of the eponymous hero of an Attic deme (Steph. Byz.; Pauly-Wissowa: *Real-Encycl.*, art. *Δῆμοι*, p. 65), it seems more than likely that we have in this tradition of Aphrodite's birth, a genealogical table, seeking to establish a closer affiliation of Aphrodite with the Attic soil.

² Cic., *De Nat. D.* iii 23, 59; Ampel., *Lib. Mem.*, 9, 9; Io. Laur. *Lyd.*, *de mens.* iv 44, 89. Hermes and Aphrodite were, in various relations, very widely associated in cult and festival, and this version of the goddess' birth is at once the result of, as it is also further evidence of *that* intimate union, for the same parents had been attributed to Hermes as well. (Cic., *De Nat. D.* iii 22, 56; Serv., *ad Aen.* i 297, iv 577; Ampel., 9, 5, etc.). "Natürlich sind beide Genealogien nicht unabhängig von einander entstanden". (Gruppe, 1331, n. 2). Cicero locates the cult of "Venus Prima, Caelo et Die nata" at Elis, where "the goddess stands with one foot on a tortoise" (Paus. vi 25, 1) which was one of the several symbols the two divinities had in common. It is *a priori* far more likely that for this matter of relationship, the Aphrodite mythology was indebted to the Hermes legends than that the reverse process should have taken place; however, this form of the myth, neglecting primary for secondary considerations, represents a later refinement of poetry and aesthetics, naturally enough associated with the "Heavenly" goddess, but foreign to the original character and significance of the earlier myth of Aphrodite's sea-birth.

³ This legend (Io. Ant., F. H. G. iv 541, 542, 4, 4; Chron. Pasch., tom. i, p. 66, Bonn, 1832; Ap. Rhod. ii 392 et ii 1231, and Schol.; Pherecydes, F. H. G. i 70), which Tümpel (*Phil.*, 1890, N. F. iii, p. 115) attaches to Thessaly, is an awkward combination that includes sea and Oriental suggestions (cf. Movers: *Die Phönizier*, vol. i, p. 636 [Astronome and Astynome=Astarte; Io. Laur. *Lyd.*, *de mens.* iv 44, 91: "auch sonst sind solche Namensentstellungen von Astarte, um ihr eine griechische Bedeutung abzugewinnen, nicht selten"]. See, also, Movers: *Phönizier*, *Ersch-Grubersche Real-Encycl.*, p. 388, 43). Her sea-origin and identity with Astarte are obviously in the background of this later revelation. (Cf., too, Io. Laur. *Lyd.*, *de mens.* iv 44, p. 89; Cornutus, *De Nat. Deor.*, c. 24, §199, on *φάλαρα*, and Apollod. i 2, 4).

of local interest and value, whether associating the goddess with earth, sky or sea, did not enter into vital competition with the *great* myth of her sea-birth, that was based upon reasons of a profound and elemental import.

The Homeric representation of Aphrodite as daughter of Zeus and Dione, alone possessed anything like the vitality of this other myth, and alone proved its rival and shared its importance.¹ If we can trust the absence of literary and archaeological evidence, Aphrodite was not united with Dione in public worship, in spite of the fact that the cult of the latter² was widely accepted; nevertheless, the literature of a later age recognized the kinship and the natural bond that existed between their characters; indeed the idea struck its roots deep in the literary imagination, with the result that there was eventually a complete assimilation³ of these two divinities. Aphrodite and Dione clearly had much in common. Whatever other motives may have played an incidental part in the rapprochement of Aphrodite and Dione, it seems incredible that the filial relationship should have, in the beginnings of the myth, rested upon any but the most vital inherent principles, bringing it in line with explicit Oriental traditions and positive Greek beliefs. Aphrodite's naturalization, such as we find in Homer, was undoubtedly the result of a long racial, religious and artistic reflection. But Oriental traditions of her sea-birth, renewed in the Theogony of Hesiod, and in Greek literature, reinforced in Greek art, intellectually justified also (as we shall see) by Greek scientific speculation, represent a com-

¹ Hom., E. 370, 381; Eur., Hel. 1098; Theocr. xvii 36; Apollod. i 3, 1; Cic., De Nat. Deor. iii 23, 59; Ampel., Lib. Mem., 9, 9; Hyg., f., pr. 30 (Bunte); Ael., De Nat. An. x 1; Cornut., De Nat. Deor., c. 24; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 89; Mon. Ant. d. Acc. d. Lincei vi, 1896, 275.

² C. I. G. 4366 m.; Eph. Arch., 1896, no. 52; Steph. Byz., Διώνεια πόλις; Gardner and Poole: Catal. Grk. Coins (Thessaly vol.), pp. 55, 89, 90, 91, 111, 133, 144; Carapanos: Dodone et ses ruines; C. I. G. i 324, c. 37 and 65, iii 333, iv² 1550 c; Demosth., In Mid., 21, 53, De Fals. Leg., 19, 299, Epist. iv 2; Hyp., pro Eux. iii 35 f.

³ Cf., e. g., Dione=Aphrodite, Bion. i 93; Theocr. vii 116; Phil. Bybl., F. H. G. iii 569, 25; Ov., F. v 309, ii 461, Am. i 14, 33, Ars Am. iii 3, iii 769; Catull. lvi 6; Stat., Silv. i 1, 84, ii 7, 2, iii 5, 80; Sil. Ital. vii 87, iv 106; Pervig. Ven. 6 et 12; Dracont. Rom. vi 104, etc.; "Dionaeon" Aphrodite: Orph. A. 1331; Theocr. xv 106; Dionys., Perieg. 509 et 853; Nicetae, xii Deorum Epitheta, Studemund: Anecd. Var. i 282; Hor. C. ii 1, 39; Verg., Aen. iii 19, Ecl. ix 47, et Serv.; Suid., s. v. Διώνειν; see Forcellini: Lexicon; Stephanus: Thesaurus; Pape: Wörterbuch der Gr. Eigennamen.

bined force of religion, poetry, art and reason that makes any departure¹ in the case of the Homeric terminology touching her birth most unlikely.

Since any other conception of Aphrodite's birth, taking her outside the circle of water-divinities, would have been alien to important premises in the matter, we have, for this reason alone, a strong hypothesis in favor of the conclusion that—in spite of the maze of multiplex associations which in time gathered about the name and figure of Dione—the primary suggestions of Dione as mother of Aphrodite must have been those of a water-goddess. And indeed, there existed within the Dione folk-lore, a well-recognized affiliation with *moisture*, including rain, sea and stream, and a no less clear association with the idea of *fertility* and *reproduction*. Under these circumstances, because of Dione's great, and perhaps paramount importance to the element of moisture and to the quickening of life that goes with it, which probably represents her primitive significance, Dione seems to satisfy those requirements that the previous considerations seemed to establish as imperative in the matter.

Hesiod (Th. 353) makes the "beloved" Dione an Ocean-nymph, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, while Dodona (doubtless equivalent to and the same as 'Dione', Clem. Rom., hom. iv 16, 168, v 13, 182) was, also, significantly regarded as an Oceanid nymph (Eust. 335, 46, B. 750; cf., too, Steph. Byz. Δωδώνη [Thrasyb. and Epaphrod., F. H. G. ii 463, 4], E. M. 293, 5 f. [Thrasyb. and Akestod.], Schol., Il. ii 233); such testimony appears slightly altered in Apollodorus (i 2, 7; cf. i 9, 16), who classed Dione among the Nereids,² daughters of Nereus and Doris. Pherecydes counted her among the Dodonaean nymphs who are identified with the Hyades (Pherecydes, fr. 46, F. H. G. i 84, 46; Schol., Hom., Il. 18, 486; cf. Hyg., f., p. 137, § 182 [Bunte], and astr. ii 21).

Dione's interest in human life and its creation is suggested in the Homeric hymn (in Apol. 93) that puts her in attendance upon

¹ Any such departure would almost certainly have occasioned comment or explanation; absence of such evidence is, at least, suggestive. Only powerful reasons, which seemingly ruled in this case, could have interfered with a belief in descent from the Earth-Mother.

² Further-sea-reminiscences; Kretschmer: Gr. Vasenschr., p. 78; Gardner and Poole: Catal. Grk. Coins (Thessaly vol.), pp. 133, 144; Hermes xvi, 1881, p. 87, Robert.

Leto's child-bearing, in company with Rhea, Themis and Amphitrite and others (cf., too, Orph. h. pr. 19), while Plato's discrimination in making Aphrodite *Pandemos* (παντήρα) daughter of Zeus and Dione (Plato, Symp., 180 D; cf. Xen., Symp., 8, 9; Artemid., Oneirocr. ii 37; Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 89), strongly suggests a similar direction of thought. (Cf., also, Procl., Plat. Kratyl., p. 117: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπερκόσμιός ἐστιν καὶ . . . γενέσθαι χωρίζει· ἡ δὲ δαιμονία ἐπιτροπεύει πάσας τὰς συστοιχείας καὶ συνδίδει πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τελειοῖ τὰς γεννητικὰς αὐτῶν προόδους διὰ τῆς ὁμοιογενετικῆς συζεύξεως). Dione's identification with the idea of reproduction may also be gathered from the Dodonaean inscriptions upon *ex voto* tablets, covering a long period of time, in which this phase of the goddess' activities is positively emphasized.¹ The ancient etymologies, too, are not without suggestions that thoughts of moisture and fertility were believed to have played a part in the creation and naming of this goddess. Διώνη: ἡ θεός. . . ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ διδῶ, Διδώνη καὶ Διώνη, ἡ διδοῦσα τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἡδονάς. ἡ διεύνη τις ἐστίν, ἡ πρώτη διευνασθεῖσα. ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ διαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑγραίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑετῶν [E. M. 280, 41 f.], (cf. Io. Laur. Lyd. iv 44, 89 [Chrysippus]; E. G.; to which the related suggestions of Schol., Hes., Th. 353 should be added).²

Such a development of the conception of Dione, as well as its genetic aspect, may very easily have rested upon local, physical conditions; Dodona's fertility became a by-word (Hes., fr. 54; Strab. vii 328; Schol., Soph., Trach. 1169; Priscian, Perieg. 444; Verg., G. i 149; suggestive, also, are Lucan vi 426, and Apollod. in Steph. Byz., etym. of Dodona) and the moisture of the land was well-known; the tradition that associated an ancient consultation or perhaps the very founding of the oracle with Deucalion and the flood (Plut., Vit. Pyrrhi; E. M. 293, 5 f. [Thrasyb. and Akestod.]; Schol., Il. ii 233) may, perhaps, possess a similar significance; the priests of Zeus may have been named after the

¹ Carapanos: Dodone et ses ruines, Pl. 36, 2 (cf. Collitz: Gr. Dial.-Inscr. ii, p. 105, no. 1565; J. H. S. i 236. Roberts; Dittenberger: Syll. 429), Pl. 38, 4 (cf. J. H. S. i, p. 239, Roberts; Collitz ii, p. 101, no. 1561), Pl. 22, Pl. 35, 1 (J. H. S. i 235, Roberts; Bursian: Jhb., 1887, p. 531), Pl. 37, 4 b, (Collitz ii, p. 109, no. 1568), Pl. 37, 5 b. (Collitz ii, p. 111, no. 1572), Collitz ii, p. 115, no. 1576, C. I. G. ii 5, 1550 c.; cf., too, Paus. ix 25, 8, viii 28, 5-6.

² That the etymologies, here cited, are probably incorrect does not affect the truth of the statement that thoughts of fertility and moisture were so strongly associated with Διώνη, that her very name was thought to be derived from those ideas.

marshes that existed in the locality (Str. vii 328 [i. e., Apollodorus]; cf. Schol., Il. II 233, Zeus Naïos and ὑδρηλά), while the great stream Acheloüs¹ figured in the cult-practices of the place.

The "Pelagic" Zeus at Dodona was, presumably, a chthonian god, originally, and his oak-oracle belonged to the aboriginal religion. Zeus and the Earth-Mother (an ultra-primitive conception) were brought together in "primaeval association" (Paus. x 12, 10). Homer's reference to the male priesthood (cf., too, Callim., h. Del. 284-6) presupposes an earth-cult and implies (or at least readily suggests) a cult of Mother-Earth (Hom., Il. II 233; cf. Soph., Trach. 1166-1168).

That Dione was, in all probability, very anciently associated with Zeus in pre-Homeric worship, follows from the tradition that Herakles learned his fate from the "Peleïades" (Soph., Trach. 169), whose functioning presupposes the establishment of a joint worship of Dione with Zeus. This assumption receives confirmation from the statement of Pausanias (Paus. x 12, 10; cf. Strab. vii fr. 1), that the appointment of the three old women priestesses, the "Peleïades", was antecedent to that of Phemonoë, oldest recorded priestess of Delphi (Paus. x 5, 7, n. Frazer, x 6, 7; cf. E. M. 293, 5 f. and Schol., Il. II 233). Further, it is far more likely that Homer, in his association of Dione and Zeus, as parents of Aphrodite, was following the authority of an established cult, than that, *vice versa*, a mere literary syncretism (whatever other grounds for it) should have occasioned an important innovation in ritual and worship. Strabo's famous statement (vii 329) that in the beginning there were male-priests, but later three old women in attendance, when Dione became σύνναος of Zeus (cf. Eust., Od. 14, 327), does not prove anything about the time of that change, nor that it was "post-Homeric",² nor that Strabo thought so, but merely emphasizes what was probably true,—that Dione, however ancient, does represent a development, following the original organization of the Dodonaean worship.

¹ Il. 21, 194 and Schol.; Schol., Il. 24, 615; Hesych. i 657; Hes., Th. 340; Artemid. ii 34; [cf. Acusilaüs, fr. 11 a, F. H. G. i 101, or Didymus, apud Macrob., Sat., 5, 18, 10] Macrob., Sat., 5, 18, 6 (Ephorus, fr. 27, Müller).

² For this question, see Preller-Robert⁴, p. 125, n. 2; Gruppe 354, 1; Pauly-Wissowa, "Dione", p. 878; Farnell: Cults, i 39; Eduard Meyer: Forschungen zur alten Gesch., p. 44; Jebb: Soph. Trach., n. 1166, App., p. 202; Roscher: Lex., "Dione", p. 1028; Cl. Rev. xvii, 1903, p. 180 init., Cook.

Διώνη, the "female counterpart"¹ of Zeus, is an expression of some complement to the Dodonaean character of the god himself; such conceptions doubtless developed slowly among the Pelasgic Greeks,² and, especially, was the naming of the new goddess who had come into spiritual existence, a matter of slow growth. While "the Homeric poems . . . present us with a group of divinities, not at all regarded as personifications of the various forces and spheres of nature, but as real personages humanly conceived with distinct form and independent action",³ the gods and goddesses of an earlier age and race, must have been in much closer association with natural phenomena; as the earth was the pre-empted province of an earlier divinity, the conception of Dione seems to have grown out of the religious attitude toward the *moist* elements.

We conclude, therefore, that the cults of Zeus and Mother-Earth, and of Zeus with Dione were both of great antiquity, contemporary⁴ pre-Homeric cults that developed *pari passu* after a certain period, with priority in favor of the Earth-Mother, though any more exact historical relation is not determinable. But Dione naturally *became* an earth-goddess⁵ from the fact of her association with and ultimate succession to Gaia, whom she superseded; this *imposed* upon her character a stamp, conceivably incident to such despotism as of tradition, inheritance and prejudice. The complex character of Zeus at Dodona (cf. Cl. Rev. XVII, 1903, pp. 178, 179), with affiliations to sky, water and earth, also facilitated the later complex development of Dione. Dione, as an earth-goddess, represents a bit of religious evolution, perhaps not clearly recognized before. But there is no valid reason for doubting that her original and her prime character was that of a *water-goddess*.⁶

It is, therefore, quite within the bounds of possibility and of probability that under surface appearances there lurks this unity

¹ Usener: Götternamen, pp. 35, 36; cf. Schol., Od. iii 91 (Apollod.); E. M. 280, 41 seq. Διώνη: ἡ Θεός. ἀπὸ τοῦ Διός, Διώνη, κατὰ ἔκτασιν τοῦ ο εἰς ω. ὅτι αὐτὴ πρῶτον γέγονε γαμετὴ τοῦ Διός; Eust., Il. v 370 (558, 14); Varr., L. L. ix 42.

² Her. ii 52 (see Usener: Götternamen, p. 279); Paus. vii 21, 7.

³ Farnell: Cults, i 13.

⁴ Lasaulx: Das Pelasg. Orakel des Zeus zu Dodona, n. 58.

⁵ Apollod. i 1, 3; Hyg., f., pr., p. 26 (Bunte); Schol., Hes., Th. 17; Orph., Lob.: Agl. 505 [Procl. in Tim. v 295 D.]; E. M. 280, 41 seq.; Procl. in Tim. v 297 a.

⁶ Gruppe, pp. 354, 1353.

of thought between the two myths of Homer and of Hesiod, pervaded as they are by identical implications; and that, within the machinery of Greek psychology, Dione (in this relation) originally powerfully suggested the same complex of ideas to which Aphrodite, goddess of *fertility* in all departments of life, owed her *birth* from the *sea*.

The mystery¹ of that sea-birth seems to have been dispelled by Plutarch,² who, rationalizing away its exquisite poetry, set forth the nature of the feeling that, originally only half-articulate, eventually embodied itself forth in such terms:

οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἀλιγενῇ τοὺς ποιητὰς προσαγορεύειν καὶ μῦθον ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεπλασμένον ἐξεργεῖν, ὥς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐχούσης τὴν γένεσιν, εἰς τὸ τῶν ἄλλων γόνιμον αἰνιττομένους· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Ποσειδῶνα καὶ ὅλους τοὺς πελαγικοὺς θεοὺς πολυτέκνους καὶ πολυγόνους ἀποφαίνουσιν· αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ζῴων οὐδὲν ἂν χερσαῖον ἢ πτηνὸν εἰπεῖν ἔχοις οὕτω γόνιμον, ὥς πάντα τὰ θαλάττια· πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς 'φῦλον ἄμουσον ἄγουσα πολυσπερίων καμασῆων.'

This myth, then, consciously and significantly, brought Aphrodite, presiding genius over the mystery of creation, into intimate relation, in her own genesis, with that element in Nature which, to the mind that created the myth, pre-eminently possessed the greatest potentiality of life. Here, then, lies the secret of that imagination that associated Aphrodite, in the matter of her own birth, with that element that especially creates being,—a conception that lodged naturally in the Greek mind and gained the strongest hold upon it.

Greek myth, poetry and philosophy, all confirmed the correctness of the early intuition which, penetrating straight into the heart of Nature, realized that the vitality of the organic world resides in the *Lebenswasser*:

Γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῇ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχοῦσαν, αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι.³

and

¹ Io. Laur. Lyd., de mens. iv 44, 90; Procl., Plat. Kratyl., p. 117; Nonn., Dionys. xli 98 seq.; Him., Ecl. 18, 2; Varr., L. L. v 63.

² Plut., Quaest. Conv. v 10, 4, ii 685 F. Cf. E. B. Tylor: Primitive Culture, c. 8.

³ Plut., Vit. Cr., 17.

Ὀκεανὸν καλῶ, πατέρ' ἀφθιτον, αἰὲν ἰόντα,
ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
ὃς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρματα κύκλῳ.

· · · · ·
ἔλθοις εὐμενῶν μύσταις κεχαρισμένος αἰεί.¹

and

συμφωνεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἰπών

ἦτοι μὲν πρότιστα χάος γένετο.

τοῖς πλείστοις γὰρ ὀνομακέναι δοκεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ τὴν χύσιν.²

and

ἀλλὰ θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι
[τὴν ἀρχήν].³

and

ἡ Πήρα χωρίον πρὸς τῇ Ὑμητῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης· καὶ κρήνη ἐξ ἧς αἱ
πιοῦσαι εὐτοκοῦσι καὶ αἱ ἄγονοι γόνιμοι γίνονται. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς
καλιὰν αὐτὴν φησιν, οἱ δὲ Κυλλοπήραν· τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τῇ
φύσει βιαζομένων ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως.⁴

Significantly we read in the great Babylonian Ištar epic,

"Then went Namtar and broke down the palace eternal,
And shattered the pillars, the foundation stones scattered;
He led forth the spirits, on golden thrones sat them,
With the water-of-life sprinkled Ištar the goddess".⁵

Aphrodite was not the daughter of Mother-Earth,⁶ but owed her birth to the sea,—because of the compelling power of the association of Water and Life.⁷ Later refinements of Greek thought did not affect the original significance of this myth, although, in time, it naturally acquired a more complex connotation of meaning.

We believe, then, that owing to a prepossession of the Greek mind, the motivation which originally led to the choice of Dione

¹ Orph. h. 83.

² Plut., Aquane an ignis sit utilior ii 955 E.

³ Arist., Metaph. i. 3, p. 983 b. (Diels: Poet. Philos. Frag., p. 14).

⁴ Photius: Lex., Κύλλον Πήραν.

⁵ J. A. Craig: O. T. S., vol. viii, 1889, pp. 249-256, "The Babylonian Ištar Epic."

⁶ Cf. Harrison: Prolegomena to Grk. Rel., pp. 309-315. Farnell: Cults, ii 697.

⁷ Cf., e. g., Schol., Eur., Phoen. 347 [Harvard Studies xv, 1904, p. 99, Ballentine]; Hom., Il. ῃ 200, 246, 301 [Plat., Kratyl., 19, 402 b; Plut., De fac. in orbe lunae, 25; Plut., De Is. et Os., 34, ii 364 D.]; Aes., Pr. 140, Dan. fr. (Athen. 600 A.); Verg., G. iv 382; Emped. (Stein) 210-216; see Ohnefalsch-Richter: Kypros, vol. i, p. 263, vol. ii, Pl. 36, 6 et 37, 9.

as mother of Aphrodite was similar to that which had earlier resulted in the poetic fiction of her sea-birth. This belief is strengthened by the testimony of Cornutus¹ who says:

πιθανόν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μὴ δι' ἄλλο τι παραδεδοῖσθαι γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ,² ἢ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ τὰ πάντα γενέσθαι κινήσεως δεῖ καὶ ὑγρασίας, ὅπερ ἀμφότερα θαψιλῇ κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐστὶ. Ἐστοχάσαντο δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Διώνης αὐτὴν θυγατέρα εἰπόντες εἶναι. διερὸν γὰρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐστὶ.

The complete fusion of these two myths, of the Cyprian goddess as sea-born and of Aphrodite as daughter of Dione,—such as,

Σοὶ Διὸς ὑψίστοιο καὶ εὐπλοκάμοιο Διών[υ]α[ς] Κύπρ[ι]

. κυπρογένεια θεά,³

and

ἄμερ᾽ Κυπρογένεια, Διὸς τέκος ἤδὲ θαλάσσης,⁴

also indicates their similar significance. If Dione had any other meaning or provoked any contrary suggestion, the combination would have resulted in an absurdity; if the terms "Dione" or "Dionaeon", in this connection, suggested nothing more at a later date, beyond the Greek affiliation of Aphrodite, then the sea-birth remains the undisputed belief. Carried back, this clearly indicates that at the beginning Dione and the moist element were identical, or at least that Dione implied nothing to the contrary.

Thus, in spite of external, geographical contradictions, that are, perhaps, accentuated,⁴ the two legends of Homer and Hesiod possess a common, vital meaning that makes them both expressions of a deep, racial consciousness. The surmise that Aphrodite's descent from Dione may have called forth other visions or hauntings of other things to Homer and the Homeric world does not exclude the belief that in its *essentials*, this myth is *sprung* from an *ancient* feeling, vividly present, regarding Life and Creation, which lifts the myth out of its purely local connection into an atmosphere of universality. Poetic symbolism (out-

¹ Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum*, c. 24, § 197.

² *Mon. Ant. d. Acc. d. Lincei* vi, 1896, 275.

³ Bion, *Id.* 9 (15), 1; cf., further, *Theocr.* xv 106; *Eur.*, *Hel.* 1098; *Eur.*, *Phaeth.* fr. 781, 15; *Theocr.* xvii 36; *Dionys.*, *Perieg.* 509, and *Procl.*, *Plat. Kratyl.*, p. 116 (*Orpheus*).

⁴ Whibley: *Comp. to Grk. Studies*, p. 314 (Gardner, E. A.), "There are two distinct and inconsistent accounts of her birth."

growth of a common religious inheritance) in all probability here points to an instinctive recognition of a biological truth that only later received scientific formulation, and just as this is true for the representation in Hesiod, of Aphrodite sprung from the sea, so it is equally valid for the other, of Aphrodite, daughter of Dione.

The two legends may thus become an important expression of the Greek *Welt-Anschauung*, and their subtle undercurrent of meaning seems to anticipate the judgment of the first philosopher,¹ of whom it was said, "Thales, the Milesian, declared that the first principle of things is water. . . . For he says that all things come from water and all are resolved into water. The first basis for this conclusion is the fact that the seed of all animals is their first principle and it is moist; thus it is natural to conclude that all things come from water, as their first principle. Secondly, the fact that all plants are nourished by moisture and bear fruit, and unless they get moisture, they wither away. Thirdly, the fact that the very fire of the sun and the stars is fed by the exhalations from the waters and so is the universe itself."

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS.

RESEARCH FELLOW, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

¹ Plut., *De Plac. Philos.* i, c. 3, ii 875 D-E.; Fairbanks: *The First Philosophers of Greece*, p. 5; (cf. Zeller: *A History of Greek Philos.*, [Pre-Socr.] tr., Alleyne, vol. i, p. 217 seq.).

IV.—PROPERTIUS III 24.

Falsa est ista tuae, mulier, fiducia formae,
 olim oculis nimium facta superba meis.
 noster amor tales tribuit tibi, Cynthia, laudes:
 versibus insignem te pudet esse meis.
 5 mixtam te varia laudavi saepe figura,
 ut, quod non esses, esse putaret amor;
 et color est totiens roseo collatus Eoo,
 cum tibi quaesitus candor in ore foret.
 quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,
 10 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari,
 haec ego, non ferro, non igne coactus, et ipsa
 naufragus Aegaea verba fatebor aqua.
 correptus saevo Veneris torrebar abeno;
 vinctus eram versas in mea terga manus.
 15 ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae,
 traiectae Syrtes, ancora iacta mihi est.
 nunc demum vasto fessi resipiscimus aestu,
 vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere mea.
 Mens Bona, si qua dea es, tua me in sacraria dono:
 20 exciderant surdo tot mea vota Iovi.

In this elegy, which, with the twenty-fifth, forms Propertius' final renunciation of that 'grande passion' which had hitherto been the chief inspiration of his verse, the general drift of the thought is sufficiently clear: He no longer sees in Cynthia the beauties which he once saw, and he is heartily ashamed of his praise of her; his blind passion was too strong to be overcome by the remonstrance of his friends, or by magic, or by leechcraft; he was like a victim of sorcery, a prisoner of war, a storm-tossed sailor; but at last his dangerous voyage is safely ended, and his wounds are healed, and he is going to dedicate himself *ex voto* to 'Good Sense', for Jupiter has too often turned a deaf ear upon his prayers.

But the precise meaning of verses nine to twelve, and their relation to the whole, are much disputed, and in offering a new interpretation of this passage it will be well for me to begin by

indicating the difficulties which I find in the explanations of my predecessors.

The text of these four verses given above is that of the good MSS, punctuated as in Dr. Postgate's Corpus edition. Dr. Postgate himself (in his Selections) and Mr. Butler, who likewise retains the reading of the MSS, adopt, substantially, the following interpretation of Hertzberg: "'Iam omnes tuas illecebras (referred to by *quod* in verse 9) quibus nec *patrii amici*,¹ nec veneficarum artes liberare me potuerunt abiiciam. Iam vestris medicinis opus non est. Ipse me servavi. Non *coactus ferro aut igne*, sed *ultro* superiores illas laudes (*haec* in verse 11) *mera verba* fuisse fateor et usque fatebor, vel si ipsi dii, quod iam antea fugienti puellam (i. 17) mihi minitanti sunt, naufragii periculo pristina amoris vota repetituri sint'. Neve tu nunc in eo haereas, quod pronomini numerum poeta variaverit. Nam cum *Quod* recte haberet, singulari numero omne quod praegressum erat argumentum amplectens: *Haec* tamen necessario sequi debebat propter notissimum illud attractionis genus, quo pronomen demonstrativum praedicati sui positioni accommodatur."

In this I find objectionable (1) its obscurity, for while *quod* and *haec* are both taken to refer generally to the *infatuation* described in verses one to eight, *quod* must be understood more particularly of *Cynthia's arts (illecebras)*, and *haec* of *the poet's praises (laudes)* of Cynthia; (2) that verse twelve cannot well be an allusion to i. 17, because (A) in that earlier poem the scene is laid not in the Aegean, but in the Ionian, and there is there no talk of actual shipwreck, and (B) because it is unlikely that Propertius, in his present bitter mood, would suggest, even ironically, that Heaven had once sent a storm to punish his desertion of Cynthia; (3) that in verses 11 sq. we naturally expect the poet to make, as a fit conclusion to verses 9 sq., some such downright boast of self-emancipation as Hertzberg interpolated in the words of his paraphrase 'Ipse me servavi.'

Professor Phillimore, for his Translation, reads *coacta sed* (verse eleven), and punctuates (as in his text) with a colon after *foret*, a period after *mari*, and a colon after *aqua*, rendering 11 sqq. thus: "This confession I will now make: fire and steel could not wring it from me, nothing but veritable shipwreck in the Aegæan main. I was caught, etc." This involves the highly doubtful

¹ Hertzberg's italics.

interpretation of *verba* as object of *fatebor*; separates 9 sq. from 11 sq., though the plain allusions to i. 1 in these four lines indicate that they should be closely connected; and makes Propertius assert that it required a shipwreck to induce him to confess that he had been a victim of the goddess of love, despite the fact that this has been the prevailing theme of his three books of elegies.¹

Before Hertzberg's edition it was the fashion to adopt the conjectural reading (proposed by Livineius and by Passerat) *vera fatebar*. The absurdity of this has been clearly pointed out by Hertzberg: "*Quid enim Propertius verum fassus dicatur? Scilicet eam opinionem, quam nec patrii amici nec Thessala saga ei eripere potuerit, Cynthia laude et amore dignam esse. At fatemur ea quae quamvis celare cupiamus, tamen aut vi coacti aut veritatis studio ducti proloquimur. Atqui Propertius numquam amorem et laudes Cynthiae dissimulavit, nec dissimulare voluit, nec si voluisset ulla res ut laudaret coegisset. Unde quam frigide, quam paene ridicule dictum foret: 'non ferro non igne coactus pulchram eam esse dixi' apparet. A further refutation of this reading—if a further one be needed—is found in the undoubted reminiscence of i. 1, 27 (*ferrum et ignes*) in verse 11. In the earlier poem the iron and the fire are alluded to as means of curing passion, not of forcing one to confess it, and so they must unquestionably be understood here, as well (see Mr. Butler's note).*

Still another line of interpretation was followed by I. H. Voss, who, reading *vera fatebor*, took *quod* as referring to what has gone before, and *haec* to what comes after. Baehrens also read *vera fatebor*, but substituted Guyet's *quae* for *quod* (verse 9), and changed *ipsa* to *ipse* (verse 11) making both distichs look forward to verses 13 sq. Baehrens was perhaps influenced by Hertzberg's criticism of Voss for having failed to see that the allusions to i. 1 in our four verses (viz., *patrii amici*, *Thessala saga*, *non ferro non igne*) belong, naturally, together. A more serious objection, and one which applies to Baehrens' arrangement as well as to that of Voss, is the pompous anti-climax of the

¹ Mr. Phillimore does not notice this conjecture in the revised edition of his text (published after the translation). Whether the punctuation there followed implies that he takes *vera fatebor* as in his translation, I do not feel certain. Mr. Butler uses the same punctuation and interprets after Hertzberg.

sentence, which amounts to this: 'The terrible condition which neither my friends (who realized it, and did their best for me), nor the Thessalian witch (whom I appealed to, myself), nor violent remedies (to which I freely offered to submit) could remove from me I will myself confess *really existed*!' If he said anything like this Propertius was truly an adept in 'the art of sinking.'

There remains to consider the interpretation given by Herr Rothstein, who prints the passage as follows:

quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,
 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari.
 haec ego, non ferro, non igne coactus—et ipsa
 naufragus Aegaea vera fatebar aqua.

Quod and *haec* are to be understood as referring to the poet's desperate condition, described in verses one to eight. In verse eleven "der ursprünglich beabsichtigte Gedanke ist etwa *hunc morbum nunc tandem deposui*, aber Nebengedanken, die sich aufdrängen, verhindern die Fortsetzung in der angefangenen Weise, so dass schliesslich in v. 15 mit *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae* der Schlussgedanke von neuem einsetzen muss, ohne dass auf das *haec ego* noch Rücksicht genommen wird". Verse twelve is to be taken as an allusion to the shipwreck (which Herr Rothstein candidly admits was not a shipwreck) of i. 17; but what is the meaning of *vera*? "Zu *vera fatebar* muss das Objekt aus dem vorhergehenden *haec* entnommen werden, aber der Begriff verschiebt sich ein wenig mit Rücksicht auf das regierende Verbum und auf den Hauptinhalt des Gedichtes, so dass wesentlich die lobenden Äusserungen über Cynthias Schönheit gemeint sind". The net result of all this manipulation of the passage is this: The MSS are departed from in *vera* and *fatebar*, and the thought is even more obscure than in the traditional text, for besides the awkward shift of reference, in passing from *haec* to *vera*, there is now no conceivable reason for the change from the singular *quod* to the plural *haec*. But, whereas Hertzberg was content to draw upon his imagination for the idea '*ipse me servavi*', Herr Rothstein has, at least, attempted to show how it may be derived from the words of his author, and his separation of *haec ego* from *vera fatebar*, is, I think, a step in the right direction.

The four verses ought, I believe, to run thus :

quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici,
 eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari,
haec ego, non ferro, non igne coactus, et ipsa
 naufragus Aegaea—vera fatebor—aqua.

"What the friends of our house were not able to remove from me, nor Thessalian witch to purge away with the vast sea, that I myself have been able to remove, not under compulsion of knife or cautery, ay, even though I was a castaway—I will confess the truth—in the very Aegean main."

The ellipse of the verb with *ego* is not more harsh than that in i. 13, 13 *haec ego non rumore malo, non augure doctus* (sc. *dico*), or that in iv. 11, 79 *et siquid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis* (sc. *dolet*). As, in the latter example, *doliturus* gives the necessary clue to the missing verb, so in our passage do the words *poterant avertere . . . eluere*. The *Aegaea aqua* of verse twelve is metaphorical. It is precisely that body of water which the English poet Tostee¹ calls "the Egean dangerous sea of Love", and it no more refers to the voyage, real or imaginary, which forms the subject of i. 17, than does the phrase *traiectae Syrtes* in verse sixteen. What Propertius means by dedicating himself to 'Good Sense' (verse nineteen) is now clear. His delivery from the bonds of passion has been *his own doing*, and that, too, despite the dire extremity of his plight, which he figures forth under the three separate metaphors of the shipwrecked sailor, the victim of dreadful magic, and the captive warrior—metaphors which are resumed, in the same order, in verses fifteen to eighteen: first the voyage (15 sq. = 11 sq.), then the cauldron (17 = 13), finally the battle (18 = 14).

The comparison of stormy love to stormy seas is a commonplace in classical poetry and requires no illustration, but I may remind the reader that it was a favorite topic with Propertius. Witness (besides 15 sq. of our own elegy) ii. 12, 7 *scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda*; ii. 14, 29 sq. *nunc ad te, mea lux, veniet mea litore navis/servata, an mediis sidat onusta vadis*; ii. 25, 27 *mendaces ludunt flatus in amore secundi*; iii. 17, 2 *da mihi pacato vela secunda, pater*, and (of the greater security in loving a boy) ii. 4, 19 sq. *tranquillo tuta descendis flumine cumba*:

¹ Arber's English Garner, Vol. VIII, p. 276.

/quid tibi tam parvi litoris unda nocet? The particularity of the phrase *Aegaea aqua*, where Sea of Love is meant, is, perhaps, insufficiently paralleled by that of *Syrtes* (verse sixteen) in the sense of Shoals of Love, for *Syrtes* had become almost a common noun. But in Horace Carm. i. 14, *Pontica pinus*, of the Ship of State, and *interfusa nitentes aequora Cyclades*, of the Breakers of Civil Discord, seem clearly to be examples of the same kind of concreteness we have here, in Propertius. "Es ist dies ein von der gelehrten hellenistischen Dichtung überkommenes Stilmittel, das gebildete Leser durch die an derartige geographische oder mythographische Namen sich knüpfenden Ideenreihen zu beschäftigen und zu reizen sucht".¹

Passerat's *vera*, for *verba*, is an easy correction. In i. 8, 22 the same scholar made the same emendation, adopted by several recent editors. In Tib. (Lyg.) iii. 2, 7 *vera* is the correct reading of the good MSS, but *verba* is found 'in libris perpaucis' (Huschke ad loc.). In Calpurn, 6, 25 one MS has *vera*, and the others give *verba*, *verbum*, and *verbo*. The interruption of the sentence by a parenthesis is almost a mannerism in Propertius. Editors vary of course, in estimating the degree of isolation to be indicated in the pointing of this or that phrase. In the Corpus text marks of parenthesis, or dashes, are employed in 23 instances. A striking example is i. 19, 15 sqq., where we have a parenthesis within a parenthesis:

quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi Cynthia, forma
gratior, et (Tellus hoc, ita iusta, sinat)
quamvis te longae remorantur fata senectae,
cara tamen lacrimis ossa futura meis:

Besides *vera* the only point at which I have departed from the MSS is in changing *haec* to *hoc*. The letters *e* and *o* are so often confused that *hoc* may have been carelessly copied *hec*, or the

¹ Kiessling-Heinze,⁶ on Horace, Odes i. 1, 14. Propertius' propensity to individualize his concepts is brought into strong relief when his mode of presenting an idea may be compared with that of Tibullus. Dr. Postgate (Sel. from Tib., p. 73) remarks upon a significant case of the kind, in Tib. i. 1, 75 *hic ego dux milesque bonus*, as contrasted with Prop. ii. 22, 34 *hic ego Pelides, hic ferus Hector ego*. Similarly, in describing Elysium, Tib. says (i. 3, 65 sq.) *illic est cuicumque rapax Mors venit amanti, et gerit insigni myrteaserta coma*, but Prop. (iv. 7, 63 sq.) tells us how Andromedeque et Hypermestre sine fraude maritae/narrant historiae nota pericla suae.

error may have arisen from wrongly expanding an ambiguous abbreviation (Lindsay, *Textual Emendation*, p. 95). Or the scribe may have misunderstood *vera falebore*, and have thought that the pronoun belonged with *vera*.

I hope that these slight innovations, and the assumption of an ellipsis of the verb, may not be regarded as too great a price to pay for the clearness gained in verses nine to twelve, and the added energy and coherence imparted to the whole poem.¹

B. O. FOSTER.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

¹ Maximianus, in the third elegy, relates in a mock-elegiac strain the manner in which he overcame his chaste passion for Aquilina. There are some half-dozen places in this elegy which may be reminiscences of Propertius. Compare Max., verse eleven, *carmina pensa procul nimium dilecta iacebant*, with Prop. i. 3, 41, *nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum* (*carmina* = cards for preparing wool, according to Prof. Ellis: the parallel is cited, after Giardelli, in Mr. Webster's edition of Max.); Max. v. 20 *quaeque solet mentis ducere signa color*, with Prop. i. 18, 17 *an quia parva damus mutato signa colore*; Max. v. 23, *at postquam teneram rupit verecundia frontem*, with Prop. iii. 19, 3 *vos ubi contempti rupistis frena pudoris* (cited by Mr. Webster); Max. v. 25 sq. *mas captare locos et tempora coepimus ambo/atque superciliis luminibusque loqui*, with Prop. iii. 8, 25 *lecta superciliis si quando verba remittis*; Max. v. 41 *sic modo certa fides*, with Prop. iii. 8, 19 *non est certa fides* (cited by Mr. Webster); Max. vv. 53-58 *'dicito et unde novo correptus carperis aestu?/dicito et edicti sume doloris opem./non intellecti nulla est curatio morbi,/et magis inclusis ignibus antra fremunt'/dum pudor est tam foeda loqui vitiumque fateri,/agnovit taciti conscia signa mali*, with Propertius' words to Ponticus i. 9, 33 sq. *quare si pudor est quam primum errata fateri; dicere quo percas saepe in amore levat*.

No single one of these coincidences in thought or phrase is an indubitable case of imitation, but so many of them within so brief a compass, make one wonder if the elegy was not written when Max. was fresh from a reading of Propertius. If this was so, then our passage may have been in his mind when he wrote vv. 85 sqq.: *quae postquam perlata viro sunt omnia tanto,/meque videt fluctus* (substantially the figure Prop. has in *Aegaea aqua*) *exsuperasse meos,/ 'macte' inquit 'invenis proprii dominator amoris* (cf. *haec ego*), *et de contemptu sume trophaea tuo*'. Maximianus is not, of course, parodying this particular poem, but I think there can be no doubt that he is poking fun at the erotic elegy, in general, and the *discidium* of which Prop. is here writing may easily have supplied a hint or two for that described in Max. iii.

V.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

II¹.

1. In the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1906, p. 300, and again in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale*, 1906, p. 334, Sig. Gatti published two triangular fragments of an inscription, then recently discovered just outside of the Aurelian wall between the porta Salaria and the porta Pinciana. His conjectures as to the content of the inscription as a whole and his attempt at interpretation were all that could have been expected under the circumstances, as the following quotation shows: "Questa lapide fu posta da uno *scriba librarius*, probabilmente quaestorio *ex (tribus decuriis)* od anche *ex (collegio sexprimorum)*, il quale ebbe per due volte un' altra dignità, per esempio la *praefectura fabrum* od anche la *cura* del collegio; ed esercitata questa carica, *honore usus*, ossia *honore functus*, fece il monumento sepolcrale per sè, per la propria moglie, e per altre persone della sua famiglia e per alcuni liberti". These fragments, which I saw and copied in June, 1907, were then in the basement of number 15, Corso Pinciano, the temporary quarters of the Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, who own the ground across the street where these and other ancient objects had come to light during excavations preliminary to the erection of a new school building. The missing part of this inscription I am now able to supply from the marble itself which is in the collection of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It seems to have been discovered about the same time as the two fragments above mentioned, and not far from the same place. The slab, which is m. 0,94 in height, m. 1,05 in width at the widest part, and m. 0,08 in thickness, contains the following text, to which is added for the sake of completeness the part already published by Gatti.

¹The first article of this series, "A New Italic Divinity", appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff.

C · ALLIVS · C · L · NIGER · SCRIB · LIBR · EX
 III · DECVR · QVAESTOR · DECVR · II · HONORE · VSVS · SIBI
 ET · HELVIAE · D · L · ASTERIONI · VXORI · QVAE · SECVM · VIXIT
 ANNIS · XXXXII · SVISQVE · OMNIBVS · POSTERISQVE · EORVM
 AVIDIAE · SEX · L · PRIMAE · VXORI · ET · C · ALLIO · C · L · PHILONICO · PATRI
 © PATRONO · ET · ALLIAE · C · L · NYSAE · MATRI · ALLI · NIGRI
 SALVIDIAE · T · L · CHARMOSYNAE · SOCRVI · MATRI · HELVIAE · ASTERIONIS
 C · ALLIO · C · L · HERMOGENI · FRATRI © NATALI · L
 T · SALVIDIO · T · L · GALLO · FRATRI · HELVIAE · ASTERIONIS © PHYLLIDI · L
 CINCLAE · L · L · CALLIOPAE · VXORI · GALLI · BENEMERITAE · AB · SE

NICEPHORO · L
 LEVCENI · L
 AMIANTHO · L
 TYCHENI · L
 HEROINI · L
 AMPHIONI · L
 RVFO · L
 PHILEROTI · L
 HABIL I · L
 PRIMO · L
 THALASSO · L

G(aius) Allius, G(ai) l(ibertus), Niger, scrib(a) libr(arius) ex (tribus) decur(iis) quaestor(ius), decur(ialis bis), honore usus, sibi et Helviae, (mulieris) l(ibertae), Asterioni, uxori quae secum vixit annis (quadraginta duobus) suisque omnibus posterisque eorum; Avidiae, Sex(ti) l(ibertae), Primae, uxori; et G(aio) Allio, G(ai) l(iberto), Philonico, patri, patrono; et Alliae, G(ai) l(ibertae), Nysae, matri Alli Nigri; Salvidiae, T(iti) l(ibertae), Charmosynae, socrui, matri Helviae Asterionis; G(aio) Allio, G(ai) l(iberto), Hermogeni, fratri; T(ito) Salvidio, T(iti) l(iberto), Gallo, fratri Helviae Asterionis; Cinciae, L(uci) l(ibertae), Calliopae, uxori Galli bene meritae ab se; Nicephoro l(iberto), Leuceni l(ibertae), Amiantho l(iberto), Tycheni l(ibertae), Heroini l(ibertae), Amphioni l(iberto), Rufo l(iberto), Phileroti l(iberto), Habili l(iberto), Primo l(iberto), Thalasso l(iberto), Natali l(iberto), Phyllidi l(ibertae).

The inscription belongs to the earliest imperial times, in all probability to the reign of Augustus. It is, however, not cut in the best monumental style, but shows here and there the influence of the *scriptura vulgaris*; for example, in the tendency of the horizontal stroke of T to curve upwards from left to right. In-

stances of the long form of I occur in line 3 *VLXIT*, and in line 4 *ANNIS, SVIS, POSTERIS*; and of the apex in line 5 *AVIDIA* and in line 10 *AB · SE* (cf. C. I. L. X, 996 *AB · POPVLO*).

None of the persons mentioned here appears in the sixth volume of the Corpus,¹ but the gentile names are all common with the exception of *Salvidia*, which is comparatively rare. A *Salvidia T. f. Secunda* is found at Furfo (C. I. L. IX, 3518) and it is barely possible that her father was the *patronus* of the *Salvidia* and of the *T. Salvidius* of our inscription. The common occurrence of the *gentes Allia, Helvia, Avidia* in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Corpus suggests the possibility of this family having originally come from the south. In fact, the *Allii* are pretty well scattered over central Italy, six persons of that name being found in Capua alone.² One of these, moreover, is an *Allia Nysa*,³ though scarcely to be identified with the mother of *C. Allius Niger*. Among the names at the end, perhaps the most striking is *Leuce*, which occurs also in C. I. L. II, 4292; V, 814; IX, 2389. In inflection it is like *Tycheni* from *Tyche*, showing the vulgar treatment by which Greek nouns in -η of the first declension became -æ stems in Latin.⁴ These names of freedmen and freedwomen are not all of the same date and by the same hand as the body of the inscription: certainly the last two names belong to a later period.

The order of the words which compose the official title is also worthy of remark. Instead of the regular *scriba librarius quaestorius trium decuriarum*, we have here *scriba librarius ex tribus decuriis quaestorius*, an arrangement for which there seems to be no exact parallel in inscriptions of this class, though *scriba librarius trium decuriarum quaestorius* occurs in C. I. L. XIII, 1815. The reason for the change, however, is quite clear to one who examines the stone itself. The graver, having cut the name and the first two words of the title, found not only that there was too little room left for the word *quaestorius*, but that the space remaining was insuffi-

¹ Professor Huelsen kindly gave me this information by letter after consulting his manuscript indices to the *inscriptiones urbanae*. Later, when visiting Baltimore, he read this paper in the proof and made valuable suggestions.

² C. I. L. X, 3785, 3943, 4002, 4003, 4246 (bis).

³ C. I. L. X, 4246.

⁴ Lists of such formations are given by Pirson, *Langue des inscriptions Latines de la Gaule*, p. 143, and Carnoy, *Latin d'Espagne*, etc., p. 236.

cient even for the initial Q, if cut on the same scale as the other letters of the line and with the fully rounded form, to say nothing of the long tail, extending beneath the two following letters, which marks this character wherever it occurs in the following lines. He therefore decided to postpone *quaestorius* and to put the preposition *ex* in the narrow space available. This he succeeded in doing only by cramping and narrowing the word as much as possible: the contrast in width between these letters, especially the X, as they appear here and as they appear elsewhere on the stone, is very marked.

In most inscriptions of this class where the three decuries have been mentioned, the word *decurialis* is omitted as unnecessary; but in some cases it does appear even with all the other elements found in the present instance. For example, see C. I. L. II, 3596 DECVRIALIS · SCRIBAE · LIBRARIĪ | QVAESTORIĪ · TRIVM · DECVRARIARVM, and compare Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 2318, s. v. *decurialis*. The presence of the numeral with *decurialis* may have had something to do with its location at the end of the title.

In the Fasti of the *scribae quaestorii sexprimi* (C. I. L. I,² p. 74) we see that one of the *curatores* or *sexprimi* in the year 766 of Rome had the cognomen Niger, the preceding part of the name being lost. That this Niger and our C. Allius Niger are one and the same individual is, of course, perfectly possible. If so, we must assume that in the year 13 A. D., after the erection of our inscription, he was again a member of the three decuries of the *scribae*, this time as a *curator*. Against such a hypothesis only one objection can be urged, namely, that Niger is commonly found as a cognomen; and perhaps it is easier to believe that two men with the same cognomen served as *scribae quaestorii* in the latter part of the reign of Augustus than to make the assumptions necessary for a complete identification. At all events, it is an interesting coincidence, if nothing more.

2. An honorary inscription to the actor M. Ulpus Apolaustus, freedman of the emperor Trajan, was published in C. I. L. VI, 10114. The stone, a large pedestal which must have supported a statue of the famous actor, was seen by De Smedt and other epigraphists of the sixteenth century in the neighborhood of the Pantheon (in domo Maphaeorum ad thermas Agrippae. SMET.), but has been lost for about three hundred years. It would be interesting if we could follow in detail the history of this great

block of white marble from ancient times until now. We know only that by the end of the sixteenth century the block was so hollowed out that the outside shell with its rectangular opening could be used as a well-head.¹ Then at a later time the side bearing the inscription was sawn off, the raised moulding or cornice was roughly chipped away, and the upper and lower corners at the right were cut so as to leave a projecting point instead of the perpendicular side. It is probable that the pedestal was sawn up for paving stones, that the moulding around the inscription was removed because it made the slab too thick at the edges for the place which it was designed to occupy, and that the two corners were cut in fitting the piece into an angle of a room or pavement. When and how the stone bearing the inscription was transported from the Campus Martius across the Tiber, it is, of course, impossible to determine; at all events, workmen preparing to lay water-pipes near the Piazza di S. Marta behind St. Peter's in the autumn of 1906 found it face downwards at a depth of about two metres.² Unfortunately it was broken into seventeen pieces by the blow of a pickaxe, but has now been put together at the Johns Hopkins University. The perfect correspondence of the reading on the stone with the edition in the Corpus gives further testimony, if any were needed, to the accuracy and reliability of De Smedt.³ To show how much of the inscription is preserved, I print here the text together with the supplements furnished by the sixteenth century copy :

¹ Boissard (MS) cited in C. I. L., l. c.

² I cannot personally vouch for the accuracy of this information which was furnished by a Roman dealer in antiquities.

³ It was suggested to me by Professor Huelsen that this inscription is, perhaps, not the same as that copied by De Smedt. An actor of such renown may have had more than one statue erected in his honor. But I think he was misled, as I was, by the word *rotunda*, which is applied to this base by the author of the *Emendationes ad Mazochium*. If it had been a round pedestal of any reasonable size, it could scarcely have had an inscription extending over a plane surface fully a metre in width. But the drawing of Boissard (V, 6), published in the year 1600, shows a large square pedestal with the usual moulding at top and bottom and the inscription, as usual, on the front. The interior, too, is hollowed out with a square opening at the top. For a base of the sort given in this engraving the size of our inscription is just about what we should expect.

M · VLPIVS · AVG · LIB · APOlaustus
 MAXIMVS · PANTOMIMorum
 CORONATVS · ADVERSVS · HISTriones
 ET · OMNES · SCAENicos
 ARTIFICES · xii

The slab is four centimetres in thickness, sixty-six centimetres in height and eighty-seven centimetres in width at the widest part, and the cutting is in the best monumental style of the time of Trajan.

3. Far less accurate in its published text is an inscription edited by Huelsen from the so-called Alciatus of Fea, which offered a poor copy without indication of the division into lines. For the sake of comparison I print first the text as it appears in C. I. L. VI, 35285 a:

D · M
 T · FLAVI IANVARI
 MVSIS · V · A · III · D · XXX
 T · F · IANVARIVS
 5 ET · ACILiA · NICE
 PARENTES · PIENTISSIMI
 SIBI · POSTERISQ · SVORVM
 FECERVNT

Quite naturally the editor did not understand the word MVSIS at the beginning of the third line; hence his note: MVSIS perperam descriptum vel interpolatum. In the fifth line, too, he corrected ACILLA of his copy to ACILIA. I am now able, however, to give the correct reading from the stone itself, which turned up in Rome in 1906 and is at present in the Johns Hopkins University. The tablet, which is six centimetres in thickness, forty-four centimetres in height and forty-eight centimetres in width, has lost a small fragment from the lower corner on the right, but fortunately without injury to the text. It reads as follows:

D · M ·
 T · FLÁVI · IÁNVARI
 · MVRIS ·
 V · A · IIII · D · XIX ·
 T · F · IÁNVÁRIVS · ET ACÍLIA · NICE
 PARENTÉS · PIENTISSIMI ·
 SIBI POSTERISQVE SVOR ·
 FECERVNT ·

The inscription is not in the best monumental style but is fairly well cut and probably belongs to the first half of the second century. It shows seven examples of the apex over long vowels, one of them being over the vowel I (ACÍLIA). This use of the apex, however, instead of the more usual *I-longa* is not rare in the second and third centuries.¹ The points after the D and M of the first line and before MVRIS of the third line have the form of ivy leaves. But the most interesting feature is the appearance of the name *Mus*, which is of such rare occurrence, if we leave out of consideration the three famous *Mures* of the plebeian *gens Decia*. Occasionally it is found alone, as a pet name apparently (C. I. L. VI, 22734 and 35887), or as the cognomen of a freed-woman (ib. VI, 14496 Cassia O. I. Mus; XII, 4680 Caninia P. I. Mus). In the case of C. I. L. VI, 16771 a, P. Decumius M. P. V. I. | Philomusus | Mus, Henzen's comment is "agnomen ita ortum esse patet, ut, cum nimis longum esset nomen Philomusi, per compendium ille *Mus* a popularibus appellaretur". It seems probable that, in the present instance also, *Mus* was nothing more than a nickname for T. Flavius Ianuarius.²

4. In Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 495, Huelsen, speaking of the route traversed by the triumphal procession, says: In der Kaiserzeit war vermuthlich ein Theil des Weges (zwischen Porta Triumphalis und Circus oder zwischen Circus und Porta Carmentalis?) von einer Halle begleitet, welche den Namen Porticus triumphi führte. This statement is based on two inscriptions, namely, C. I. L. VI, 29776 [p]orticus triumphi itu et reditu octies semis efficit passus (mille), found

¹ Christiansen, *De apicibus*, etc., pp. 14 ff.

² The name of a T. Flavius Ianuarius, possibly the grandfather or the father of this T. Flavius Ianuarius Mus, is found on stamped bricks of the end of the first century. Cf. C. I. L. XV, 1153 and Bull. Com. 1901, p. 96.

near the porta Metrovia, and the following, which was discovered in 1887 at Baiae and is now at the Johns Hopkins University :

PORTICVS · TRI^{umphi}
 LONG · EFFIC · PED(es) ^{dlvi}
 ITVM · ET · RED ^{Ped(es) ccxii}
 PASS · CCXXII ^{semis}
 QVINQVIES · ITum et red.
 EFFICIT · PASSus
 ccxii

The letters of this inscription are well formed and deeply cut and belong without doubt to the first century of our era. At the time of discovery only eight fragments came to light and three of these have since disappeared, carrying with them the whole of the last line and the first two letters of *passus* in the line preceding. It is unnecessary for me to discuss the topographical questions involved further than to repeat the view of De Rossi and Huelsen that these two inscriptions, both of them in all probability from Roman villas, together with C. I. L. XIV, 3695 *a* from the villa of Hadrian near Tivoli, which is plausibly restored to the same class, imply a Porticus Triumphalis between the Porta Triumphalis and the Circus Maximus as the prototype of all other *porticus triumphalis*. For the first publication of this important inscription and its restoration as well as the subsequent discussion, see G. de Petra, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, p. 242; De Rossi, *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1887, p. 314 and *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 709; De Rossi and Gatti, *Bull. Com.*, 1889, p. 355; Huelsen, *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 268 and Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 495, n. 66; M. Ihm, *Ephem. Epigr.*, VIII, p. 100, n. 374.

5. An interesting inscription from the neighborhood of Cumae was published by M. Ihm in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII, 1899, p. 116, as follows:

445 cippus marmoreus rep. in agro Cumano.

C · OVIO · SP · F · S · OL · L · EMNI · q · VIXIT ·
 ANN · XIII · M · I · III · D · X · TI · CLAVDIVS
 SEVERVS · PR · I · D · PATER · TI · CLAVDI
 VS · HONORATVS · II · VIR PATRV
 5 VS · OVIA · TYCHE · MATER · ET SVIS
 H · M · S · S · H · N · S ·

Criscius dedit Mommseno descriptum ab alio.

1 traditur D pro Q. — 4 traditur II · ONORATVS.

As the stone itself is now in the collection of the Johns Hopkins University, I am able to correct this imperfect copy in several important particulars. The text is cut in the finest monumental style of the earlier half of the first century on a large slab of white marble (m. 0.08 X 0.75 X 1.29), now in two pieces, with the usual moulding or cornice and runs as follows:

C · OVIO · SP · F · SOLLEMNI · D	m. 0.07
VIXIT · ANN · XIII · M · IIII · D · X	0.05
TI · CLAVDIVS · SEVERVS · PR · I · D · PATER	0.05
TI · CLAVDIVS · HONORATVS	0.05
II VIR · PATRVVS	0.05
OVIA · TYCHE · MATER	0.05
ET SVIS	0.045
H M S S H N S	0.04

G(aio) Ovio, Sp(uri) f(ilio), Sollemni, d(efuncto), | vixit ann(is) tredecim), m(ensibus quattuor), d(iebus decem), | Ti(berius) Claudius Severus, pr(aefectus) i(ure) d(icundo). pater, | Ti(berius) Claudius Honoratus, | (duo)vir, patruus, | Ovia Tyche, mater, | et suis. | H(oc) m(onumentum) s(ive) s(epulcrum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).

The unusually large initial C in the first line, the two instances of the long I, and the two examples of T rising above the other letters to save space in the most crowded line are indicated in the printed text. It is hardly possible, however, to show so clearly the fact that the last two lines are cut in a far inferior and less regular style and were doubtless added later by another graver. The abbreviation D at the end of the first line, which Ihm (l. c.) wished to emend to Q, must, of course, be kept in an inscription so carefully cut as this and must be interpreted as *defuncto*. Though fairly common in expressions which denote age at death, *defunctus* naturally does not occur often in connection with *vixit*. Yet we may cite C. I. L. VIII, 2755 D M S | P · AELIO · P · F | CRESCENTIANO | · · · · | DEFVNCTO VIXIT | ANNIS VIGINTI DVO | etc. and ib. XIII, 2024 POTITIO | ROMVLO | DEFVNCTO, in which a later hand inserted before *defuncto* the clause *q. vi(xit) ann(is) xx, m(ensibus) v.* Worthy of remark also is the fact that a *praefectus iure dicundo* is first attested for Cumae in this inscription and that

this, the second witness to the existence of Cumaean *duoviri* practically removes the doubt expressed by Mommsen on C. I. L. X, 3704 "Duumviratus offendit, cum praeterea Cumani magistratus praetores audiant". Though *praetor* may have become the regular official title, it is easy to understand how in cases where two magistrates were concerned, the popular use of *duovir*, either with or without the more formal title, could and did continue. For example, at Abellinum, at Grumentum, and at Telesia, we find *praetor duovir* (C. I. L. X, pp. 1139 and 1145; ib. IX, p. 205), and at Aquae Sextiae, *duovir praetor* (ib. XII, 4409). Referring to Narbo, where *praetor duovir* occurs in four inscriptions, Mommsen says (ib. XII, p. 522) "Magistratus ad-sunt duoviri , in titulis antiquioribus etiam praetores duoviri dicti." On the other hand, at Beneventum *duovir* seems to have been the earlier title: compare Hirschfeld in C. I. L. IX, p. 137 "crediderim saeculo secundo labente summi magistratus vocabulum ita Beneventi immutatum esse, ut duoviri fierent praetores Ceriales." That which happened elsewhere could take place in Cumae also and while the best, and almost the only evidence of the praetorship (C. I. L. X, 3698) belongs to the year 289 A. D., our inscription shows that the less formal and less pretentious title was in use there before the middle of the first century.

6. Now that attention has been directed to Cumae, I give the text of another inscription of the Johns Hopkins collection, which is said to have come to light in the same region in the spring of 1907 and has, I believe, never before been published. It is cut on a small tablet of white marble (m. 0.355 X 0.435), the whole surface of which is so corroded that the letters are almost illegible. Yet it is possible with certainty to decipher the text, which runs as follows:

D M
L VINVLLI o
HERACLAE
AVGVSTALI
CVMIS
HEREDES

At the beginning of the second line, only the perpendicular hasta of L is visible, and at the end of the same line the stone is so much worn that nothing can be read. The *gens Vinullia* first

appears here in connection with Cumae, though previously attested for Pompeii and Herculaneum (C. I. L. X, 1051 and 1403). That L. Vinullius Heracla was a freedman, is suggested not only by his cognomen but by the office which he held at Cumae. Other Augustales Cumis are mentioned in C. I. L. X, 690, 3676, 3701.

I take this opportunity to add a note on C. I. L. XIV, 2365 POMPONIAE · L · F | PHILAE, an inscription which Dessau for some reason did not see, but edited correctly from conflicting copies made by Jucundus and Marini. It is engraved in fine letters on a round altar of white marble (m. 0, 63 in height and m. 1, 44 in circumference), which now stands in the gardens of the Villa Chigi at L'Ariccia.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

VI.—EFFECT OF SIGMATISM AS SHOWN IN HOMER.

In the quarrel scene in Iliad A, 179 f. occur these words :

*οἰκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισιν
Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε· σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄλεγίζω—*

Professor Sterrett in his recent Edition of Selected Books of The Iliad makes the note "The hissing of the sigmas contributes to show the speaker's passionate excitement". This is doubtless directly connected with the note in Ameis-Hentze, "Das gehäufte σ in 179 und 180 gibt der leidenschaftlichen Rede einen scharfen Ton". These two comments are but typical of a whole series running back to Eustathius and from him to Dion. Hal., De Comp. Verb. 100. Some of these I gave in a former article (Vol. XIX 69 ff.). I shall repeat the note from Dionysius, as it is the centre of the problem :

Ἀχαρι δὲ καὶ Ἀηδῆς τὸ σ, καί, εἰ πλεονάσειε, σφρόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγον μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός.

The opinion current from Dionysius to the present is that sigma is especially the letter of rudeness or passionate anger, and that its repetition gives a disagreeable harshness to the tone. The notes I have quoted are simply applications or illustrations of a well-accepted theory. In the passage quoted from A there are seven sigmas in one verse and five in the other, or twelve in both. There are in Homer about three hundred examples of sigmatism as marked as this, so that in so great a number there might be found a few accompanying expressions of anger, joy, or sorrow and no safe conclusion could be drawn, but if practically all the examples belong to one class of emotions, then the conclusion is inevitable that the tone of sigmatism harmonizes with that class.

If there be any real sigmatic tone, the more sigmas any verse has the more distinct should be that tone, so that in verses with eight, nine, or ten sigmas the effect of sigmatism should be more clear than in a verse with but seven, as in A, 179.

There are in Homer about seventy verses with eight or more sigmas, so that it is safe to draw a conclusion of the effect of sigmatism from these seventy verses, if any conclusion can be drawn.

The Odyssey will be discussed in detail and the results thus obtained will be applied to the Iliad. I follow the text of Dindorf-Hentze. The Odyssey has thirty-five verses with eight or more sigmas each, and I wish to set these examples over against the theory of 'harsh, passionate, and disagreeable sigma'. They are as follows. The first example describes the lading of the ship for Telemachus:

β, 415: κάθισαν, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν Ὀδυσσεύος φίλος υἱός.
 γ, 26: αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις.

These are the encouraging words with which Athena tries to give spirit to Telemachus so that he may speak to Nestor. The next is from the speech he made to Nestor.

γ, 97: ἀλλ' εὖ μοι κατάλεξον, ὅπως ἤντησας ὀκωπῆς.
 λίσσομαι, εἰ ποτέ τοί τε πατήρ ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδυσσεύς
 δ, 48: ἐς ῥ' ἄσαμίνθους βάντες ἐνέεστας λούσαντο. Found also ρ, 87.
 δ, 241: ὅσοι Ὀδυσσεύος ταλασίφρονός εἰσιν ἀεθλοὶ.
 501: πέτρῃσιν μεγάλῃσι καὶ ἐξεσάωσε θαλάσσης.
 582: στήσα νέας καὶ ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.
 844-5: ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλ' πετρήεσσα,
 μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης.

These two verses have more sigmas than any other two consecutive verses in Homer, having sixteen, while in A, 179-80 there are but twelve. Nothing could be milder than this calm description of the islet Asteris.

ε, 269: γηθόννος δ' οὐρῷ πέτασ' ἰστία διος Ὀδυσσεύς.

ζ, 149: These are the introductory words in the speech Odysseus made to Nausicaa. Odysseus appeared before her naked and miserable, so undone by his exposures in the sea that his looks were repulsive (*σμερδαλίος*). His whole fate depended on his making the best possible impression with the means he had, but all he had was his language, so he risked his all on that. A coarse, harsh, or disagreeable beginning and all was lost. His speech was most alluring:

μειλίχιον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῖθον.
 γοννοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεὸς γὰρ τις, ἢ βροτὸς ἔσσι;
 εἰ μὲν τις θεὸς ἔσσι,

Here in this introduction in twenty consecutive syllables twelve sigmas were used. Then later in the same speech, when most artful and flattering he said:

σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν, ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινῆς.

Yet these sigmas were not "harsh and repulsive" but on the

contrary so winning and gentle was his speech that Nausicaa at once replied,

ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐτε κακῶ οὐτ' ἀφρονι φωνῇ τοίκα.

If in Homer there were an atom of truth in the oftquoted statement of Dionysius that "sigma is harsh and disagreeable and if repeated sorely displeases", Odysseus would never have come before Nausicaa with such a flood of sigmas, and if he had so come she would certainly have been alarmed and followed her maidens in flight.

The next passage with a verse containing eight sigmas is from the scene where Echeneus advises Alcinous to care for the prostrate suppliant, Odysseus.

η, 163: *εἴσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον—*

ι, 300: *ἄσσον ἰών, ξίφος δὲ ξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος—*

ι, 324: *τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράσθαι.*

This is part of the famous description of the staff of the Cyclops. The verse which follows has more sigmas than any other verse in the Odyssey. The companions of Odysseus wonder:

κ, 45: *ὅσος τις χρυσός τε καὶ ἀργυρὸς ἀσπὶ ἐνεστιν.*

268: *ἄξεις σὼν ἐτάρων. ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοίοδεσι θάσσον—*

From the entreaty of Eurylochus to flee from Circe's island:

κ, 329-30: *σοὶ δέ τις ἐν στήθεσσι ἀκήλητος νόος ἐστίν.*

ἢ σὺ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος,

κ, 506: *ἰσθὲν δὲ στήσας ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πετάσσας.*

528: *εἰς ἔρεβος στρέψας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι—*

The last four verses spoken by Circe to Odysseus:

λ, 431: *ἀσπάσιος παίδεσσιν ἰδὲ δμῶεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν—*

ν, 213: *Ζεὺς σφας τίσαιτο ἱκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους—*

349-50: *τοῦτο δέ τοι σπέος ἐστὶ κατηρεφές, ἐνθα σὺ πολλὰς*

ἐρδεσκες νύμφῃσι τελέσσας ἑκατόμβας·

These words are from the description of his own Ithaca, which Athena gave to Odysseus. The next describes the dogs of the Swineherd:

ξ, 22: *τέσσαρες, οὓς ἐθρεψε συβώτης, δοχᾶμος ἀνδρῶν.*

ο, 111-12: *Τηλέμαχ', ἦ τοι νόστον, ὅπως φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινῆς,*

ὥς τοι Ζεὺς τελέσειεν, ἐρίγδοντος πόσις Ἥρης·

These verses begin the farewell greetings of Menelaus to Telemachus. This king was always a perfect gentleman, polite and kindly. At the very spot where he was most courteous he used the most sigmas.

In the next verse Telemachus plans with Eumaeus for the comfort of Odysseus.

- π, 82: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, σὺ κόμισσον ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσιν ἐρύξας·
 ρ, 449: ὥς τις θαρσαλέος καὶ ἀναιδής ἐσσι προΐκτης.
 υ, 92: τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης ὅπα σύνθετο διος Ὀδυσσεύς.
 φ, 137, 164: κλίνας κολλητῆσιν ἐυξέστης σανίδεσσιν
 225: ὥς δ' αὐτως Ὀδυσσεύς κεφαλὰς καὶ χεῖρας ἐκυσσεν.
 409: ὥς ἄρ' ὅτερ σπουδῆς τάνυσεν μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύς.
 χ, 74: φάσγανά τε σπάσσασθε καὶ ἀντίσχεσθε τραπέζας—

Eurymachus tries with these words to encourage the suitors to resist Odysseus. They are spoken not in anger, but to cheer, and the speech begins with *ὦ φίλοι*.

- ω, 30: ὥς ὅφελος τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος, ἧς περ ἀνασσεις.

From the address made by the shade of Achilles to the shade of Agamemnon. There are no other verses with eight or more sigmas in the *Odyssey*. Among so many examples there is not one case of passionate anger, but, with only three exceptions, all belong to calm description, or are spoken in tones of tenderness, politeness, or sadness. Not only is sigma associated with calmness, but whenever in the *Odyssey* a phrase is used implying the anger of the speaker, as for example *ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη*, the verse immediately following is practically asigmatic. This example will illustrate: When the utterly unworthy and immoral Melantho insults Odysseus, he replies:

- σ, 337: τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·
 ἢ τόχα Τηλεμάχῳ ἐρέω, κύον, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

Only one sigma in this harsh and angry verse. Other verses illustrating this same rule are: θ, 166; ρ, 460; σ, 15, 389; τ, 71; χ, 35, 61, 321. These verses do not average two sigmas each. The conclusion to be drawn from calm verses abounding with sigmas and from angry verses without them is irresistible. The results obtained from a study of the *Odyssey* agree with those to be gained from the *Iliad*. The first marked example of sigmatism is A, 83, where the priest turning in confidence says to Achilles:

ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔοισι. σὺ δὲ φράσαι, εἰ με σώσεις.

Here are nine sigmas, yet editors pass it over in silence to comment on the angry tone of repeated sigmas in a verse containing but seven, A, 179. The last pronounced case of sigmatism in the

Iliad is where Helen takes up the strain in the dirge chanted for Hector :

Ω, 771-2: ἄλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρσκες
σὴ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ καὶ σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέσσιιν.

The four cases of the extreme of Homeric sigmatism, description of the island Asteris, Odysseus' address to Nausicaa, Menelaus' farewell to Telemachus, and this lament of Helen over Hector, seem to me to give the exact tone of sigmatism in Homer. Sigma is so closely joined with the idea of calmness or gentleness that nearly all words of insult, anger, or reproach are asigmatic. Some of them are as follows :

κύν, κακαί, ἀμήχανε, νήπιοι, μαινόμενε, πόποι, πέπον, ὀλοώτατε, δαιμόνιε, μάντι κακῶν, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων, κερδαλεόφρον, ἀκριτόμυθε, ἡπεροπεντά, ἰόμωροι, βροτολοιγέ, μαιφόνε, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, λωβητήρ, παρθενοπίπα, ἃ δειλ', βουγάιε, αἰνότατε, νηπίτιε, κυνάμνεια.

This list is not complete, but it is certainly significant that so large a number of the words expressing passionate emotion are asigmatic. Not only do individual words of extreme anger rarely have sigma, but even whole verses expressing the most violent passion are asigmatic. I select the following six verses as denoting the highest pitch of passionate emotion.

Α, 149: Achilles' reply to the threat of Agamemnon to despoil him of his prize :

ὦ μοι, ἀναιδείην ἐκτειμένε, κερδαλεόφρον.

Ζ, 326: Hector returns to the city to urge the matrons to offer gifts to Athena, and finds Paris with Helen to whom he speaks with cutting words—*αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσιν*—as follows :

δαιμόνι', οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἐνθεο θυμῷ.

Λ, 385: Diomedes has been shot by an arrow to his great chagrin, and shouts in anger to the archer who wounded him :

τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπίπα,

Acamas, striving to rescue his slain brother, shouts :

Ξ, 479: Ἄργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι.

Χ, 345: If one single verse were to be selected, as the most passionate in Homer, it would certainly be this verse in which Achilles denies the request of Hector to save his body from the dogs and return it to his kinsmen :

μή με, κύον, γούνων γοννάζω μηδὲ τοκήων.

X, 365: When the dying Hector foretells to Achilles his impending doom he answers:

τέθναθι· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι, ὅππότε κεν δῆ—

To these may be added these three verses from A:

- 106: *μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυνον εἶπας.*
 122: *Ἄτρεϊδῃ κύνεισθε, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων,*
 146: *ἦλ' σὺ, Πηλεΐδῃ, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν.*

And also

- Ω, 262: *ἀρνῶν ἤδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες.*

The whole subject of sigmatism has simply been allowed to go by default, and no one has taken the trouble to trace its origin and verify its application. In the former paper it was shown that Euripides was not especially prone to use sigmas, and that his reputation depends on a joke of two poets, Plato and Eubulus. The same jokes or joke is responsible for the theory of "passionate hissing sigma", as this theory depends on the fact that by chance the joke was directed against Medea 476:

ἰσασά σ' ὥς ἰσασιν Ἑλλήνων δοσι κτλ.

Suppose, by chance, the joke had been directed against the grateful prayer of Orestes in Eumenides 754:

ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,

or at Soph., O. R. 1481, where the blind Oedipus says to his daughters:

ὥς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τάσδε τὰς ἐμὰς χέρας,

or at 1507 of the same play, where Oedipus pleads with Creon:

μηδ' ἐξισώσης τάσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς,

or at a hundred similar sigmatic passages, then commentators would call attention to the calm and tender tone conveyed by repeated sigmas.

Here it is surely once more evident how dangerous it is to build a theory on the unsupported jokes of Comedy.

JOHN A. SCOTT.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Mysterium und Mimus im Rig-Veda, von LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER, Professor an der K. K. Universität zu Wien, Wirklichem Mitglied der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig, 1908.

The Rig-Veda consists in the main of a succession of hymns of praise, addressed to a large variety of polytheistic gods. These gods are worshipped with libations and songs, in exchange for which they are expected to bestow their favors in the very tangible form of wealth, sons, and general prosperity. Marked ritual practices, traditional names of bards, and a body of priests, classified according to their functions at the sacrifice, are evidences of advanced formalism. This does not leave much play to literary production of any other kind than the monotonously psalmodic. But the collection is large: there is in it—mostly between the lines—something of the real life of the time; some historic brief mention; some legendary allusions that might, given the occasion and the master, become epic or dramatic themes; and a good deal of the more popular beliefs, superstitions, practices, festivals, and other homely interests.

Aside from a number of hymns, mostly in the tenth book, that deal with popular practices, the most conspicuous exception to what I have called the psalmodic hymns of the Rig-Veda is furnished by a dozen or more dialog hymns, occasionally even monolog hymns. The persons speaking and the subject-matter of these dialogs, broadly considered, are religious. The speakers are, as a rule, gods, deified objects, or semi-divine heroes and priests. On the other hand, the subject-matter of these dialogs is legendary and narrative, rather than hymnal or psalmodic. That is to say, the stuff is such as lends itself equally well to epic or dramatic treatment. As a matter of fact the beautiful Undine-like theme of king Pururavas and the nymph Urvaci emerges in Sanskrit literature in both forms, epic narrative and drama. The material is invitingly plastic; later India, fond both of story and of drama, cannot tell us much of the original purpose of these dialogs.

If my memory serves me, as late as the eighties of the last century these dialogs were considered to require no particular explanation. The Rig-Veda, tho in the main religious, was thought to contain purely literary, *belles-lettres* compositions, as well as hymns to the gods, or ritualistic stanzas of one sort or

another. No one is surprised at the epistolary novel with its trick of expunging the author of the story, and letting the hero and heroine tell their tale to one another. The story gains—or loses, according to the taste of the reader—by an additional element of what may be called surchargedness. It is more effusive, more flamboyant, more emotional, and, of course, also more dramatic. There is even the monolog novel in which the tale is confided to a patient diary, or to some straw friend of the male or female sex. The author thinks to secure still greater emotional effect. In this way it seems to me that the Rig-Veda dialogs passed in those earlier days for narratives whose outer form required no particular explanation. At the same time, with inherent contrariness, they suggested something dramatic too; I doubt whether the classical Sanskrit drama was ever treated in any intelligent book or article dealing with Sanskrit Literature without some allusion to these early Vedic dialogs.

This was the situation when Professor Oldenberg stepped in with his *ākhyāna* theory. *ākhyāna* means 'story', 'epic story'. In two articles, in the xxxvii. and xxxix. volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Professor Oldenberg reconstructed even for the early Vedic period the following narrative or epic type: There is a story in what we might call a floating state. This story has certain climaxes which were at an early time fixed in poetic stanzas. The narrator of the story might tell the body of it in a manner suited to his own taste and memory. But if he were a good Oriental story-teller he would at the proper point of the narrative bring in the verses; they are the particular delicacy, the pièce-de-résistance of the entire entertainment. And the theory goes on to assume that such verses might be fixed and recorded in set literary form without the prose frame, so as to be more or less abrupt or even unintelligible, unless the prose narration could be supplied from some collateral source of information.

Professor Oldenberg, gifted literary historian, sanest of scholars, did not construct this theory lightly. This type does exist: in the story of Çunaḥcepa, of which we have both the prose and the verses; in the apocryphal 'Tale of the Eagle' (*Suparṇākhyāna*), and in all sorts of later apologs. The *Suparṇākhyāna* and Jātaka 253 do in fact preserve verses of stories which taken by themselves make no connected sense and require prose framing in order to be understood. The Jātaka is explained by a speech of Buddha in the Vinaya Piṭaka. The question is not so much whether the *ākhyāna* type of literature existed at some early Indian period, but whether it applies to the dialog hymns of the Rig-Veda; whether they also are poetic stanzas put into the mouths of personages that figured in a prose-frame narrative. Professor Sylvain Lévi¹ and,

¹ Le Théâtre Indien, pp. 301 ff., 307 ff., 333.

very lately, Dr. Johannes Hertel¹ entered vigorous protest against this theory, and insisted upon the purely dramatic character of the dialogs. And now Professor Leopold von Schroeder's brilliant and profound book, '*Mysterium and Mimus im Rig-Veda*', not only reasserts their dramatic character, but essays to show that they were religious, dramatic mysteries, performed by actors on various ritual and festival occasions, part and parcel of the religious beliefs and practices of the real people of the earliest Hindu time. This agrees best with their very varied and peculiar contents: the underlying religious substance of many of these dialogs is overlaid with facetious, erotic, orgiastic, or phallic elements. As with other Indo-European peoples, and for that matter peoples the world over, these elements sought and found expression in dramatic representations with distribution of rôles among different speakers. These representations were accompanied by dances, and, presumably, also by some kind of dress-up. We should expect that the great Vedic ritual, handed down to us with strenuous detail in *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka-Sūtra*, would report all this, but the superior character of this ritual precludes such reports. The *Āraṇyaka* ritual is hieratic, represents the religious activity of a high class of priests in behalf of the gentry. Here, in general, is not the place for the uncanny and unsavory. The popular drama, with its orgiastic elements, is treated with silent contempt in a ritual that, in spite of its own obvious shortcomings, is after all based upon adoration of the luminous pantheon of the *Rig-Veda*. Its priest-craft, even though it has become in its own way foolish and mechanical, is at the root the same as that of the *Rig-Veda* bards, the *Vasiṣṭhas*, and *Viṣvāmitras*, the *Bharadvajas* and the *Atris*. Such, in brief, is Professor von Schroeder's theory.

In the main, and understood aright, this theory is sound, in my opinion. The dialogs are dramatic; they do not for the most part require any prose connective tissue, and such tissue does not in reality exist. An occasional narrative allusion in a *Brāhmaṇa* text to the subject-matter of the dialogs we must expect in these texts whose whole soul is in illustrating and motivating ritual practice by events that happened in the legendary past. And the *Brāhmaṇas* often go their own silly way, full of misunderstandings and later-born clap-trap; in this they are followed by the still sillier ancillary texts of the *Bṛhaddevatā* and *Rigvidhāna* variety.² I think there should be no doubt in any mind, after von Schroeder's demonstration, that such texts do *not* contain the prose frames of the dialog stanzas. Nor are they based upon earlier and better narratives which have been lost.

¹ Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xviii, p. 59 ff., 137 ff.

² See, as an illustration of this, the treatment of the dialog of *Saramā* and the *Paṇis* in the *Āraṇyaka Brāhmaṇa* (reported fragmentarily by *Sāyana*); in the *Jāminiya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Bṛhaddevatā*, 8, 24. See Oertel, JAOS. xix, 97 ff.

Professor von Schroeder is also right in associating with some of these dialogs mimetic, orgiastic, phallic, or facetious practices. The chapter in which he elaborates the dialog hymn of Agastya and Lopamudrā (pp. 156 ff.) is a skilful and delightful study of an ancient practice, held alive tenaciously in modern times. He has at least convinced me that we have before us a charm for fructification or generation. This he compares successfully with similar Germanic and Roman practices, and, more narrowly, with the well-known obscenities of the solstitial *mahāvratā*-festival. He might have added the practice at the 'horse-sacrifice' in which the chief queen (*mahiṣī*) puts into her lap the *membrum* of that 'confounded horse' (*aṣvaka*) which, even after the horse has been sacrificed, remains a convincing symbol of generative power (VS. 23, 18, *et. al.*). The existing ritual within which such practices are fossilized either no longer understands these practices, or it explains them away. This I have shown to be the case with the *Kuntāpa*-hymns, that curious medley of 'gift-praises', riddles, and obscenities which fits like a round peg in a square hole into the honest *Ṣrāuta*-rites of the *Āitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*.¹

I am not quite so convinced, as is Professor von Schroeder, that *all* the dialogs were accompanied by mimetic representations and dances, though it is the singular merit of the book to have established the dance as an early Vedic and Indo-European companion of dramatic composition. What the author has to say about the dances of the gods (pp. 36 ff.), most notably about the 'dancer' (*nṛtū*), god Indra, I regard as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of mythology and Vedic science which the book has to offer. In the light especially of the Kṛṣṇa myth of later times, nothing would seem more natural than that a god like Indra should be made to act his own dances, the outward sign of his warlike inspiration. But, just at this point, some evidence might be expected from the ritual texts, even after allowing much for their usual reticence in such matters. I do not forget that the author assigns these dramas to a very early time. Yet the custom of dancing is tenaciously long-lived, and dances of themselves are so harmless, that we might expect to see them spared by the priestly code. I imagine that the mysteries of these dramatic dialogs were, to some extent and on some occasions, mental, and in the nature of *jeux d'esprit*. Every religious performance had its festal and climax moments. Evidence of the existence of dramatic dialog without mimic accompaniment is not wanting in the literature. So, e. g., the dialogs between teacher and pupil at the confirmation rites (*upanayana*). Purely intellectual *samvādas* (dialogs) are the cosmic and theosophic charades at the horse-sacrifice (VS. 23,

¹See Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda* (*Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*), pp. 98, 100.

9 ff., *et. al.*). I have had occasion in the past to remark on the curious juxtaposition of 'gift-praises' (*dānastutis*) and phallic passages, in RV. 1, 126, and 8, 1, 30 ff.¹ Each type of composition, from its own point of view, marks festive humor. RV. 1, 126 is a monolog in which the very reputable ancient bard, Kakṣivant, first brags incontinently about his great fees, and then obscenely exalts his sexual prowess.² The villanous *Kuntāpas* are preceded in the AV. by the phallic *Vṛṣākapi* hymn,³ and followed by the *Dadhikrā* hymn, which also contains phallic elements, exactly as in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras.⁴ The distribution of the *dakṣiṇā* (*baksheesh*) seems to have been one of the chief occasions for *erotica*. On such an occasion the dramatic recital of such a tit-bit as the *Vṛṣākapi* hymn requires no other justification than its own contents. There is no urgent need of assuming costumes, or other mimetic accompaniments. The refrain, *viṣvasmād indra uttarah* is a toast to Indra, just as is *indrāyendo pari srava* in the festive and popular hymn RV. 9, 112,⁵ about which the ritual is regrettably silent. It will be observed that there is no very profound difference between von Schroeder's and my own view. The latter, perhaps, clears the ground for the pure *samvāda*, a real Hindu type of literature, beside the *ākhyāna* and the *nāṭaka*. Solemn colloquy, riddle-question and answer, and humorous, off-color dialog, distributed dramatically between two or more persons, point in a measure to social, rather than strictly popular, performance. I have previously used the word 'saukneipe' to illustrate the obscenities which appear in such surprising intimacy with the 'gift-praises'. I seem to see the feasts, abundant consumption of soma, and the inevitable pleasantries that follow. What more fitting setting for the dramatic recital of the *Vṛṣākapi*, and the like, own brothers of the *Kuntāpas*?

Habent sua fata libelli. Professor von Schroeder's book is essentially comparative and deals largely in reconstructions of prehistoric myths, rites, and popular practices. Such reconstructions cannot from the nature of the case present themselves with the certainty of mathematical demonstrations. There are bound to be some accidents and uncertainties. In common with the author I have never doubted the existence of prehistoric Indo-European mythology.⁶ But all that are faithful to this idea must expect yet a while the buffets of that *intransigent* scepticism which at the present time holds in these matters. The book will arouse much discussion, possibly not all of it evenly sympathetic,

¹ The Atharva-Veda, p. 100.

² All that is completely misunderstood by the later ritualist; see ÇÇ. 16, II, 4-6.

³ Von Schroeder, pp. 304 ff.

⁴ In AB. 6, 27 this kind of composition is called *çilpa*, 'work of art', imitative of the art works of the gods, and likened unto the cloth of gold with which elephants are caparisoned.

⁵ Von Schroeder, pp. 408 ff.

⁶ See my Religion of the Veda, pp. 100 ff.

but I believe that the number of its friends will grow, and that it will mark an epoch both in Sanskrit Philology and in Comparative Mythology. All students of religions will look forward with tense expectation to Professor von Schroeder's nearly completed '*Altarische Mythologie*', which, I am sure, will go far to restore the present rather unstable equilibrium of these studies.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

W. THOMSON: *The Basis of English Rhythm*, Glasgow, 1904.
The Rôle of Number in the Rhythm of Ancient and Modern Languages, Glasgow, 1907. T. S. OMOND: *Metrical Rhythm*, Tunbridge Wells, 1905.

Mr. Thomson distinguishes *accent* from *pitch*, but admits "the common tendency of strong accent and high pitch to occur together upon the same syllable" (*Basis*, p. 8). A more important point is his view of the relation of *accent* and *quantity*. He rightly calls attention to the fact that, in English, quantity does not depend on the length of the vowels alone, but that the length of syllables may be "due to length of vowels, or of consonants, or of the two combined", here agreeing with Prof. Wulff of Lund. He also points out that "monosyllables, which are, in connected speech, accented, are often distinctly long", instancing the quantitative equality of *bit* and *bar* in *a bar more* and *a bit more*, and of *tall* and *bad* in *a tall man* and *a bad man*, and declares that "syllabic burden" is no test of quantity, *shouldst* being shorter than *shut* in *If thou shouldst mark* and *To shut windows*, here joining issue with Mr. Omond. In spite of this Mr. Thomson does not accept the point of view which is identified with the name of Prof. Wulff, namely that *quantity depends* entirely on accent, or rather on *logical or ethical relief*. What then is his attitude? We must not of course take seriously his dictum that he "has treated for the most part of phenomena which could be investigated and recorded by a Chinaman who does not know a word of our language, but does understand something of the nature of musical rhythm" (p. 36). He has given us one definite indication of his views (p. 10): "Within certain limits . . . the insertion or omission of unaccented syllables does not affect the total duration of a phrase, and the length of accented syllables varies according to the character and number of unaccented syllables intervening before the next accent . . . Quantity, as applied to the isolated words of a dictionary, is one thing, and as applied to words forming a piece of organised speech, quite another". On the one hand he refers (p. 33) to "the natural device of accenting every long syllable", the reverse of which

would be nearer the truth, and on the other he falls foul of Stone and Mr. Bridges, the first of whom "proceeds wholly upon the basis of the lengths of vowels in isolated words", by no means a correct presentation of Stone's theory, and the latter of whom is "lamentably weighted by preconceptions of length as based on the quantity of syllables considered apart from their setting" (p. 33).

Quantity depends therefore, presumably, partly on accent, but not wholly: "there is a natural quantity which accent cannot entirely get rid of", to use Mr. T. S. Omond's words.

We are not then to deal with isolated words, but to examine words in their setting. So far so good. But apart from the one slight indication mentioned above, we get no hint of the manner in which the setting influences the quantity. And when we come to examine Mr. Thomson's notation, we find that seemingly he is quite arbitrary, dealing, if with any rules, then only with those applying to isolated words, together with Mr. Omonds "marshalling to time" to some extent. According to Mr. Thomson *his*

tresses gray is normally $\text{♩} | \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩}$ (it is rather $\text{♩} | \text{♩}^\bullet \text{♩} | \text{♩}$) but in *his withered cheeks and tresses gray* the words *and tresses gray* are to be noted $\text{♩} | \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩}$.

Evidently this is quite arbitrary, unless the difference is to be put down entirely to marshalling the words to a different time.

The whole line is much nearer $\text{♩} | \text{♩}^\bullet \text{♩} | \text{♩}^\bullet \text{♩} | \text{♩}^\bullet \text{♩} | \text{♩}$ if the time be indeed triple.

Mr. Thomson admits that syllables are not merely either long or short, that "variations of length in both long and short syllables—in the same syllable, indeed, according to its setting" exist. He instances the groups:

a long dress,
a longer dress,
a longer address,

as being all of equal duration, and therefore the syllable *long* varying in duration, since *long*, *longer*, *longer ad-* occupy the same time. Mr. Thomson fails here, and it is a failing he shares with Miss Dabney and to a considerable extent with Lanier, in taking no account of the possibility of pause between seemingly adjacent syllables: *long* and *dress* being certainly separated by a pause, which is filled up in the other two examples. The length of *long* may differ in the three examples instanced, but Mr. Thomson has not proved it or even suggested its probability.

Mr. Thomson attempts to prove his case, or at least to illustrate it by means of *Latin* examples. This can prove nothing and illustrate nothing with reference to the relation of accent and quantity in English. Latin examples of clash of accent and

quantity are *ipso facto* out of court, since accent and quantity admittedly clashed in Latin, whether Latin accent was a stress or a pitch accent or both, and whether the ictus was exteriorized by stress or pitch or by neither. In English the case is quite other. The movement of *did I* and of *coloured* in *coloured glass* is not, I think, equivalent to that of *dmās*, nor that of *mothers weeping*, *scattered forces*, *withered branches* to that of *dmāvistis*. The English examples correspond approximately to $\angle\cup$ and $\angle\cup\angle\cup$, just the schoolboy's erroneous reading of the Latin words instanced.

To Mr. Thomson triple time is normal, common unusual. Here he is with Lanier and against Miss Dabney. He is however in agreement with both as to the possibility of definite and exact representation of each syllable in a verse—a point in which Mr. Omond is far sounder. Mr. Thomson holds the astounding theory that most English verse (and prose) is in triple time; i. e., “each interval (between two accents) is felt to be occupied by sound-material, which, however variously divided into units, is exactly three times the length of one syllable taken as unit”. He does not tell us which syllable is to be taken as unit or how to estimate the length of this unit. His examples, however, show that he means *one of the syllables actually occurring in the interval between two accents*, not the ideal normal syllable. That is where he is in agreement with Lanier and Miss Dabney, and not with Mr. Omond whose time is measured in terms of the ideal normal syllable, however this is to be gauged, and for whom the several syllables actually occurring in the interval are not each necessarily or even usually capable of exact and definite, separate evaluation in terms of this unit. And apart from this matter of the measurement of the separate syllables, Mr. Thomson's view is still unacceptable. The stately blank verse is not to be included with the skipping Latin iambic under the common head of triple time. But still more incredible is the view that triple time verse still remains metrical in spite of “the occasional intrusion of common time.”



Mr. Thomson and Mr. Omond disagree as to the precise function of accent in verse. To Mr. Omond, as to Lanier, time is the essential of verse, and a verse consists of a number of isochronous periods (call them bars, feet, what you will), some or all of which are marked off by accent: but this marking off by accent is, so to speak, merely a convenience, not a necessity. “Those who make accent necessary to our recognition of rhythmical periods seem to me, says Mr. Omond, to mistake occasion for cause, and confuse the indicator with the thing indicated” (p. 25). It is indeed difficult to understand how Mr. Thomson can reconcile the existence of 5 bar verses with only 4 or even 3 accents with his insistence on the fundamental importance of accent. If accent serves merely to *exteriorize* a sufficient number of ictus to make the measure easily and clearly apparent,



then of course the absence of one or even two in a five bar line is easily understood. And indeed Mr. Thomson considers such pentameters as

*A man is master of his liberty,
The sea waxed calm and we discovered,
Oh, thou art fairer than the evening star,*

as viciously read into tetrameters unless the unaccented ictus is brought out by an accent. "No doubt the accents on the naturally unaccented syllables must be gently dealt with, but they must be there. There must be at least a compromise between pure prose reading and strict adherence to verse scheme" (p. 49). A proper understanding of the real relation of ictus and accent would have obviated such an error. The question of a prose or a verse reading does not arise in this connection. But it does arise in connection with the *time* of syllables. Here in spite of what he says about *heel rhythm*, *head rhythm* and *heart rhythm*, Mr. Thomson is on safer ground than Mr. Omond. He reads his verse at least ideally as prose,—as prose in which the full logical and emotional value of the words is rendered: his examples however, as Mr. Omond says, "continually set aside the natural verse rhythm (or as I should put it, the full logical and emotional value) in favour either of mere prose (*read* the merely logical value), or of some supposed musical precedent". In his theory, if not in his practice, and especially not in the musical obsession that intrudes too often, Mr. Thomson is, I think, sound, despite Mr. Omond's criticism. But Mr. Thomson's reason for his answer is not as good as the answer itself. To Mr. Thomson (as to Prof. Charlton M. Lewis) verse and prose differ far less widely and definitely than Mr. Omond, e. g., would be ready to admit. "The recurrence of strong accents at equal distances of time runs, with trifling exceptions, through all verse, and is perpetually asserting itself, in a more or less modified form, in the language of prose and ordinary speech. In other words, *practically all verse and the bulk of prose is rhythmical*" (p. 11). Verse and prose differ in this particular that (p. 13) "in poetry, variation within the foot is limited; in prose it is free". This is essentially Prof. Lewis' position, and it is an untenable one, obliterating as it does the differences between prose and verse, and seeking to distinguish them by a test which can only properly distinguish *syllabic* and *non-syllabic* verse.



To read verse as prose, because it is merely prose somewhat circumscribed by minor conventions, is one thing, and to read verse as prose, because the poet, *qua* artist, has used the materials of prose speech, selected and arranged them to fit the metrical scheme he has adopted, is another thing. Mr. Omond's view makes a third: verse must be read as verse, and the words marshalled to the time the poet has chosen, in defiance, if need be, of their ordinary prose relations.

One more point calls for notice. Mr. Thomson will not hear of beginning his isochronous periods save on the ictus, following thus rigidly musical precedent. "Nearly all writers think it immaterial whether a foot, say a trisyllabic foot, is represented with the accent at the beginning, in the middle or the end" (p. 39) . . . This is quite a mistake. It is, of course, ridiculous to put the accent in the middle: as to the rest, it is a question of notation merely. Mr. Thomson takes as an instance the phrase *the hills and the plains* and declares: "According to the first—that is, to the normal musical notation—the rhythm of the phrase stands thus:  . . . according to the third  that is, the word *plains* is represented as divided between two feet, which is absurd". Yes, it is absurd, but no more absurd than Mr. Thomson's argument. With triple time and arbitrary quantities anything can be proved. The rhythm of the phrase is much nearer:

 or 

both notations being applicable.

Mr. Thomson's clinching argument is drawn from the line "Of man's first disobedience and the fruit". With the bar ending on the ictus, Mr. Thomson turns this into the hideous abomination,


 "where we have no fewer than five syllables, each divided between two feet" (p. 40). The rhythm is, of course, not triple, and the notation is approximately .

"It should now be plain that not only is the musician's application of musical symbols the rational one, but that it corresponds best with the facts and with the usage of the poets" (p. 40). All that is plain is the total inadequacy of the musical notation at all, and the absurdity of postulating triple time as normal in English verse.

T. B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

LEEDS, August 14, 1908.

Herodotos: Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Dr. K. ABICHT.
 Dritte Band, Buch V und VI. Vierte verbesserte Auflage.
 Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner,
 1906.

After an interval of twenty-three years a revised (fourth) edition of the fifth and sixth books of Herodotus has been brought out by Abicht. In what does this fourth edition differ from the third, and how serviceable is the book for school or college use?

In the matter of text, a comparison of the lists (as given in the two editions by Abicht himself) of the most important readings incorporated into these editions, betrays the fact that, even to the editor's mind, the new edition varies little from the preceding. There are only five differences, as noted in these lists, and they all vanish when the texts themselves are compared. There are, however, a few minor differences which Abicht himself does not note and which it is not worth while to mention. Still, the new text does show an advance in one respect,—in the use of Ionic forms, especially in those of contract verbs. The verbs in -*αι* are now given in their contract forms and, instead of such forms as *δρίω*, *δρίων*, *αλτρεύμενος*, etc., which appeared in the third edition, we find in the new edition *δρῶ*, *δρῶν*, *αλτρώμενος*, etc. The verbs in -*ει* are still regularly left uncontracted, though in the forms of the verb *ποιῶ* (*ποιέω*) Abicht gives in this last edition the contracted forms, as *ποιῶν*, *ποιεῖν*, *ποιεῖσθαι*, *ποιοῖμι*, *ποιοῖεν*, etc., changed from the reading of the third edition *ποιέων*, *ποιείειν*, *ποιείεσθαι*, *ποιόοιμι*, *ποιόοιεν*, etc. Besides, he occasionally gives contracted forms of other verbs as *ἔπινοῶ*,¹ *ἐξηγγῆται*.² But he has not yet reached the same consistency in the -*ει* verbs that he has in the -*αι* verbs.

The new edition is somewhat more fully annotated than was the preceding, as is manifest from the increase in the total pages from 224 in the third edition to 233 in the fourth. There have been a few notes cut out or cut down, due principally to the changes in the reading of dialectic forms. In the main, the new or enlarged notes are in the line of immediate assistance to the reader. Headings of chapters are added or amplified; meanings of words or expressions are given; corresponding Attic forms are noted; additional references to a similar usage are given. The few long notes added of especial value are these.—V, 56, on Hippias and Hipparchus, with a quotation from Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*; V, 77, on the inscription of the bronze chariot, of which fragments of the base have been found on the Acropolis of Athens containing a part of the inscription; V, 94, on Hegesistratus, the illegitimate son of Peisistratus, with a quotation from the *Ath. Pol.*; VI, 109, on the appointment of the archons by lot (where, however, Abicht asserts that the appointment by lot was introduced by Cleisthenes,—a statement not in harmony with the testimony of Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*).

The notes of Abicht, it seems to me, are, in the main, of the right sort. They give the young student the necessary historical and geographical setting, and they help him by suggesting the meanings of words and expressions in the places where difficulties confront him most. The notes, too, are eminently sane. I might cite as instances VI, 44 where the note in regard to the monsters that devoured the men who were shipwrecked about Athos has the single word, "Raubfische"; and VI, 103 where, in com-

¹ V, 24.² VI, 74.

menting on the word *ἐξελέσθαι*—where Cimon won a victory at the Olympic Games with his four-horse chariot—Abicht gives the natural explanation, "*νίκην ἐκφέρεισθαι* = reportare."

Still, there are many notes that are either of doubtful truth or not apposite, especially in the case of references. I will cite a few instances.

V, 1, *συνεβάλλοντο*. Ab. says: "*= conicere*" (which is undoubtedly right); then he adds, "Ähnlich VI, 63, 65". In both of these passages, however, the verb means to "*count*" or to "*figure*", and not to "*conjecture*."

V, 24, *ὑπερβίωμαι*. Ab. says: "Mitteilen, anvertrauen . . . Das *Aktiv* in gleicher Bedeutung nur V, 32; I, 8". But in I, 8 the verb is *middle* and not *active*.

V, 27, *τελευτᾷ*. Ab. says: "Präsens historicum wie . . . VI, 126". But the verb in VI, 126 is not *τελευτᾷ* but *γίνεται* (the context of his note shows that he was citing this passage not merely for the usage of a historical present but for this very form *τελευτᾷ*).

V, 35, *μετήσσεσθαι*. Ab. says: "Fut. *med.* in passiver Bedeutung wie . . . VI, 11, *ἡλασσώσεσθαι*". But in VI, 11 Ab. himself reads *ἡλασσωθήσεσθαι*, *passive*.

V, 37, *ὥς ἄν*. Ab. says: "*= δπως ἄν*, auch I, 75 . . ." But in I, 75 the reading is *ποτ' ὥς ἄν*, but *δπως ἄν*.

V, 92, I, *ἰσοκρατίη*. Ab. says: "Vgl. *ἰσηγορίη* u. *ἰσονομίη* (sic) c. 78". But *ἰσονομίη* does not appear in V, 78, though it does in Abicht's note on the passage.

VI, 52, *βουλευσαι*. Ab. says: "Häufiger ist in dieser Bedeutung bei den Attikern sowohl wie auch bei Her. das *Medium* (I, 73; III, 84)." But in I, 73, the *active* voice is used and not the *middle*.

VI, 58, *διαχρῶνται*. Ab. says: "Dieselbe Wendung VIII, 99." But in VIII, 99 the *simple* verb *χρῶμαι* is used and not the *compound*.

VI, 59, *ἐνίστηται*. Ab. says: "Für *ἐνίστασθαι* steht unten *κατίστασθαι* (*κατιστάμενος*) III, 66". But in III, 66 the reading is *ἐνεστῶτα*, and not a form of *κατίστασθαι*.

VI, 92, *σφι*. Ab. says: "den Aigineten und *Argiern*". Evidently it should be the *Sicyonians* and not the *Argives*.

This list is not exhaustive but might be extended considerably.

Abicht avoids controversial argument, and this is necessary in a book intended for the younger students. But he also neglects valuable evidence. I have already noted his failure to refer to the testimony of Aristotle that the appointment of archons by lot was not introduced by Cleisthenes. Another instance of his positive statement of what he assumes to be an established fact is found in his note upon *Ἐννεάκρουνος*, VI, 137, where he says: "Die Quelle *Enneakrunos*, auch *Kallirrhoë* (noch heute *Kalirrhói*) genannt, liegt im Südosten der Stadt unweit vom *Ilissos* . . ." He disregards altogether the strong probability that the fountain was at the south-west of the Areopagus. A still more conspicuous instance

of his failure to accept—or at least to refer to—a well-established claim appears in his note to V, 83, where, in speaking of “*Ὀῖα*”, he says: “Eine uralte, landeinwärts gelegene Stadt auf Aigina . . . Nicht weit von ihr stand der berühmte Tempel der Athene, von dem ebenfalls noch Trümmer vorhanden sind”. Furtwängler’s proof that this is the temple *not* of *Athena* but of *Aphaea* is wholly ignored. In these points of history, topography, and archaeology Abicht seems not to have brought his book up to date.

Typographically the book is open to some criticism. Of misprints, major and minor, I have seen about forty in the notes, and in the body of the text itself fifty-four. Of this latter number most are merely mistakes in breathings or accents or subscripts,—of no great consequence. Of the mistakes that involve a wrong letter I have noted the following:

V, 12, *οἱ τι* for *δ τι*; 15, *ἐξεστρατεύσαντο* for *ἐξεστρατεύσαντο*; 34, *παρεσομένον* for *παρεσομένον*; 52, *παρασάγγαν* for *παρασάγγαι*; 58, *ἐρχώντο* for *ἐχρώντο*; 72, *τριηκοσίσι* for *τριηκοσίοισι*; 84, *ἐπέτελεον* for *ἐπετέλεον*.

VI, 8, *νηρῶν* for *νησῶν*; 8, *Δεσβιοι* for *Δεσβιοι*; 27, *νεηίων* for *νεηνίων*; 33, *Δασκυλείω* for *Δασκυλείω*; 39, *τὸν* for *τῶν*; 51, *Εὐρυσθένης* for *Εὐρυσθένης*; 53, *Ἀρκισίου* for *Ἀκρισίου*; 57, *ἡ* for *ἦν*; 65, *Λευτυγίδεω* for *Λευτυχίδεω*; 66, *Πυθίην* for *Πυθίην*; 120, *συμβολῆς* for *συμβολῆς*; 130, *μέσον* for *μέσον*.

In quoting in the notes passages from Herodotus or other authors Abicht allows himself the greatest freedom. He omits words without giving any indication of their omission, changes the order, and alters the construction. His object is not to quote but to illustrate, and perhaps no great harm is done thereby. There is, however, one class of error in his notes that is most glaring and, to my mind, most significant in regard to the value of a particular kind of note. I mean the errors in the references, for purposes of illustration, to parallel passages. I have not attempted to verify the references of Abicht—outside of Herodotus—except for a few authors. I am keeping well within the mark, however, when I say that there are over 200 wrong references (including those to other parts of Herodotus). Where the passage itself is quoted, the mistake in the reference is not vital. But in many, very many, instances the reference is given without the quotation, and given wrongly.

Of the total wrong references noted, between 80% and 90% were wrong in the third edition—now twenty-three years old—and merely repeated in this new edition without any verification. Moreover, they were so given in the second edition, published ten years earlier. (I am sorry that I did not have at hand the first edition, to see if that, too, had the same mistakes). Now, these mistakes, though numerous, are not fatal for an edition. Why? Because, clearly enough, nobody pays any attention to these references. The teachers don’t, or else they would have informed Abicht at some time within the last thirty-three years. The boys don’t,

or else they would have told their teachers, who then would have sent the corrections to Abicht himself. Abicht evidently didn't verify for the third edition, which is nothing but the second edition republished with a very few minor changes. And he hasn't verified for this new edition. An editor would then, it appears, accomplish about as much if, when not quoting the words, he should say merely that this construction is found frequently or so many times in Herodotus. The references as given by Abicht are merely—like a person's name signed to a newspaper letter—a guarantee of good faith. But, if for any reason you look the matter up only to find that a wrong name has been given, your faith in the value of that particular guarantee is sadly shaken.

These various criticisms, however, affect merely details of the book and not its essence. With the limitation suggested, the book—if it could be in an English dress—would be a most serviceable edition for any young student of Herodotus.

GEORGE EDWIN HOWES.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Vol. XI. Second Part.

M. Niedermann. *Lupana. Lupanar.* The latter form might perhaps be applied to a person; cf. Germ. *Frauenzimmer*. Hence one should be cautious in emending *lupanar* to *lupanam* (Lact. Inst. 3. 21. 4), etc. *Lupana* occurs only in the gen. pl., which could come from *lupanar*, and in many cases with the variant *lupanarium*. If *lupana* is accepted, it may come from *lupa* and not from *lupanar*.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Lex Manciana.* An examination of the Latin-ity of this inscription, found in Africa, and assigned to the time of Septimius Severus. *Zur Epitoma Livii.* Evidence from the language of the later historical writers that they derived their version of the story of Horatius Cocles not from Liv. 2. 10, but from the *Epitoma*. *Rectagonum.* A note on *Indoger. Forsch.* IX. 355.

J. Denk, *Abpono.* From the reading of the MSS in Apicius, ch. 65, *cum semel servuerit, abpones (appones)*, it is assumed that in later Latin *appono* might stand for *abpono*, instead of for *adpono*, as is regularly the case. A note by the Editor supports the conjecture *depono*. *Bestiosus* und *Serpentiosus*. These words, overlooked by the lexicographers, occur in Jul. Val. *Res Gestae Alex. Mac.*, p. 196, l. 27 and p. 209, l. 23 in Kübler's edition. K., however, does not include them in his *Index*. *Inf. fut. pass. auf -uiri.* An additional example from Apul. and three from Jul. Val. *Eques = equus.* Additional examples. The usage was noted by Kaulen, *Handb. zur Vulgata*, 1870.

Ov. *Densusianu*, *Comparare = "kaufen"*. Some additions to the examples in Schuchardt, *Vokal. I.* 195, dating from the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.

A. Sonny, *Nachträgliches zu sopio -onis.* Reference to the note of Osthoff, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der deutschen Spr. und Litt.* XX. (1895) 93, with an additional example of the word.

H. Kirk, *Nachtrag zu etiam nunc.* A correction, with an additional example of temporal *etiam*.

277-297. Review of the Literature for 1897, 1898.

298-299. Necrology. Otto Ribbeck.

300. E. Wölfflin, *Vom Thesaurus.* Report of progress.

301-331. W. Heraeus, *Die Appendix Probi*. A new recension, based on the text of Foerster in *Wiener Studien*, XIV. 294, and the article of Gundermann in *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. und Litt.* XV. 184, with a commentary.

332. W. M. Lindsay, *Lucuns. Lucuntulus*. Lucuns is connected by Keller, *Volksetym.* 85 with γλυκοῦς, influenced by luceo and lucidus. L. shows that the u is short and suggests that lucuns is a loan-word from λυκόεις = λυκοειδής. An older form is lucuens, and the diminutive has the forms lucuentulus and later lucuntulus.

333-350. J. H. Schmalz, *Donec und Dum (bis zu den august. Dichtern einschliesslich)*. I. Donec. Discussion of the various forms and of the derivations, of which do-ne-cum = "until when not" is preferred. The subordinate use is regarded as the earlier. Originally donec meant only "until". The meaning "as long as" occurs first in Lucr. It seems never to have acquired the meaning "while". Dum, donec and quoad are variously preferred and avoided by different writers. The mood with donec = "until" is the indic., and the tenses are commonly the perf. and the fut. perf.; the pres. and the fut. are rare, and the imperf. very rare. The pluperf. is not found at all. The subjunctive is found as early as Plaut., but in early Latin dum is preferred with the subj. and donec with the fut. indic. The subj. is oblique, final, iterative, or prospective. Many writers use only the subj. with donec, and in late Latin without apparent reason. With donec = "as long as" we regularly have the indicative. When the subjunctive is used it is oblique or iterative; so in Liv. 21. 28. 10. As a coordinate conjunction first in Lucr., then in Petr.; often in Liv. and Tac. with the value of cum inversum. A correlative particle is often used in the main clause, whence usque donec, usque adeo donec, etc. A summary of the uses in the various writers of the period follows. 2. Dum. The acc. sing. from the pronominal stem do, originally as an adverb. The use as a conjunction arises by the suppression of dum in the second member of such sentences as Catull. 42. 45. In Plaut. and Ter. dum is commonly used with the pres. indic. Dum = "until" referring to the past, is not found in early Latin. Dum = "while" is not found in Plaut. and Ter. with the imperf. or pluperf. Of action coextensive with that of the main clause the pres. is used even when the action extends into the future. Referring to past time the imperf. occurs three times, the perf. more frequently. With reference to future time the fut. is used and in the main clause the fut. or a form with future meaning, rarely the pres. Of actions not coextensive the hist. pres. is used. The perf. is rare; in Plaut. it is found only when dum = cum. With dum = "until" we usually have the pres. (sometimes with future force), with isolated cases of the fut. or fut. perf. The pres. subj. is also found, especially in the third pers. In the first pers. the

indic. is usual, while both are found in the second. The imperf. subj. sometimes occurs through the sequence of tenses. Conditional *dum* comes from the temporal use. It always has subj. and neg. *ne*. *Dum* final, causal and consecutive also occur. Correlative words are sometimes found in both main and subordinate clause. A summary of the usage of the writers of the period follows, and one of the uses of *dum* in inscrr., based on Bücheler's Anthol.

351-360. M. Pokrowskij, *Glossographisches und Linguistisches zum Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum* von G. Götz. Additions and corrections.

360. L. Havet, *Moraclum*. In *Plaut. Trin.* 1108 would read this word for *morae*, with the addition of *abi*. Some addition is required also with *morae*.

361-368. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Latinität des Jordanes*. J. was influenced by Verg., whom he quotes three times, besides showing traces of his vocabulary. In phrases of two words taken from Verg. he does not change the order, as Tac. does. He also borrows longer phrases, sometimes misunderstanding his original. He has read the *Georg.* and *Aen.*, and hence had the regular school training. He also shows reminiscences of *Bibl. Lat.*, of *Sall.*, and of *Cassiod.* An investigation of his language should be based, not on the colloquial language of the day, but on that of the authors read in the schools. Hence many of the examples cited by Mommsen are not significant. A comparison of his language with that of *Florus* shows interesting divergencies.

369-393. Wölfflin-Meader, *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa*. A summary of the dissertation of Meader, with additions. See C. L. Meader, *The Latin Pronouns Is, Hic, Iste, Ipse*: New York, Macmillan, 1901.

394. R. Fuchs, *Zeugma*. Cites a remarkable example from *Theod. Prisc., Logicus*, 65: *hos . . . unctionibus et gestationibus vel fricationibus . . . mediocriter perunguimus*.

395-404. Long-Wölfflin, *Quotiens, quotienscumque, quotiensque*; Summary of the dissertation of Long, with additions. See O. F. Long, *On the Usage of Quotiens and Quotienscumque in Different Periods of Latin*: Baltimore, John Murphy Co., 1901.

405-417. C. E. Bennett, *Die mit tamquam und quasi eingeleiteten Substantivsätze*. Commonly confused with the causal clauses with *tamquam* and *quasi*. The use of the former in this way developed during the first and second centuries, A. D. A chronological list is given from *Sen. Rh.* to *Apul.*, with nouns, verbs and adverbs. The earliest instance is perhaps found in *Nep. Ham.* 2. 2, where B. would read *tamquam sentiret*. The usage is derived not from the causal, but from the comparative

clause. The substantive clause with quasi appears in archaic Latin, especially after *simulo* and compounds. These clauses differ, however, from those of Silver Lat. in being objective, while the latter are subjective.

417. Eb. Nestle, *Velum*. This word early made its way into Syrian and Aramaic. A new example is cited from *Epist. Jeremiae* (6th chap. of Book of Baruch in the Latin editions of the Bible), where the god *Bēlōn* is taken for *βēlōn* = *velum*.

418. E. Wölfflin, *Diploma femin.* Occurs in *Wilmanns*, 589. 6 = *CIL. VIII. 1027*, as observed by *Bücheler*, *Carm. lat. Epigr.* 484. Examples of *schema* and *cataplasma* as feminines are also given.

419-430. *Miscellen.* M. Maas, *Die neuen Juvenalverse*. The lines discovered by *Winsted* in *cod. Bodl. Canon. 41*, which M. regards as genuine, are translated with a commentary. Since no mention of them is found in the *Panormia* of *Osbernus*, they must have been lost before the publication of that work.

E. Wölfflin, *Laetodorus*. Not a hybrid, but = *Letodorus*; cf. *Apollodorus* and *Artemidorus*.

H. Blumner, *Was bedeutet replumbare?* Defends his view that it refers to the loosening of soldering, against E. Pernice.

O. Schlutter, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*.

J. Denk, *Lesefrüchte*. Examples of *abditare*, *devotiosus*, *Latinizo*, *medica* = *obstetrix*, *bestiosus*, and *serpentiosus*.

Fr. Skutsch, *Em.* Regards *em* as an imperative of *emere* (cf. *dic*, etc.), since in *Plaut.* and *Ter.* it is used only with the sing., and is never elided. *Praedo*, "Jäger". Apparently found in *Claudian. Fescenn. i. 11*. The meaning is a natural one in view of *praeda* = "Jagdbeute". *Almen* = *alimentum*. In *cod. Salmasianus Poet. lat. min. IV. 394 B.* = *Anth. p. 255 f. R.*

E. Wölfflin, *Eine echt taciteische Wendung*. Examples from other writers of the rhetorical device in *Tac. Hist. i. 81 cum timeret Otho, timebatur*, cited by F. Münzer under the above caption.

W. Otto, *Simulter*. In *Itala, Marc. 12. 22* would read for *si mulier mortua est et mulier sine filis* of *cod. K*, *simulter mortua est*. *Simulter* is the reading in *Plaut. Pseud. 362*, according to *Nonius (170)*.

431-450. Review of the Literature for 1898, 1899.

450. *Turiner Preis von 30,000 Fr. Vom Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*

451-452. W. Heraeus, *Zu der Appendix Probi. Index der getadelten Vulgärformen.*

453-467. H. Krüger, *Bemerkungen über den Sprachgebrauch der Kaiserkonstitutionen im Codex Justinianus*. See ALL. X. 247. A brief notice of Longo's *Vocabolario delle costituzioni latine di Giustiniano* is followed by some observations on the language used by the emperors represented in the Cod. Just. with particular reference (1) to words and usages which were current in earlier times, but were afterwards given up; and words favored or avoided by individual emperors; and (2) to words characterized by peculiar and unusual meanings.

467. C. Wagener, *Neue Traktate Novatians*. The supposed translation of a hitherto unknown work of Origen, published by Msgr. Pierre Batiffol under the title *Tractatus Originis de libris ss. scripturarum*, is in reality a collection of 20 homilies of Novatianus.

469-490. Edwards-Wölfflin, *Von dem sogenannten Genetivus und Ablativus qualitatis*. A continuation of the article on pp. 197 ff.

490. L. Havet, *Quodie*. This form, preceded by a feminine dies, is found in Cic. de dom. 45. See ALL. I. 389.

491-501. F. Glöckner, *Ne und num*. The usual view as to the meaning of these particles in direct and indirect questions is not of universal application. Would derive *nē* from the asseverative *nē*, not from the negative *nē*. *Num* is a weak form of *nunc* (*νῦν*); like *cum*, it has temporal, consecutive, and modal uses, of which examples are given.

501-502. Eb. Nestle, *Vas, Plural vases*. In **Eccli.* (Sirach) 6. 31 *et bases virtutis* is for *et vases virtutis*, of which the preceding *in protectionem fortitudinis* is a correction. In **Sir.* 27. (6) 5, for *apronia* would read *copria*.

503-514. E. Wölfflin, *Hexameter und silberne Prosa*. The language of the poets is undoubtedly affected by the demands of the metre, although the explanation "*metri causa*" may be pushed too far. Proper names offer special difficulties which are met sometimes by license in the use of quantity (*Italia*, *Macēdonia*) or by substitution (*Emathia* and *Thessalia* = *Macedonia*). Besides this, metrical considerations led to innovations in vocabulary and in syntax, which were taken into Silver and later prose without a similar justification.

514. *Funerare in der Epitoma Livii*. In Liv. 2. 33. 11 and in the *Periocha* we have *extulit* in the account of the funeral of Menenius Agrippa. Val. Max. (4. 4. 2) drew his *funeratus est* from the *Epitome*.

515-536. O. Hey, *Euphemismus und Verwandtes im Lateinischen*. Euphemism by aposiopesis or by the use of foreign (Greek) words occurs, but did not affect the Latin language. The formation of new words or changes in the meanings of those already in existence are due to: 1) necessity and 2) subjective

grounds. Euphemism belongs to the second group and in genuine euphemism the grounds are shame and fear; when they are irony or ridicule, we do not have true euphemism. To fear are due euphemisms relating to disease and death; this is extended to matters which are merely unpleasant: danger, exile, debt, denial of requests, and the like. Based on shame are the euphemisms relating to sexual matters and the necessities of nature; this form is extended to ugliness, drunkenness, and the like. Many examples of each class are given.

537-544. E. Wölfflin, *Campana, Glocke*. Species, *Spezerei*. Other words for bell are *clocca*, Fr. *la cloche*, and *signum*. *Campana*, which is the basis of the Ital. and Span. words, is found for the first time in this sense in Ferrandus (515 A. D.). It is formed by ellipsis from *Campana vasa*, with the familiar change of a n. pl. to a fem. sing. In Plin. NH. 18. 360 the word does not have this meaning, but its usual one of *Campana vasa*. Species originally meant the finished product as opposed to the raw material (*materia*). In Cic. it includes oil, wine, and grain, and it was finally extended to include all kinds of wares. It, *specierie*, = fr. *épicerie*, was not developed in Latin, since the *taberna specieria* was not known to the Romans, but the different products were sold each in its own shop.

545-576. C. Weyman, *Der tractatus Origenis de libris ss. scripturarum ein Werk Novatians*. The statement made about this work on p. 467 above, is supported by a detailed comparison of the language and style of the tractatus with the *De Trin.* and the *De cibis Iudaicis* of Novatianus. There are added numerous notes on the text of the tractatus.

577. A note on the above article by the editor of the ALL. on the use of particles in the works under consideration.

578. L. Havet, *Aleari*. Suggests *te aleari* for *tete amari* in Ter. Ad. *33; cf. Landgraf on *aleatur*] *cotizat*, ALL. IX. 363.

579-585. Miscellen. L. Havet, *Multo tanta plus, bis tanta plus*. In the former of these phrases *tanta*, which has good MS authority, should not be changed to *tanto* in Plaut. Merc. 680, etc. The expression originated in ellipsis, *multo tanta* (*pecunia pluris vendidi*). Perhaps *bis tanta* should be read in *Ter. Ad. 56.

B. Maurenbrecher, *Em bei Plautus und Terenz*. Takes exception to the statements of Skutsch (p. 429 above) that *em* is used only with the sing., citing Merc. 313 and Poen. 726; and that it is never elided, citing Bacch. 274, Eun. 459 and 472, etc.

F. Skutsch, *Promulsis*. Denies the long *i* in *promulside conficere* (Cic. Epist. IX. 20. 1), assumed by Bornecque on rhythmical grounds. Shows that short *i* is demanded also by grammatical considerations.

II

O. Plasberg, *Turdus* = *turgidus*. In the *Theriaca* of Aemilius Macer, ap. *Charis. 1. 81. 19 K., would read *turdo* for *tundo resonantia sibila collo*. *Turdo* : *turgidus* = *caldus* : *calidus*, etc. Cf. *tardus* = **targidus* (*traho*), Osthoff, M. U., V. 106.

J. Cserép, *Elementum*. Suggests a Semitic origin for the word. Doubted by the editor of ALL. on chronological and other grounds.

A. Zimmermann, *Zur Etymologie von donec and secus*. Additional arguments for the etymologies of these words proposed in ALL. IV. 602 ff.

586-610. Review of the Literature for 1899, 1900.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LXIII (1908).

Pp. 1-11. *Lucianea*. H. von Herwerden. Textual notes on the new Teubner edition of Lucian by Nils Nilén, Vol. I, Part 1.

Pp. 12-38. *Zur Komposition der altattischen Komödie*. Wilhelm Süss. I. A study of the rôle of the *βωμολόχος* in Aristophanes. Sometimes, as in the *Peace*, *Acharnians* and *Clouds*, the principal character is himself the *βωμολόχος*, in other plays we have merely an actor making more or less amusing comments on a dialogue between two other people. In the *Lysistrata*, lines 535-38 should not be assigned to *Lysistrata*, but to a new speaker. Line 308 of the *Frogs* refers to the *πρωκτός* of Dionysus. In the *Peace*, lines 433-38 should be assigned to *Hermes*, lines 439-40 to *Trygaios*. II. Criticism of Zielinski's theory as to the occasional lack of an *ἀγών*. III. Contrast of the *ἀγών* with the burlesque scenes.

Pp. 39-57. *Buchwesen und Bauwesen: Trajanssäule und delphische Schlangensäule*. Th. Birt. Supplementary notes to the author's 'Buchrolle'. The form of the ancient book is often reflected in ancient rhetoric and imagery: for instance, in such expressions as *γενήσεται ὡς χαρτίον ἢ γῆ*, *explicare aciem*, *ἀναπτύσσειν τὴν φάλαγγα*, in the use of 'pagina' to denote the inside wall of a public building, in the expression *σελίδες θεάτρου* (which seems to mean the 'cunei', not the rows of seats). It had its influence, too, on ornamental architecture: for instance, in the Ionic frieze, in the Column of Trajan, in the Delphic Serpent-Column at Constantinople. These two columns may be regarded as artistic imitations of the Spartan *σκυτάλη*.

Pp. 58-78. *Hellenistische Beiträge* (continued from Vol. LXII, p. 591). III. *Kleitarchos*. Fr. Reuss. Further argument (see Rh. Mus. 57, 582) in support of the author's thesis that *Kleitarchos* was not a contemporary of Alexander, but belonged to the later Hellenistic period.

Pp. 79-106. *Vergil und die Ciris*. Paul Jahn. This article points to Virgil himself as quite possibly the author of the *Ciris*. The poem is apparently earlier than Ovid, *Met.* VIII, and Propertius, V 4, 39. It contains much that is found also in Virgil, but Virgil often borrows from himself. Moreover, it has a quite remarkable number of parallels in two poems of the *Catalepta*: XI (which is likewise dedicated to a Messala) and XII.

Pp. 107-126. *Die epische Zerdehnung*. Hugo Ehrlich. Criticism of the theories of Wackernagel, Danielsson, and others. Such forms as *ῥόω*, *ῥόωρες*, are not due to the Rhapsodists, but were a characteristic feature of the oldest Ionic dialect.

Pp. 127-151. *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften* (continued from Vol. LXII, p. 590). Hugo Rabe. V. Des Diakonen und Logotheten Johannes Kommentar zu Hermogenes *Περὶ μεθόδου διωρίτης*. A new commentary from a Vatican MS of the fourteenth century. Rabe prints a few pages from the beginning, and gives an outline of the remainder. [The portion printed contains some new fragments of Euripides.]

Miscellen.—P. 152. J. M. Stahl. *Methana bei Thukydides*. In V 45, 2, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Μίθανα τὴν μετὰ τὸ Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ Τροιζήνας, the name *Μίθανα* means the whole peninsula, not merely the town. The *τὴν* refers to a γῆν to be understood after *Τροιζήνας*.—Pp. 152-155. F. Buecheler. *Procopiana*. Textual notes.—Pp. 155-157. Fr. von Velsen. Zu Horaz *Serm.* II 1, 86. 'Tabulae' means "die im Prozesse vorgelegten Beweisurkunden", in this case, "das den Beweis enthaltende Schmähdgedicht". And the whole line may mean: "die Straftat wird durch das Lachen gesühnt werden, du wirst dann straffrei entlassen".—Pp. 157-158. J. H. Lipsius. Zu Valerius Flaccus. The *Codex Sangallensis* and the *Codex Vaticanus* seem to be two copies of a common original.—Pp. 158-160. Franz Rühl. Q. Curtius über den indischen Kalender. The month of 15 days (VIII 9, 35 f.) means the 'paksha' of 15 'tithi'. The words "cum orbem sidus implevit" mean "wenn das Gestirn seine Bahn vollendet hat."

Pp. 161-189. *Corinnae quae supersunt*. W. Crönert. Critical edition of the fragments of Corinna, including the papyrus discovered at Hermupolis in 1906.

Pp. 190-196. *Prosopographica*. F. Buecheler. The *Βεργίλιος Πούφης* of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *De Anima*, p. 151, may be the Verginius Rufus of Pliny, *Ep.* II 1. The Attius Labeo mentioned in a Sabine inscription, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1900, p. 150, 2, may have been the grandfather of the Attius Labeo of Persius' first Satire. The Hostius Capito of *CIL.* XIV 4201 may be the Capito of Seneca, *Contr.* X, praef. 12. The Cornelius Vitalis of *CIL.* VI 4924 and 34932 lived about the reign of Claudius. The Auxentius who built a bridge across the Cydnus (Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 2615) is the Auxentius mentioned by Symmachus, who

built a bridge across the Tiber about the year 385. In Stobaeus, Flor. IV 45, p. 230 H, Κορηλιανὸν κατὰ Βερονίκης, the Cornelianus is the famous rhetorician of the reign of Marcus and Verus; the Beronice is the Berenice of Juvenal, Sat. VI 156. From Corp. Gloss. Lat. VI, p. 620, we get the name of a Julius Suavis who discussed the form of the 'laena'. He seems to have been later than Verrius and earlier than Suetonius. Possibly he was the Julius Suavis of CIL. X 8058, 43. The Tutilius mentioned by Pliny, Ep. VI 32, 1, may be a different person from the rhetorician Tutilius mentioned by Quintilian III 1, 21. Cp. CIL. VI 9785: C. Tutilio Hostiliano philosopho Stoico, etc. The Mavortius of CIL. XIV 4178 is Romulus (Quirinus).

Pp. 197-223. Panaitios und die attische Stoikerinschrift. C. Cichorius. The Σπόριος Πωμαῖος of this inscription (I. G. II 953) may be Spurius Mummius, and the archonship of Lysiades may mean the year 139/38. The group of names at the end (Poseidonios, Aristarchos, and Apollodoros) suggests a date later than the banishment of the philosophers from Alexandria in 145.

Pp. 224-234. Bencius Alexandrinus und der Cod. Veronensis des Ausonius. R. Sabbadini. Between 1313 and 1320 Bencius composed a long general chronicle, in which he quoted from two books of Ausonius, the Ordo urbium nobilium and the Ludus septem sapientum. These he found in a single manuscript at Verona, though according to Schenkl's division of the MSS they belong to two different classes. Sabbadini collates the quotations with other MSS and with Peiper's text.

Pp. 235-238. Die Platon-Handschrift α. H. Rabe. Notes on a Vatican MS of the tenth century. It contains marginal variants by three different hands, of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The variants to Leg. I and V are reported here.

Pp. 239-253. Plutarchstudien. K. Ziegler. I. The 'Epistle of Lamprias' is a forgery of the fourteenth century. II. On the earliest collection of the Lives. Recent studies have shown that our text goes back to two early collections, one in two volumes, the other in three. The three-volume collection was the older.

Pp. 254-259. Eine altfaliskische Vaseninschrift. C. Thulin. This comes from the necropolis of Civita Castellana (Monumenti antichi d. Lincei IV 339). Thulin thinks, after a careful examination of the writing and of the words, that it is a genuine inscription of the sixth century, or earlier. The last word *doviad* = *duat duit*. Compare Umbr. *pur-dovitu* 'porricito', Gr. *δοῦναι*, Lat. *cre-duam*.

Pp. 260-266. Textkritisches zu Diodor in Anlehnung an die Excerpta Vaticana. H. Kallenberg. The Codex Florentinus of Diodorus deserves more consideration than it has received of late.

Pp. 267-282. Das Leben des Dichters Porphyrius. Otto Seeck. An African, perhaps a Carthaginian; removed to Rome in 317; accompanied the expedition against the Sarmatae in 322. In 326 he was in exile; in 329 and again in 333 he was praefect of the city.

Pp. 283-303. Die Perikeiromene. S. Sudhaus. Textual notes on (1) the trochaic scene of the second act (398-439), (2) the tumult before Moschion's house (435-487). Comment on the first act. Textual notes on fragment K, on the closing act of the Samia, and on fragment Q of the *Ἐπιτρέποντες*.

Pp. 304-310. Johannes des Mildtätigen Leben des heiligen Tychon. A. Brinkmann. Textual notes.

Miscellen.—Pp. 311-312. P. Thielscher. Manilius I 25-29. Interpretation of the text as given by the Codex Lipsiensis.—Pp. 312-313. L. Radermacher. *ὡς ὁμοίως* und Verwandtes. Such expressions as *ὡς ὁμοίως*, in the sense of *ὁμοίως*, are not confined to Phoibammon (Rh. Mus., 1906, p. 124). Vettius Valens has *ὡς ἐναλλάξ* and *ὡς παντελῶς*.—Pp. 313-316. M. P. Nilsson. Zu *Zeὺς Καταιβάτης*. A study of a new inscription (BSA. X 172), and of a passage in Athenaeus, XII, p. 522.—Pp. 316-319. F. Bücheler. Zum Stadtrecht von Bantia. The words in line 31 of the Tabula Bantina, *acunum VI nesimum*, mean *annum VI proximum*.—P. 319. M. Ihm. Civitas Baesarensis. Darenus.—Pp. 319-320. W. Vollgraff. Das Alter der neolithischen Kultur in Kreta. The excavators at Knossos report a neolithic stratum of débris 6½ m. deep, lying 5.33 m. below the present level of the hill. Evans sets the close of the neolithic period at 4000 B. C., which means an average rise of level since that time of a little less than a metre in a thousand years. At the same rate of accumulation the neolithic stratum would represent a period of about 6000 years. Evans, however, thinks it probable that the rise of level was considerably slower in the earlier period—while the settlement was smaller—and so sets the beginning of the neolithic settlement at 12000 (or even 14000) B. C. But surely the accumulation of débris on the site would be faster in the earlier period—when there were no house walls of stone, and the dwellings were probably built of sun-baked brick. For the Egyptian towns, where such brick dwellings were in use, Flinders Petrie reckons an average rise of level of half a metre a century; for Syria, even a much faster rate. Reckoned by the Egyptian standard, the neolithic stratum at Knossos would represent a period of about 1300 years, and the beginning of the settlement would be brought down to 5300 B. C.

Prefixed to the third number of this volume is a brief obituary notice of Professor FRANZ BUECHELER (1837-1908). He was a contributor to the Museum for a full half-century, and for thirty-two years he was one of its ablest editors.

Pp. 321-328. Saturnier des Tuditanus cos. 625/129. F. Bücheler. Study of a fragmentary inscription recently found at Aquileia, with an attempt at its restoration. The Tuditanus is the C. Sempronius who conquered the Iapudes.

Pp. 329-340. Ein dorisches Komödienbruchstück. F. Solmsen. Study of a fragment of the Πόλεις of Philyllios, quoted by Pollux, X 58. This should be printed, *ἐς τὰς πινακίδας δ' ἀμπερίως* *ὅτι κα λέγοι | τὰ γράμμαθ', ἐρμάνευε*. Note the form *ἐς* for *ἐκ*, before a consonant, and the use of the optative with *κα* in a subordinate sentence.

Pp. 341-369. Zur Kritik und Exegese der Frösche des Aristophanes. A. Roemer. Discussion of lines 924 (for *μεσσίη* read *τελοίη*), 837, 1056, 849, 838 (cp. Agam. 859 ff.), 799, 756, 826, 906, 1204 ff., 807, 909, 790.

Pp. 370-391. Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos. A. v. Mess. The new fragments of Greek history published in the fifth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri cannot be the work of Theopompus. They may be, as Blass believed, the work of Cratippus.

Pp. 392-405. De epitaphio Senecae. E. Bickel. This little poem (Anthol. Lat. 667 Riese) cannot be a genuine composition of Seneca. The sentiment points to some later Christian writer.

Pp. 406-418. Nochmals in-privativum im Lateinischen. M. Pokrowskij. Support of an earlier article on the same subject (Rh. Mus. LII 427-434). It is highly improbable that such forms as *indecent* are due to the influence of such forms as *indecent*. In Livy, XXII 23, 8, *inviolatus ab* = *qui inviolatus manserat sive relictus erat*. In German one can say: er verkaufte das *vom Feinde unbeschädigt gelassene* (oder: *gebliebene*) Gut.

Pp. 419-422. Euripideum. H. Rabe. The writer has discovered a missing leaf of Codex B (= Vat. 909) containing lines 899-940 of the Rhesus. Here he collates it with Nauck's text, Leipsic, 1891. B seems to have stopped at line 940, even in the 14th century. Pal. 98 is a copy of B as far as 940, with the closing lines (941-996) taken from another manuscript.

Pp. 423-444. Die Beziehungen der älteren attischen Uebergabe- und Rechnungsurkunden zu einander. W. Bannier. Continued from Rh. Mus. LXI 202-231.

Pp. 445-464. Motiv und Persönlichkeit. L. Radermacher. I. Discussion of the story and of the name of Margites (cp. Rh. Mus. LIX 314). The name means 'Dümmling.'

Pp. 465-471. Das Mosaikrelief. R. Engelmann. The writer returns to the subject of an earlier article (Rh. Mus. 1874, Vol. XXIX 561-589), and still insists, as before, that mosaic reliefs were unknown in ancient Rome.

Miscellen.—Pp. 472-475. A. Elter. Canius a Gadibus und Livius Poenus. Both Teuffel and Schanz speak of a Latin poet Canius a Gadibus, as mentioned by St. Jerome, Ep. 49. Their reference seems to be due to Hertz, who gave the number of the epistle as he found it in a Leyden MS. But his epistle 49 turns out to be the famous *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum ne ducat uxorem*, written apparently about 1200 (Migne XI 254). The passage in question is found in chap. 17: Canius a Gadibus, poeta facundiae lenis et iocundae, reprehensus est a Livio Poeno, gravi et uxorato historiographo, quod multarum gauderet amoribus, his verbis, etc. The Canius must be Canius Rufus, the friend of Martial, mentioned, e. g., I 61, 9, *gaudent iocosae Canio suo Gades*. And the *reprehensus est a Livio Poeno* may be due to another line in the same poem, *censetur Apona (= a pona, a Poeno) Livio*.—Pp. 475-476. Marie Gothein. Der Titel von Statius' *Silvae*. "Der Leser soll im Schatten der wohlgepflegten Bosquets auf bequemen Wegen sich an den anmutigen Gaben des Dichters erfreuen."—Pp. 476-479. Otto Seeck. Die Quinquennalfeiern des Licinius (in the year 313).—Pp. 479-480. F. Buecheler. Zur lat. Seemannssprache. *Tutarchus*, Hygin. Fab. 14, is a Latinized form of *τοῖς ἀρχος* (*túcarcus*, *tutarcus*). *Trierarchus* is contracted to *triarchus* (CIL. X 7291), or *trierchus* (CIL. VIII 7030). So *nauarchus* seems to have been shortened sometimes to *nauchus*.

Pp. 481-487. Die Abfassungszeit der *Alexandra*. S. Sudhaus. The poem seems to have been written soon after the second Macedonian war and the proclamation of the freedom of Greece.

Pp. 488-494. Das 68. Gedicht Catulls. A. v. Mess. A defence of the unity of the poem. Lines 41 ff. are a genuine erotic elegy—an attempt to comply with the request mentioned in line 10.

Pp. 495-511. *Alkidamas und Platon als Gegner des Isokrates*. Hans Raeder. Alles ist dunkel und unsicher.

Pp. 512-530. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften. Hugo Rabe. (Continued from p. 151). VI. Weitere Textquellen für Johannes Diakonos. VII. Georgios. VIII. Konstantin Laskaris und der Christophoros-Kommentar.

Pp. 531-558. Motiv und Persönlichkeit. (Continued from p. 464). L. Radermacher. II. Die Büsser Vergils. The poet was not bound to adhere strictly to tradition in the assignment of punishments. Some of his punishments may reflect popular notions of *μταλοπορία*, such as abound in Greek and German proverb and story. In line 586 the *dum*-clause should explain the nature of *Salmoneus'* punishment in Hades. He seems to have been condemned to some form of punishment which would suggest the nature of his offence.

Pp. 559-586. Eideshelfer im griechischen Rechte. R. M. E. Meister. The practice of compurgation was known in Locris, in

Crete, in the Aeolian Kyme and in the Egyptian Thebes. Cojurors might be brought in to support either the plaintiff or the defendant.

Pp. 587-604. *Caesars Anticato und Ciceros Cato*. A. Dyroff. Conjecture as to the nature of Caesar's attack.

Pp. 605-617. *Die Inselfahrt der Ciris*. R. Reitzenstein. A study of this passage leads to the conclusion that neither Gallus nor Virgil is the author of the poem.

Pp. 618-623. *Die Homer-Metaphrasen des Prokopios von Gaza*. A. Brinkmann. Parallels to the sentiment of Sarpedon, Il. XII 322-328.

Miscellen.—Pp. 624-625. Th. Gomperz. Zu Herodot II 16. Read ἡ γὰρ δὴ for οὐ γὰρ δὴ, as the writer suggested twenty-five years ago.—Pp. 625-626. Th. Gomperz. War Archimedes von königlichem Geblüte?—Pp. 626-627. J. M. Stahl. Zu Fragmenten des Euripides. Textual notes on two new fragments published by H. Rabe, pp. 145 and 148 of this volume.—Pp. 627-630. R. Asmus. Zur Textkritik von Julian. Or. IV.—P. 631. A. Brinkmann. Zu Julians IV Rede.—Pp. 632-633. G. Némethy. Tibulliana. In I 6, 56 admittas has the meaning of virum ad se admittere: cp. Ov., Am. I 8, 53; Prop. III 21, 7. In II 2, 7, for puro read Surio. With II 3, 4, verbaque aratoris, compare Ov., Pont. I 8, 55-58. Et discam, Getici quae norunt verba iuveni, Adsueta illis adiciamque minas. With II 3, 71-72 compare Lucr. V 962.—Pp. 633-635. Ch. Huelsen. Ein Vers des Martial und eine stadtrömische Grabschrift. Housman's conjecture Sattiae, III 93, 20 is confirmed by CIL. VI 9590.—Pp. 635-636. Karl Meiser. Zu Juvenal 15, 90. For autem read audi.—Pp. 636-639. Hugo Ehrlich. König Ogygos. *Φαγ-ύγ-ιος* is a reduplicated form from the same stem as *ὄγ-ρος*. For the difference in quantity, compare *αἰ-γυπῖος* with *γύψ*, *στῦφελός* with *στύφω*.—Pp. 639-640. Eb. Nestle. Stöcke mit Schlangenhaut (Zu S. 54f.). Of snake skins drawn over a stick, not wound about it.—P. 640. A. Elter. Zusatz zu o. S. 472. The MSS reading apono, Mart. I 61, 3, should have been mentioned on p. 474. As for the passage quoted from the Epistola ad Rufinum, Rehdigeranus 130 has Ruptis huic mars reticulis, instead of hinc M. r. testiculis.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

BRIEF MENTION.

Travellers in Greece are apt to complain of the monotony of Easter lamb as an article of diet. I remember especially one dinner at Megalopolis, every course of which—and there were several—consisted of the Paschal *arnaki*; and mindful of that surfeit when the keeper of the khan at Diakophto, where I waited four mortal hours for my train to Patras, offered to slaughter for my mid-day meal one of the innocent creatures cropping the flowery food in the adjacent field, I declined the sacrifice. To the recent traveller through the Journal Greek syntax may well have taken the place of the Easter lamb, and my articles on Stahl must have seemed not unlike the three-course dinner at Megalopolis. And yet something must be done with the ever accumulating literature, and I am tempted to mention first as a bit of what I call organic work a dissertation by KARL REIK, *Der Optativ bei Polybios und Philo von Alexandria* (Berlin, Fock). Under this unalluring title Dr. REIK has given us an excellent object lesson in the vernacular and the artificial use of the optative, as shown by the difference between Polybios and Philo in this regard. Polybios, following the trend of his times, in which the mood was declining, rather underdoes the optative though he uses it idiomatically. Philo overdoes it as a *nouveau riche* might overdo caviare and pâté de foie gras (A. J. P. IV 428; XXIII 131).

In the IGF. XXIII, S. 165 ff., SCHLACHTER continues his interesting statistical studies in the tenses and moods and passes from Homer to Herodotos (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 243), but I have only room for a bare summary of his results. (1) The uniformity of the usage in the several books. (2) The relative increase of the impersonal moods as compared with Homer, notably the loss in subjunctives and optatives. (3) Whereas the aoristic forms dominate in Homer, the durative <paratatic> forms dominate by far in Herodotos except in the subjunctive <an exception easily accounted for by the large use of the aor. subj. in final sentences and in those temporal sentences in which antecedence is involved>. (4) Certain verbs occur prevalently in the imperfect, others prevalently in the aorist, only partially coincident with Homeric use. The love of the imperfect is somewhat more extensive, and decidedly more accentuated than that of the aorist. (5) When in narrative a result is evolved out of preceding actions

the imperfect of all verbs is preferred. This SCHLACHTER calls the 'Fazit-imperfect' <a revival or survival of Nägelsbach's 'nachhaltige Wirkung', which has come up again in Stahl's 'Imperfect of Propagation' (A. J. P. XXIX 394). 'Fazit', which means 'sum total', seems to be a peculiarly unlucky way of putting what might be called an 'outstanding account'>. (6) Herodotos' preference for 'cursive expression'—'cursive' answering to the old fashioned, unsatisfactory (A. J. P. XVI 144) 'durative'—does not come out alike in all the moods. Of the more rarely employed moods (subj., opt., imper.) it is strongest in the imperative. Of those that are much used (ind., inf., part.) it is most perceptible in the inf. (7) The morphological relations of the thematic aorist to the present seem to be the cause of their excess over the average number of the aorist infinitive. (8) The aorist participles (but not those of the thematic aorist) are more numerous than the corresponding indicatives, which is not true of the imperfect (durative) participle.

In view of statistics like these and those presented by Professor Miller's article, A. J. P. XVI (1895) 139-185, it is to be hoped that such generalizations, as 'The Greek is an aorist-loving language', will disappear from our textbooks. But such generalizations die hard. 'Each author has a stylistic syntax of his own' (A. J. P. XXIII 6), and though SCHLACHTER has done good service by giving us exact figures, Herodotos' love for the imperfect is no revelation. Long ago Cobet accused Herodotos of abusing the imperfect *laori* (A. J. P. XXIII 250), and the dictum roused rebellion in one admirer of Herodotos, who took pains in his syntax to show how admirably Herodotos used his tenses (XXIII 452); but now comes Wackernagel, now comes Thumb, and the use of the subjunctive after the past tenses in Herodotos is attributed to some local Ionic influence and not to the advance of the sophistic spirit. The two passive futures are accounted for in the same way, and the difference between them—a favorite theme of late—is effaced (A. J. P. XXIX 391; see Meltzer, IGF. XXII, Anzeiger, S. 26).

Mr. MOULTON's *Prolegomena to the Grammar of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) has reached a third edition in a very short time. Such a success is unthinkable for a philological manual outside the special field of Biblical study. But it is a good sign for all that. Philology, once the handmaid of theology, first set up shop for itself under the firm name of Friedrich August Wolf & Co. It may have to go back to the old theological house from which it started. At all events every one will recognize the importance of the new lines of grammatical study that

have been opened by Mr. MOULTON's fuglemen. In 1893 I wrote, in 1902 I printed, my musings on what I then dared to call the decline of the Greek language (A. J. P. XXIII 258). "We say to ourselves 'Chaos and Old Night. There are no problems of Greek syntax possible. We are in the realm of Solecism'. But that is not true. Language remains organic. The laws of the death are the laws of the life. Deorganization is unravelling and the unweaving teaches us the weaving". Against expressions like these, scholars like Mr. MOULTON would rebel. There is no deorganization. There is nothing but growth. The New Greek Thesaurus is to take in all the Greek that can be proved from the earliest times to the latest, and we are not to look upon the modern language as we are apt to look upon the serviceable rugs that are made out of worn-out carpets. Every now and then Mr. MOULTON chides me for my false view of the relations that the older language bears to its lineal successor, but faithful are the wounds of a friend, and his attitude on the whole is amicable. But a commentary on Mr. MOULTON's *Prolegomena* would carry me back to the *malebolge* out of which I have just emerged and I will forbear. Of course, I am quite in sympathy with Mr. MOULTON's efforts to make his grammatical studies readable (A. J. P. XXIII 2), and I congratulate him on the pleasure he has derived from his success, in which I rejoice as much as he does. It is sheer delight for a dweller in the frigid zone of grammar to have such good company in the use of tropical language and to consort with a man who unblushingly writes of an unblushing aorist (p. 133). Indeed he is bolder than I am, for I sedulously avoid tropes and figures in my textbooks. But there is always a something, always a somebody, and some Snarley-yow of a British critic, whose habitat I cannot recall, discussing Mr. MOULTON of late, said in substance: 'It seems that the Grammar of the New Testament is yet to be written. Let us hope that when it is written, it will be written in English and not in Journalese'.

An admirer and follower of the Germans, Mr. MOULTON has adopted many of the German technical terms. In his heart of hearts he prefers 'summary', but he submits to 'constative', and he is actually fond of 'ingressive' and 'punctiliar' (*punktuell*), both of which Stahl rejects (A. J. P. XXIX 398, 399). Unfortunately the Germans themselves are at odds about the nomenclature of the *Aktionsart*, the kind of time. The latest cry of anguish proceeds from that eminent scholar STREITBERG (IGF. XXII, Anzeiger, S. 72: *Die Benennung der Aktionsarten*), and I cannot help wishing that Mr. MOULTON, who has deigned to accept some of my things, had accepted my threefold remedy 'paratatic', 'apobatic' and 'syntelic' (A. J. P. XXIII 106), for with his help and the help of

Biblical scholars I might have relieved the situation. But though Mr. MOULTON is an admiring disciple of the Germans, he is insular enough to be interesting. So he devotes pages to Miss Purdie, he quotes Mr. Giles (p. 249) for something that was staring at him in Goodwin (M. T., R. E., p. 391), and he sets down the rediscovery of Gottfried Hermann's desist-formula for μή with pres. imper. to the credit of the late WALTER HEADLAM (p. 122) that πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν χρῆμα, whose 'Greek verses' in the judgment of WILAMOWITZ, 'if they had been discovered in a Greek papyrus would immediately have been recognized as true Greek poetry' (SANDYS, *History of Classical Scholarship* III 485). But HEADLAM was a better poet than grammarian (A. J. P. XXVII 111), and we poor grammatical lions—mere sacristans we—have to guard our sanctuary from these winged things even if they are swans. οὐκ ἄλλα φοινικοφαῖη πόδα κινήσεις; It will at all events be news to some of us oldsters that Hermann's formula needed rediscovering. And after all it is only half a truth; and in 1877 I gave in my Justin Martyr, Apol. I 15 what I still think to be the whole truth (S. C. G. 415), handed down doubtless by some of my German teachers. "μή with pres. imper. denotes a negative course of action, 'keep from' or the negative of a course of action, 'cease to'". 'Chi l'ha detto' is often a bootless inquiry (A. J. P. XXIII 5).

There is much more behind that must await the coming of a number of the Journal not so overloaded with syntax as is this. The study of the 'Parademarsch' of language as Mauthner calls it (A. J. P. XXVIII 356) may be overdone and even a syntactician may prefer to leave procession and processionists for a while and play in the shade with the Amaryllis of etymology or with the tangles of Neaera's hair, which may be supposed to represent the intertwinements of semantics. As for the outsiders, the very men who would resent being classed with those who call 'divine philosophy' 'harsh and crabbed' never fail to have their fling not only at syntax but at all manner of grammatical study, which is after all a branch of that same divine philosophy. And the missiles are always at hand just as in Aristophanes 'stones' are normally 'the stones', the stones that lay loose in the streets of Athens. This being the case I am not surprised that a *frondeur* like Dr. OSLER can hardly forgive the hero of his latest biography *Thomas Linacre* for being a grammarian, even though Julius Caesar and Milton were grammarians.

'Fed to inanition', says Dr. OSLER, 'on the dry husks of grammar and with bitter schoolboy memories of Farrar on the

Greek verb, I can never pick up a textbook on the subject without regret that the quickening spirit of Greece and Rome should have been for generations killed by the letter with which alone these works are concerned'. And then Dr. OSLER proceeds to quote Gomperz on Pindar's ignorance of technical grammar and to defile the grave of Protagoras who is supposed to have started the devilry, the same Protagoras, by the way, to whom the same Gomperz attributes a famous tract in the Hippocratican corpus (A. J. P. XI 529), the same Protagoras who was himself a manner of doctor (A. J. P., l. c.). Galen, if not a grammarian in the modern sense, was a grammarian in the antique sense, or he could not have been the critic that he was. And if there is to be a suit of Physician vs. Grammarian there is something to be said in favor of the grammarian. Plato's subtle irony cannot be understood without a knowledge of the language that only grammatical analysis can reproduce (A. J. P. XXI 471; XXX 4), and to one grammarian, at least, it seems droll that Dr. OSLER who embodies all the winning sides of his profession should have selected the Eryximachos of the Symposium as the best type of the physician of old, Eryximachos, the pedantic system-monger of *plenum* and *vacuum*, who was only on sufferance in that brilliant company and whom Plato holds up to ridicule as incorporating the worst foibles of the professor of the healing art.

'Nowhere in literature', says Dr. OSLER in his *Counsels and Ideals* (p. 24), 'do we have such a charming picture illustrating the position of the cultivated physician in society as that given in Plato's Dialogues of Eryximachos, himself the son of a physician Acumenus. In that most brilliant age the physician was the companion and friend, and in intellectual intercourse the peer of the choicest spirits' <as he is today>. Now the position of the physician in Greek society is not a matter to be discussed in *Brief Mention*. But to my mind Eryximachos himself has never been the most attractive figure in the group of banqueters. The tipsy mockery of Alkibiades peeps out from under the cover of the conventional quotation *ἡτρὸς ἀνὴρ*, and if Eryximachos is allowed to take up his parable, it is because Plato wished to let his humour play on the weak sides of the profession as he has done elsewhere. In my analysis of the speeches in the Symposium printed many years ago in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, January, 1887, I paid my respects to Eryximachos. 'Eryximachos', I concluded, 'shows at once the dishonesty of the sophist and the dogmatism of his profession in trying to make good his pedantic correction of his predecessors and by his fine phrases works himself up to the belief in his own triumphant cleverness'. Charming figures there are among the Greek doctors from Cheiron down, but the son of Akumenos is not the peer of the son of Philippos, who follows him; and 'the

healthy humanity of Aristophanes swallows up in the broad *ricinus* of the comic mask the sytem-mongery of Eryximachos'. In CESAREO'S *I due simposi* (A. J. P. XXIII 446 foll.) there is an interesting study of Eryximachos (p. 114), but unfortunately for my thesis, one of the commentators on the Symposium, whom he cites, identifies Eryximachos with Plato himself, as monstrous a theory in my eyes, as if Shakespeare had been supposed to identify himself with Malvolio. But the mention of the Symposium leads naturally to the next *Brief Mention*, as will be seen.

The ordinary mortal's views of love are not to be reduced to a system. Life is a jumble of sacred and profane love. The love that moves the stars is sometimes nearer to us in our hot youth than in what is supposed to be serene old age, when the love that is rekindled often recalls the shameless greybeards of the *Casina*, and justifies the saying of the poet of love: *Turpe senilis amor*. Theory is sadly upset by practice, but there is no escaping theory for all that, and the student of the Platonic Symposium will read and reread IVO BRUNS'S illuminating essay on *Attische Liebestheorien* in his *Vorträge u. Aufsätze* in which he sets forth the difference between the discourse of Sokrates in the *Phaedrus* and the speech of Sokrates in the Symposium. The advance is not the dramatic advance of Sokrates. It is the advance of Plato himself. First *Phaedrus*, then Symposium. Usener, it will be remembered, has made an eloquent plea for the old tradition of the youthful composition of the *Phaedrus*. But what if the order is reversed? And there are those who would reverse it. Impressionism is not to be trusted in matters of style. Old age may be jaunty and youth languid. The sober and measured pace of the young writer may change into the titubant jig of the old hack. I have been taught by experience profound distrust of all internal evidence, that is not, so to speak, historical. As a writer for the daily press I have had article after article of mine ascribed to the wrong man on the basis of an inimitable style. That is the reason why I have lent an ear to prosaic statisticians; and prosaic statisticians have shown that stylometric tests assign the *Phaedrus* to the later stage of Plato's authorship; and this result coincides with the contention of M. ROBIN in his *Théorie Platonicienne de l'Amour* (Paris, Félix Alcan). The theory of love, he declares, has too often been considered as an episode or an accessory of Platonic philosophy, and the object of his book is to show that it is most closely connected with that philosophy, and that it occupies a very important position in the Platonic system. In order to prove this, the author has studied in detail the delicate and complex problem of the comparative chronology of the *Lysis*, the Symposium, the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus*, and has been led to the conclusion that the *Phaedrus* is one of the

latest dialogues of Plato and contains the most elaborate exposition of the theory of love in its relation to the theory of ideas and the theory of the soul, and so serves to determine the nature and the function of Platonic love. M. ROBIN goes to work in the way recommended and exemplified by Bonitz, and more recently by Horn (A. J. P. XV 92), and his book begins with an analysis, which amounts often to a translation of the parts of the *Lysis*, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* in which Plato has developed his theory of love. I have followed very closely M. ROBIN's own summary of his book, which cannot be discussed here. 'The *Phaedrus*', says Professor SHOREY, in his *Unity of Plato's Thought* (p. 71), 'with its profusion of ideas, its rich technical and poetical vocabulary and its singular coincidences with the *Laws* and *Timaeus*, makes the impression of a mature work', and this impression M. ROBIN has undertaken to turn into conviction.

Shall we say 'gegenstandlos' (A. J. P. XXIX 499) or 'gegenstandslos'? I took the part of the analogists, and a proof-reader, to whom I owe much, took the part of the anomalists; and the discussion carried me back to my boyhood, when the quarrel about 'sigmatism' in German compounds was rife. But I am just now more interested in the meaning than in the form of the word, for I am ruefully contemplating a new doctoral dissertation in which a pupil of Professor CAPPS has attacked the old doctrine of the three actors, KELLEY REES, *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama* (Chicago University Press). Another of the many skiffs in which I intended to put out to sea has rotted in harbour like Winans' famous cigar-ship, and I have given another illustration of the danger of following the Horatian precept too closely. Not long before his lamented death in 1881, SIDNEY LANIER got up a course of lectures on Shakespeare in which I was to take part. The themes of my discourses were *Timon of Athens* and *Macbeth*. The *Macbeth* lecture was a comparison of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus and the *Macbeth* of Shakespeare from the point of view of dramatic structure. It so happened that at the same time the same theme was engaging the attention of Professor RICHARD G. MOULTON on the other side of the water. The two studies were entirely independent of each other. MOULTON's work, as it appeared subsequently in his *Ancient Classical Drama* (1889, pp. 225 foll.), was constructive, mine destructive. My plan was to apply the limitations of the antique stage, as then understood, to the play of *Macbeth* and to show how the life of the piece would be killed by the conditions that obtained at the time of the *Agamemnon*. Needless to say, as a giant-queller I was a success. The play was as dead as the hero. The moral was 'The artistic justification of the chorus as the life-breath of a Greek play'. The narrow platform of the Greek stage, the law of the three actors, played havoc with *Macbeth*. But since those far-off days

the Aeschylean stage has become a circus, and now that 'the rule of three' has been relegated to the limbo of false traditions, my little essay is not worth rewriting. "Ganz gegenstandlos oder 'wenn das hübscher lautet' ganz gegenstandslos geworden".

SCHROEDER'S Teubner edition of Pindar might well call forth various comment, but just now I will limit myself to one remark, which is a confession. In the recently discovered fragments which he has incorporated in his volume he has retained the reading [Πίνδο]ν ἀν' εὐδομον (A. J. P. XXIX 121). This is a painful reminder of a sad inadvertence of my own. Instead of [Κρίσα]ν which I proposed for the passage I should have written [Κίρρα]ν. Krisa and Kirrha are poetically, if not topographically one, and Κρίσα is the Homeric, not the Pindaric quantity. Still the position in the verse may have something to do with the quantity. Not to mention the well-worn *Aper, *Aper, I might cite the shift of the quantity of χρύσεος in Pindar himself, but a frank acknowledgment of what others might fairly call by a harsher name than that of inadvertence is the best course. I have known worse sins to take shelter behind the printer's devil.

The project of a new Greek Thesaurus to which allusion was made above (p. 107) is discussed in a long, important and interesting article of the *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik* by the eminent authority on Mediaeval and Modern Greek Philology, KARL KRUMBACHER. The international undertaking set on foot by the late Sir Richard Jebb has fallen through, and the Greek government has engaged in the work as a purely national enterprise. *The Historical Lexicon of the Greek Language from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* is to be an abiding monument of the immortality and unity of the Greek people; and the centennial of the Greek War of Liberation is to be celebrated by the publication of the first part March 25, 1921. The commission in charge is headed by Kontos, Hatzidakis and Menardos, names which inspire respect and confidence, and with the advance of philological studies in Greece there will be native helpers enough to make the work a national achievement in every sense. Unfortunately, the financial basis seems to be quite inadequate for a gigantic enterprise that is to take in two millennia and a half. The scheme of the British Academy drew the line at 600 A. D. The Greek scheme, which comes down to the present day, involves difficulties that increase, as KRUMBACHER says, in geometrical progression, the farther the philological pioneers advance from the classical time. There is no space in this number of the Journal for a summary of KRUMBACHER'S illuminating essay on the conditions of the vast enterprise. There is only room to express a hearty sympathy with him in his joy at the

great undertaking and his wish for a happy progress of the work, the consummation of which so many of those who love Greece and things Greek cannot hope to see.

G. L. H.: A year ago the *Nomina Sacra* of LUDWIG TRAUBE, which has called forth so much discussion, appeared posthumously as a volume of *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, a series due to his initiative (A. J. P. XXVIII 241). In this volume which had the advantage of a final revision from the author, the promise was held out by the editor that other material, almost ready for publication, would be forthcoming. This promise is fulfilled by the appearance of a large octavo volume *Zur Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde* (München, 1909. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oskar Beck) edited by PAUL LEHMANN, the first of five volumes of *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, to be published under the general editorship of FRANZ BOLL. This introductory volume begins with a biographical sketch of TRAUBE by BOLL; then follows a twelve page bibliography of his published work, and an equal number of pages devoted to a list of his manuscript remains, both due to LEHMANN. The mere titles of the second bibliography denote the breadth of interest, and wealth of detail found in the published work of TRAUBE, that mark him as the most profound student of medieval Latin literature in the last century; and the four contributions to paleography and history of manuscripts, given in this volume do not belie one's anticipations. The first (1-80) is the most complete record extant of the progress of the science of paleography down to the present day; the second (81-127) is devoted to the outer history of the *book* before the age of printing. It gives an account of the great collections of manuscripts of the past, and of the libraries in which they are preserved to-day; a sketch of libraries, ancient, medieval and modern; with an account of investigations in search of manuscripts "voyages littéraires", and of catalogues of manuscripts of former and extant collections. These two studies of TRAUBE, to which the editor only needed to add certain bibliographical indications, is an invaluable guide to these several related subjects, which have never before been brought under one head. The third study is a paper upon the principles and history of abbreviations, an introduction to *Nomina Sacra*, delivered before the Munich Academy in 1899, and the last hundred pages (157-263), a descriptive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts written in capitals and uncials, is by far the fullest treatment of the subject, has been compiled by LEHMANN, with the aid of TRAUBE's material, and upon the lines laid down by him. With such a beginning, one can only urge on the early completion of such a valuable work as this series of volumes is sure to be.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

Baker (C. M.) & Inglis (A. J.) High school course in Latin composition New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 13+264 pp. 12°, cl., \$1.

Bury (J. B.) The ancient Greek historians (Harvard lectures). New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 10+181 pp. 8°, cl., \$2.25.

Bushnell (C. C.) Readings from Latin verse; with notes. Boston, *Allyn & Bacon*, 1908 [1909]. 5+104 pp. 12°, cl., 75 c.

Caesar (C. J.) Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War; tr. into English by T. Rice E. Holmes. New York, *Macmillan*, 1908 [1909]. 20+297 pp. fold. maps. 12°, cl., \$1.40 net.

Empedocles. The fragments of Empedocles; tr. into English verse by W. Ellery Leonard. Chicago, *Open Court Publishing Co.*, 1908 [1909]. 8+92 pp. 11. 8°, cl., \$1.

Galus. The Institutes of Galus (extracts); The Digest, title 45; 1, De verborum obligationibus; tr. by J. Graham Trapnell. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 157 pp. 12° (New classical lib.; ed. by Emil Reich), leatherette, \$1 net.

Livy. Selections from the first decade; ed. by O. F. Long. Chicago, *Scott, Foresman & Co.*, 1908 [1909]. 160 pp. map. 12°, cl., 60 c.

Statius. The Silvae; tr., with introd. and notes, by D. A. Slater. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1908 [1909]. 212 pp. 12°, cl., \$1.

Stearns (W. N.) Fragments from Graeco-Jewish writers; collected and edited with brief introd. and notes. Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1909. 186 pp. 12°, cl., 75 c.

ENGLISH.

Tucker (T. G.) Introduction to the Natural History of Language. London, 1908. 8°. 478 pp. 10s. 6d. net.

GERMAN.

Arbeiten, philologische u. volksekundliche, Karl Vollmöller zum 16. X. 1908 dargeboten. Hrg. v. Karl Renschel u. Karl Gruber. (vii, 399 S. m. 4 Taf.) Lex. 8°. Erlangen, *F. Junge*, 1908. m. 15.

Bibliothek, assyriologische, hrg. v. Frdr. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt. XX. Bd. Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs' Verl.* 6. Lfg. Meissner (Bruno). Seltene assyrische Ideogramme. 6. Lfg. (S. 401-480 u. 1 Bl. Zeichenübersicht in Autogr.), 1908. m. 10.

Boer (R. C.) Untersuchungen üb. den Ursprung u. die Entwicklung der Nibelungensage. 3. Bd. (v, 191 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *Buchh. des Waisenhauses*, 1909. m. 8.

Brockstedt (Gust.) Das altfranzösische Siegfriedlied. Eine Rekonstruktion. (xii, 178 S.) gr. 8°. Kiel, *R. Cordes*, 1908. m. 8.

Brugmann (Karl) u. Berthold Delbrück. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Kurzgefasste Darstellg. 2. Bearbeitg. II. Bd. Lehre v. den Wortformen u. ihrem Gebrauch v. Karl Brugmann. 2. Tl. I. Lfg. Zahlwörter. Die drei Nominalgenera. Kasus- u. Numerusbildg. der Nomina. Pronominalstämme u. Kasus- u. Numerusbildg. der Pronomina. (430 S.) gr. 8°. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. m. 11.

Eape (Hans). Die Interjektionen im Altfranzösischen. (viii, 83 S.) gr. 8°. Berlin, *R. Trenkel*, 1908. m. 8.

Etymologicum Gudianum quod vocatur recensuit et apparatus criticum indicesque adiecit Ed. Aloys de Stefani. Fasc. I. (S. 1-292.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 10.

Feist (Sigm.) Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache m. Einschluss des sog. Krimgotischen. I. Tl.: A-M. (xi, 192 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*, 1909. m. 6.

Fick (Aug.) Hattiden u. Danabier in Griechenland. Weitere Forschgn. zu den "vorgriech. Ortsnamen". (vi, 53 S.) gr. 8°. Göttingen, *Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht*, 1909. m. 2.

— Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen. 4. Aufl., bearb. v. Adalb. Bezzenberger u. A. Torp. 3. Tl. Wortschatz der german. Spracheinheit unter Mitwirkg. v. Hjalmar Falk gänzlich umgearb. v. Alf Torp. (573 S.) gr. 8°. Göttingen, *Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht*, 1909. m. 14.

Geldner (Karl F.) Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda m. besond. Berücksicht. des Liedes 10, 129. Progr. (35 S.) Lex. 8°. Marburg, *N. G. Elwert's Verl.*, 1908. m. 1.50.

Grammatiken der althochdeutschen Dialekte. gr. 8°. Göttingen, *Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht*. II Bd. Franck (J.) Altfränkische Grammatik. Laut- u. Flexionslehre. (viii, 271 S.) 1909. m. 7.80.

Junker (Herm.) Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrh. I. Tl. [Aus: "Oriens christianus".] (vii, 93 S. m. 2 Taf.) Lex. 8°. Berlin, *K. Curtius*, 1908. m. 7.50.

Kaerst (Jul.) Geschichte des hellenischen Zeitalters. II. Bd. 1. Hälfte. Das Wesen des Hellenismus. (xii, 480 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 12.

Láng (Margar.) Die Bestimmung des Onos od. Epinetron. (v, 69 S. m. 28 Abbildgn.) gr. 8°. Berlin, *Weidmann*, 1908. m. 2.40.

Meurer (C.) u. E. Niepmann: Richtlinien f. den grammatischen Unterricht im Lateinischen. Progr. (40 S.) 8°. Bonn, *H. Behrendt*, 1908. m. 1.

Moser (Virgil). Historisch-grammatische Einführung in die früh-neu-hochdeutschen Schriftstile. (xii, 266 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *Buchh. des Waisenhauses*, 1909. m. 8.

Πλάτων., ἐξ ἑρμηνείας καὶ διορθώσεως Σπυρ. Μωραΐτου. Τόμος Β'. (xxvi, 728 S.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *B. Liebisch*, 1908. m. 12.

Robert (Carl). Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Studien u. Beobachtgn. Mit 2 Plänen u. 7 Planskizzen im Text. (vii, 348 S.) gr. 8°. Berlin, *Weidmann*, 1909. m. 10.

Setho (Kurt). Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken u. Photographien des Berliner Museums neu hrag. u. erläutert. 8. Lfg. (II. Bd. S. 1-120 in Autogr.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs' Verl.*, 1908. m. 10.50.

Solmsen (Fel.) Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung. 1. Tl. (v, 270 S.) gr. 8°. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. m. 9.

Sophokles' Antigone. Für den Schulgebrauch hrag. v. Adf. Lange. 2 Tle. (102 u. 91 S.) 8°. Berlin, *Weidmann*, 1908. m. 1.80.

Study-series, Semitic, ed. by Rich. J. H. Gottheil and Morris Jastrow, Jr. 8°. Leiden, *Buchh. u. Druckerei vorm. E. J. Brill*. Nr. X. Ungnad (Dr. Arth.): Selected business documents, Neo-Babylonian period. (xi, 74 S.) m. 4.

Stahl (K.) Das altrömische Arvallied o. urdeutsches Bittganggebet. (vii, 78 S.) gr. 8°. Würzburg, *J. Kellner*, 1909. m. 3.

Zeitschrift f. celtische Philologie. Hrag. v. Kuno Meyer u. L. Chr. Stern. VII. Bd. 1. Heft. (296 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*, 1909. m. 12.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

American Journal of Archaeology. Second Series. Vol. XII No. 4. Supplement of Vol. XII. Annual Reports. New York, *The Macmillan Company*, 1908.

Arnoldt (Emil). Gesammelte Schriften. Band IV. Kritische Exkurse im Gebiete der Kantforschung. Teil 1. Berlin, *Bruno Cassirer*, 1908.

Ἀθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Τόμος κ'. Τεύχος δ'. Ἀθήνησιν 1908.

Brugmann (Karl) u. Delbrück (Berthold). Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Kurzgefasste Darstellung. Lehre von den Wortformen u. ihrem Gebrauch v. Karl Brugmann. Strassburg, *Trübner*, 1909. 11 m.

Ciceronis (M. Tulli). Oratio pro M. Caello. Recensuit atque interpretatus est Jacobus Van Wageningen. Groningae, *Nordhoff*, MCMVIII. 8 m.

Denison (T. S.) The Primitive Aryans of America. Origin of Aztecs and kindred tribes. Chicago, *T. S. Denison*, 1909.

D'Ooge (Martin L.) The Acropolis of Athens illustrated. New York, *The Macmillan Company*, 1909. \$4.

Dyer (Louis). The Olympian Council House (Printed from the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XIX, 1908).

Ellis (R.) Adversaria. Journal of Philology. Vol. XXXI.

Empedocles, The Fragments of. Translated into English by W. E. Leonard. Chicago, *The Opera Court Publishing Co.*, 1908.

English Dictionary (The Oxford). Edited by Sir James A. H. Murray. PREMISAL—PROPHESIE. (Vol. VII.) Oxford, *At the Clarendon Press*. New York, *Henry Frowde*, 1909. \$1.50.

Fitz Hugh (Thomas). Tonic Laws of Latin Speech and Rhythm. Supplement to the History of Italo-Romanic. University of Virginia, *Anderson Brothers*, 1908.

Grammar of New Testament Greek by James Hope Moulton. Vol. I. Prolegomena, Third Ed. Edinburgh, *T. T. Clark*, 1908.

Hall (Edith H.) The Decorative Art of Greece in the Bronze Age. Bryn Mawr Diss., 1907.

Hamilton (G. L.) Dares and Dictys. Reprint from Modern Language Notes. January, 1909.

Hellenic Herald. Dec., 1908. London. 10s. per ann.

Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie. Herausg. v. Fr. Leo u. C. Robert. XLIV Bd. 1 Heft. Berlin, *Weidmann*, 1909.

Huelsen (Ch.) The Roman Forum: Its History and its Monuments. Transl. by Jesse Benedict Carter. Second Ed. revised and enlarged. With 5 plates and 151 illustrations. Rome, *Loescher & Co.* New York, *G. E. Stechert & Co.* \$1.75.

Hymenaea. A Comedy acted at St. John's College. Cambridge [1578?]. Ed. by G. E. Moore Smith. Cambridge, *University Press*, 1908. (Baltimore, Eichelberger Book Co.)

Jordanes, The Origin and Deeds of the Goths in English Version. (Princeton Diss.) By Charles E. Mierow, Princeton, 1908.

Journal of Hellenic Studies (The). Vol. XXVIII. Part II. London, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1908.

Καρολίδου (Π.) Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Συλλόγος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων. ἐν Ἀθήναις 1908. 50 c.

Kelsey (F. W.) Codrus' Chiron and a Painting from Herculaneum. *Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*. Vol. XII (1908).

— Some Archaeological Forgeries from Michigan. *American Anthropologist* (N. S.). Vol. X No. 1. 1908.

— Is there a Science of Classical Philology? *Classical Philology*. Vol. III No. 4. Oct., 1908.

Krumbacher (Karl). Ein neuer griechischer Thesaurus. *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik*. Berlin, 19. Dez., 1908.

Λαμπρινόπουλος. Τὰ Δουτρά. Συλλόγος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων. Ἀρ 96. ἐν Ἀθήναις 1908. @ 50 c.

Latelnisches Lese u. Übungsbuch. Herausg. v. J. Steiner u. August Scheindler. Vierter Teil. 4. Aufl. Herausg. v. R. Kauer. Wien, *P. Tempsky*, 1908. geb. 2 Kr.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IX. Indo-Aryan Family. Central Group. Part II. Specimens of the Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Collected by G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, *Superintendent Government Printing*, India, 1908.

Lipscomb (H. C.) Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic. *J. H. U. Diss.*, 1909.

Livy. Selections from the first Book. Ed. by O. M. Long. Chicago, *Scott, Foresman & Co.*, 1908.

Macchiolo (Vittorio). Ceramiche-Sardofenice nel Museo Civico di Pavia. *Bolletino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria*, 1908.

Marique (P. J.) and Gilson (H. B.) French Composition. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1908. 40 c.

Mayr (Albert). Die Insel Malta im Altertum. Mit Unterstützung der K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften. München, 1909. Oskar Beck, 1909. 10 m.

Μελέτη (Ἡ). Μηνιαῖον δημοσίευμα. Νοεμβρ., Δεκέμβριος, 1908. ἐν Ἀθήναις. @ 1 δρ.

Morgan (Morris H.) The Preface of Vitruvius. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. Vol. XLIV No. 6. January, 1909.

Mustard (W. P.) Notes on the Eclogues of Alexander Barclay. *M. L. Notes*. January, 1909.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte u. deutsche Literatur u. für Pädagogik. Herausg. v. J. Ilberg u. B. Gerth. Elfter Jahrg., 1908. XXI. u. XXII. Bände. 10. Heft. Zwölfte Jahrg., 1909. XXIII. u. XXIV. Bände. 11. Heft. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*.

O'Connor (J. B.) Chapters in the History of Actors and Oratory in Ancient Greece together with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum. (Princeton Ph. D. Diss.) Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1908.

Oldfather (M. A.) Lokrika. Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen. (Münchner Diss.) Tübingen, *H. Laupp*, 1908. Reprint from *Philologus* LXVII.

Open Court Publishing Co., The work of the. An Illustrated Catalogue. Chicago, *Open Court Publ. Co.*, 1908.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part VI. Ed. with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt with six plates. London, *Egypt Exploration Fund*. New York, *Henry Frowde*, 1908.

Pearl Strings (The). A History of the Resūliyy Dynasty of Yemen. Transl. and Text with Annotations and Index by the late Sir J. W. Redhouse. Vol. III. Containing the Annotations. (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Publication.) Leyden, *E. J. Brill*. London, *Lozac & Co.*, 1908.

Pedro Sanchez. By José M. De Pereda with Notes, Transl. and Vocabulary by Ralph Emerson Bassett. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1907.

Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias. Vol. VII. Num. 1, 2, y 3. Universidad de la Habana, 1908.

Robinson (D. M.) and Bates (W. N.). Notes on Vases in Philadelphia. American Journal of Archaeology. Second Series. Vol. XII (1908) No. 4.

Rees (Kelley). The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama. (Chicago Diss.) Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1908.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Herausg. von August Brinkmann. N. F. LXIV 1. Frankfurt, *Sauerländer*, 1909.

Robert (Carl). Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909. 10 m.

Scheindlers Lateinische Schulgrammatik. Herausg. v. R. Kauer. 7. Aufl. Wien, *F. Tempky*, 1908. geb. 2 Kr. 80 h.

Schenkl (Karl). Übungsbuch zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Griechische. Bearb. v. H. Schenkl u. Florian Weigel. 12. Aufl. Wien, *F. Tempky*, 1908. geb. 2 Kr. 25 h.

Schmidt (Wilhelm). Geburtstag im Altertum. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten begründet von Albert Dieterich u. Richard Wünsch, herausg. von R. Wünsch u. Ludwig Teubner. VII. Bd. 1 Heft. Gießen, *Töpelmann*, 1908. New York, *G. E. Stechert & Co.* 4 m. 80 pf.

Showerman (Grant). Mud and Nalla. Educational Review, May, 1908.

—A Co-educational Meditation. Educational Review. January, 1909.

Slaughter (M. S.) The High School Course in Latin. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. No. 270. High School Series. No. 4.

Solmsen (Felix). Zur griechischen Wortforschung. Erster Teil. Strassburg, *Karl J. Trübner*, 1909. 9 m.

Stearns (W. N.) Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers. Collected and ed. by W. N. S. Chicago, *The University of Chicago Press*, 1908. 88 c.

Θεοφράστου χαρακτήρες. The Characters of Theophrastus. An English Translation from a revised text by R. C. Jebb (1870). New Ed. ed. by J. E. Sandys. London, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1909.

Tolman (Herbert Cushing). Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts. New York, *Lemcke & Buechner*, 1909. \$1.

Tranbe (Ludwig). Vorlesungen u. Abhandlungen. Herausg. v. Franz Boll. München, *O. H. Beck*, 1908. 15 m.

Travaglio (Cesare). La scrittura latina volgare nei papiri dei primi cinque secoli dopo Cristo. Reale Accademia della Scienze di Torino (1907-1908). Torino, *Carlo Clausen*, 1908.

Ullmann (B. L.) The identification of the MSS of Catullus cited in Statius' Editions of 1566. (Chicago Dr. Diss.) University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 75 c.

— The Book Division of Propertius. Classical Philology. Vol. IV. No. 1. January, 1909. Chicago, *University Press*.

Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- u. Literaturgeschichte. Herausg. v. O. F. Walzel. N. F.

I. Heft. Hebbelprobleme. Studien v. O. F. Walzel.

II. Heft. Charles Batteux u. seine Nachahmungstheorie in Deutschland. Leipzig, *H. Haessel*, 1909. @ 3 m.

Vallette (P.) De Oenomaio Cynico. (Diss. Paris.) Lutetia Parisiorum, *Ap. C. Klincksieck*, MCMVIII. 5 fr.

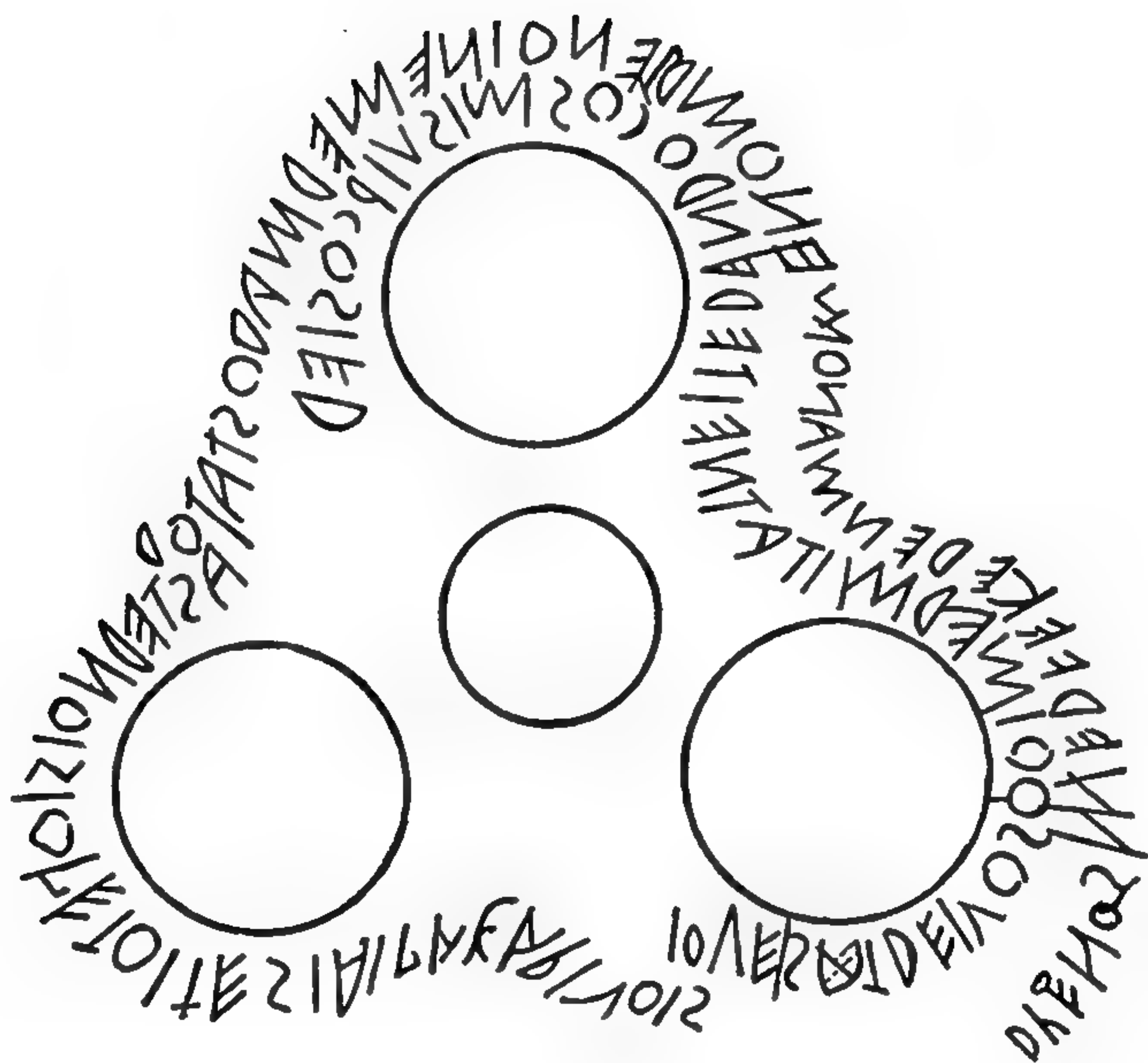
L'Apologie d'Apulée (Thèse de Doctorat.) Paris, *Klincksieck*, MCMVIII. 7 fr. 50.

Van Esveld (W. H. Chr.) De balneis et lavationibus Graecorum. (Diss. Inauguralis Rheno-Traj.). Amersfortiae, *Ap. Slothower*, MCMVIII.

Vergils Aenels nebst ausgewählten Stücken der Bucolica u. Georgica von W. Klouček. 7. neu durchges. Auflage. Wien, *Tempky*. Leipzig, *Freytag*, 1908. geb. 2 m. 50 pf.

Xenophon's Hellenica. Selections ed. with Introd., Notes and Appendices by Carleton L. Brownson, Ph. D. New York, *American Book Co.*, 1908.

Year's Work in Classical Studies. Third Year of Issue. Ed. by W. H. D. Rouse. London, *John Murray*, 1908. 2s. 6d.



AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXX, 2.

WHOLE No. 118.

I.—SYNTHESIS DOLIOLORUM DRESSELIANA.

Tria doliola aut tres seriolae quae, verbo Plautino converso (cf. Pseud. 659), doliare homullos, doliunculosve (cf. nomen proprium graecum 'Κοτύλλος', n. Latinum 'Catillo') nominaverim, inter se,

ut convenerat esse delicatos,

seriatim, dolose, per aenigmata (scirpos, grypos) versiculos scribentes

reddunt mutua per iocum atque vinum.

Neque illi, qui saepe sepulcra legissent, memorias plane penitusque perdiderant. Quin etiam inter eos unus certe grammaticus videtur fuisse, omnesque scurrae urbani; ille autem qui postremus dicit norma loquendi quasi Paeligna vel potius macaronica utitur. Quam normam haud scio an putem illum e mimis Atellanis scaenicis audisse, nec non potest esse se ipsum partes Atellanas egisse: nisi putare velis eum e Paelignis Romam migrasse.

Nunc vero colloquium ipsum videamus:

Doliunculus Primus loquitur:

1) Ioue[i] sat deiuos qoi med mitat.

Iuvet sat divos qui me mittat.

Respondit Doliunculus Secundus, et deos qui cum multibibi tum merobibi essent et sodalem qui tam pusillus esset ludos faciens:

2) nei ted endo cosmis virco sied,

quae verba, re vera per aenigmata ita intellegenda,

a) ni (? ne) in te comis aqua sit (virco = nymphalympha) apertum, ut videntur, sensum et contumelio sum et malitiosum habent,

b) ne in te comis puella sit.

■

Cui respondet Dol. Prim., qui se sensum aenigmatis (supra per a litteram indicatum) intellegere vult ostendere :

- 3) Duenos med feked en manomeinom
 Benus (? Bellus homo) me fecit a) in bonum
 vinum, b) in Manium v., c) in *μαινόμενον* = furentem.

Tum Primo iterum Secundus ita respondet ut ostendat se verba inusitata 'Duenos', 'Manom einom' non fugisse, neque se philosophiam nescire :

- 4) Dzenoi ne med mallo <s> [? malvos] statod
 Ne <quis> Zeno malus <a> me stato.

Inde illis mutua reddentibus finem facit Doliunculus Tertius, qui Paelignorum rustica ac vasta pronuntiatione vel vero etiam macaronice loquitur :


- 5) ast ednoisi opetoite sjaipa karivois.
 at in escis (? escas) optatote (sc. me) sive
 in Caristiis (? bellaria).

Haec hactenus.

The above interpretation of the Duenos inscription will appear at a first reading fanciful, perhaps fantastic, but I do not issue it in haste. Neither is it an ironical way of attacking the genuineness of the inscription, though I will confess to some sympathy with Cobet's impatience over the results attained in interpreting this inscription, and Cobet had not seen the now accredited version of Thurneysen. I recognize that the linguistic method of attack is seductive, and I shall have to make use of it presently to defend my own interpretation. But while I believe in an appeal to linguistics where nothing else is available, I can see how impatient a Cobet, who did not believe in the method, must have become over the wide sweep of interpretations already known to him (*Mnem.* 9, 441), full of syntactical violences and (as it must have seemed to him) morphological mirages.

Of previous interpretations, so far as they have come under my observation, only one has suggested any the least reasonable use for the object on which the inscription is found, and that is Schroeder's suggestion that the object is a cosmetic set. For my own part, I can but think that to know what the object was meant for would go further toward determining the meaning of the legend upon it than a wide comparison with all the cognate languages.

For several years I have not been able to rid myself of the notion that the set of three little vessels—found in a non-sacred locality, with other objects, among them an uninscribed set of four vessels—fastened together to look, roughly speaking, like a caster for oil, vinegar, mustard, had some playful and social purpose. I first thought of an ever so primitive loving-cup, but this notion was dispelled by the consideration of the size and shape of the little *tripot*.

Finally it occurred to me to try to interpret the legend in conformity with the object on which it stood. The object is a group of three tiny clay casks (*dolia*¹) or barrels (*seriae*), made separately and then put together so as to form a synthesis *doliolorum* aut *sēriolarum*. Reproductions of the object are fairly numerous (see 'Literature' below, which does not pretend to give an exhaustive list). Now a *dōlium* (Romance also attests *dōlium* or *dollium*) might naturally be chosen to speak a δόλιον τι, a *dolus*, and a *sēria* might, with the same humorous propriety, be chosen for a cryptograph written *sēriatim*, without word division. The position of the inscription is curious, as it winds round the jars, forming a rough serpentine, an outline somewhat suggestive of the curious serpentine of the Pompeian inscription of Sepumius (see Niccolini's *Monum. Pomp.*, pl. 69). The line that I have marked 1, after encircling with a convex curve about two-thirds of *Doliolum Primum*, meanders in a concave curve along the joint binding *Dol. I* with *Doliolum Secundum*, and ends, almost with mathematical precision, at the deepest point in the concave surface. Line 2 proceeds out of the concave and up around *Dol. II*, ending at a point in perfectly symmetrical opposition to the starting point of line 1, the general outline being substantially thus: . How would it have been possible more clearly to hint that the lines belong severally to the individual vessels they encircle? Generally similar, but not so perfectly symmetrical, is the 'curve' of lines 3 and 4, falling below 1 and 2 on a surface much more difficult for the scribe. In the lower serpentine, the division I have made falls tolerably close to the outermost point of the convex curve around *Dol. II*. But the line of 3 and 4 goes further, passing along the concave curve of the joint between *Dol. II* and *Doliolum Tertium*, and

¹Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat. Select.* 8743, describes it as *vasculum . . . ex tribus doliolis conglutinatum*.

stopping at a point a little way along the rise presented by Dol. III. The long line numbered 5 begins above the two final letters of 4 and, entirely encircling Dol. III, meanders along the concave of the joint binding Dol. III with Dol. I, coming to an end on Dol. I under the first three characters of line 1. It could not be more clearly hinted that this line is to be assigned to Dol. III.

The usual arrangement of the lines has been 1 and 2, 5, 3 and 4. This does not seem to me nearly so well to satisfy the lay of the lines. Nor is it, in view of the greater accessibility of the writing surface, a fair objection to my arrangement to notice that line 5 begins above line 4. It is right to say, however, that my division and arrangement of the lines was suggested purely by the effort at their verbal interpretation, the neat symmetry of the divisions in regard to the three doliola not having occurred to me till later.

I think it can hardly be accidental that by my division of the lines they may be thrown provisionally into a metrical arrangement, as follows:

Iōuē[i] sāt deiuōs qoi mēd mītāt	4	anap.
nēi tēd ēndō cosmis uirco sied	4½	"
Duēnōs mēd fēkēd ēn mā- nomēnom	4	"
Dzēnōi nē mēd māllo<s> statōd	4	"
ast ēd- nōisi ōpē- tōitē syāipā kārī- uōis	5½	"

I have now brought my readers to the point at which I arrived by the inspection of the object and by the verbal study of the legend, including of course previous interpretations of it, so far as they are accessible to me. It was at this point that I began to look for literary illustrations and parallels, seeking to find a place in Roman customs for a synthesis doliolorum exhibiting a humorous dialogue meandering about the little component vases; and I find an appropriate use for the object as an apophoreton, or a playful present for the Saturnalia. Accordingly, passing over the apophoreta presented at Trimalchio's dinner (Petronius 56), let us note the following instances:

Statius, in a playful list of Saturnalia presents that his friend Grypus ("Riddle") might have sent him, suggests (Silv. IV 9, 43 sq.):

Cumano patinas in orbe tortas
aut unam dare synthesin—quid horres?—
alborum calicum atque caccaborum;

so Martial (IV 46, 15), in a similar list, mentions :

et crasso figuli polita caelo
septenaria synthesis Sagunti.

These poets may, it is true, have meant an actual set of plates or pots, but a synthesis such as ours would be just the sort of thing for a punster like Trimalchio to award as an apophoreton. In Martial's list of apophoreta, two (XIV 105, 106) may have been like our synthesis, in a general way.

Urceoli ministratorii,

Frigida non deerit, non deerit calda petenti ;
Sed tu morosa ludere parce siti.

Urceus fictilis,

Hic tibi donatur panda ruber urceus ansa ;
Stoicus hoc gelidam Fronto petebat aquam.

The jocular Saturnalia present was in vogue in the time of Catullus (Carm. xiv), to whom Calvus had sent a roll of bad verses, and the same trick was perpetrated on Statius (Silv. IV 9) by one Grypus, who sent Statius

• • Bruti senis oscitationes
de capsâ miseri libellionis
emptum plus minus asse Gaiano,

and we may well wonder if Statius does not pun in Oscitationes on the name Osci, alluding to the dialectic character of the ancient verses.¹

With these data before our eyes, we may feel that the surmise that the synthesis Dresseliana was a jocular present is not an entirely unwarranted fancy.

As regards dating the inscription by its linguistic character, obviously we can depend on nothing in an archaizing inscription, and particularly if we have a cryptograph before us which purposely used, with some conventional limitations perhaps, the most confusing forms and alphabet² available to the composer of

¹ I use 'dialectic', of course, as one would speak of the dialect of Chaucer. Oscan must have seemed particularly ancient, to draw the proper inference from Strabo's *ἰδὼν δὲ τι τοῖς Ὀσκοῖς . . . συμβέβηκε τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ὀσκῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἢ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινὰ ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι* (cited from Schanz, *Röm. Lit.-Gesch.*² i, p. 155).

² We who use black-letter or German text for our visiting cards can hardly suppose that the Romans did not have patterns or pattern books of ancient

the legend. Under these circumstances, everything, pots and all, was subject to archaization. And the legend is the work of a clever *scurra grammaticus*, I take it, who knew his old Latin authors, and to whom a walk about the forum or out among the graves on the Appian way might have revealed many a curiosity in word forms and orthography not now accessible to us in all the pages of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. But we shall have to call upon very few inscriptions to illustrate for ourselves the linguistic peculiarities¹ of the *synthesis doliolorum*. Indicia for dating the inscription seem to me, therefore, to be wanting, and we might father it upon any Roman *scurra* with a *grammaticus* for his friend, from the time of Lucilius to Quintilian. It may possibly be even earlier.

But let us back to our *res ludicra*, three tricky *doliola* in a group, with a tricky legend meandering *serialim* about them, and search for possible parallels. This will bring us to a curious citation to be found in the older and better part of the treatise entitled *Probi in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius*, a document whose older parts it is surely safer for us to accredit to Probus than to some Epigonus of our own invention. I print the passage as it stands in Keil's edition (p. 18), but with the verses in the metrical arrangement of Buecheler (*Petronius*, p. 174):

Sin vero caelum pro igni in his versibus <Bucol. 6, 31> intellexerimus, quem eundem mundum et κόσμον dictum probat Varro in Cynicis, quam inscripsit Dolium aut Seria, sic:

mundus domus est maxima homulli	4	anap.
quam quinque altitonae fragmine zonae	4½	"
cingunt, per quam limbus pictus	4	"
bis sex signis stellumicantibus	4	"
5 altus in obliquo aethere lunae bigas acceptat ² , 6½	6½	"

script forms at command. Nor is it improbable that an Orbilius taught spelling, as well as reading, from the text of Livius Andronicus (cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2, 1, 69) and, to judge from Quintilian's later recommendation (*Inst. Or.* 1, 1, 35), he probably had a 'spelling-book' that laid especial emphasis on the γλῶσσαι: how otherwise account for the work of a Verrius Flaccus?

¹ I beg to notify the reader that I mean to treat as linguistic peculiarities chiefly such things as a Roman grammaticus might have jotted down in his notes, and to draw such deductions as I think such an one might have drawn.

² Our text runs on, without a break: Postumi Cui <lege Qui> seplasia fetet: appellatur a caelatura caelum, graece ab ornatu κόσμος, latine a puritia

Here the title, *Dolium aut Seria*, has been taken as proverbial (cf. Otto, *Sprichwoerter*, s. v. *dolium*), but this I do not believe. The title is a punning one. There seems to have been not infrequent occasion for mentioning the *dōlium* and *seria* together (cf. Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, III, p. 419), and the contrast of *dōlium* with *sēria*,¹ of 'tricky' with 'serious', must often have forced itself on the attention of users of the phrase. The trick of adulterating wine (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 23, 33 and Mart. 13, 111, cited in Becker-Göll, l. c., 426, 433) would also have furnished a motive. Now I suppose Varro's title of *Dolium aut Seria* to have indicated that the contents of the book were now tricky, now serious,—or both; and it may have consisted of riddles² and catches interspersed among more serious paragraphs. That the title, or rather the phrase adopted as a title, may have been in use before Varro's time is self-evident.³

But to return to our *Synthesis Doliolorum aut Seriolarum*. We have found an almost precise metrical parallel in an extant Latin citation drawn from a *satura* entitled *Dolium aut Seria*. This curious metrical coincidence, considered along with the correspondence of object and title, may be only one of the freaks of coincidence that beset investigators, but it has seriously shaken my confidence in the antiquity of the legend on our little tripod. Not that the Varro citation is necessarily the older. There is a way out of that difficulty by supposing that a 'dolium' was a

mundus; and at the risk of introducing matters not germane to my subject, I would note an interpretation that has occurred to me of this title. Postumius has, I conjecture, a tell-tale name, and is cousin-german to Catullus's Postumia (*Carm.* 27). This fatherless spoiled child, this nepos, this dandy reeking of perfumes, is represented as interpreting *caelum* by *caelatura* (jewelry), *κόσμος* by *ornatus* (clothes), and *mundus* by *puritia* (cleanliness): what a different style of etymologizing from that of the following fragment (33, Buech.): *idque alterum appellamus a calendo calorem, alterum a fervore febrim.*

¹ *Sēria* may belong with *servare*, with dialectic loss of *v* as in Umbrian *seritu* 'servato'; or was the *sēria* originally used for 'dry' objects (*ξηρός*)?

² The use of Varro's *Cynicae* as a (grammatical) riddle-book is not inconsistent with Gellius 13, 31.

³ I here note the two curious glosses criticised by Goetz in his index volume as *obscurae*, viz.: *serion* inepte uel discrete, *serion* ineptae uel districtae: may we suppose that *serion* is some sort of mutilation of what was originally *dolium aut seria*? It looks more like the interrogation, *serion(e)*.

verse type of the playful sort like the newfangled limerick of yesterday—and tomorrow.¹

Let us now proceed to a more detailed examination of the inscription, from the points of view already mentioned above, but especially bearing in mind that each line is a sort of grammatical conundrum. Nor need we dwell on such orthographical instances as any reader of Plautus, or knower of the habits of spelling employed, say, on inscriptions of the type of the (refact) Elogium Duilii, would know. Thus *deiuos* (= *divos*), *med* (= *me*) *mitat* (= *mittat*), *nei* (= *ni* 'ne' or *ni* 'nisi'), *ted* (= *te*), *endo* (= *indu*, *in*), *virco* (= *virgo*), *sied* (= *sit*, *siet*; for -*d* cf. *at/ad* as discussed by Quintilian 1, 7, 5), *ast* (= *at*), *en* (= *in*), *statod* (= *stato*) need not detain us. The remainder of the vocabulary we must submit to special notice.

1) *Ioue[i] sat deiuos qoi med mitat.*²

The conundrum-asker expects to puzzle by *Iouei sat* (if the 5th character be read as *i* and not as a line divider), especially as followed by *deiuos*. As I unravel the riddle, he meant *Ioue[t]* *sat*, using *iouet* for *iuvet* as on the inscription of the Faliscan cooks (Dessau 3083; Lindsay, *Lat. Inscr.* xxxviii), and omitting his person ending -*t* (*d*), whether as in early or as in later inscription forms (cf., in Dessau, *fece* 8620; *dede* 2979, 2982, 3143, but *dedet* 2987, 3142: cf. also vulgar forms like *ama*, *peria* (*bereat*), *valia* (*valeat*), *vota* (*vetat*) on Pompeian inscriptions (cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, No. 946).³ We are still left with the problem of the fifth character. Is it a word-separator? Is it an

¹ Cf. the 'serpentine' and 'anacylic' stanzas of the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese, Vol. I, Nos. 38-80; 81).

² In *SAT*, A is superposed on a (?traced, or) nearly smoothed-out *Σ*. As a mere question of palaeography I should regard this as a correction of *set* (*sed*) to *sat*, but in a latebra scribendi the scribe, in leaving the adumbrated *Σ*, seems to me to have intended, in the context with *Iouei*, to suggest *Sast* <*urnus*>. To the same intention we might ascribe the afterthought *i* of *Iouei*. As for the final *t* of *mitat*, the cryptographer could hardly be expected consistently to employ -*d* and -*t* as secondary and primary person-endings.

³ At the risk of seeming oversubtle, let me point out that a subjunctive *iould* in sentence euphony before a consonant would, in the spoken dialect of Plautus' time have yielded *iouē* or, with iambic shortening, *iouē*: it is simply the phonetic history of *beně*, *malě*, *modō* with which we have to deal over again. Thus an early inscription form like *dede* for **dedēd* need not be branded as dialectic, even though Umbrian -*d* also fell away.

*i*¹? No amount of positive assertion from the merely graphic standpoint can make one of these solutions more probable than the other. That it was intended as a 'confuser' for the riddle-guesser, and that it may have been an afterthought inserted on the 'copy' furnished the potter, seems to me probable. But admitting it for an *i*, I shall believe it was a silent letter, an iota adscriptum² et invocatum (ἀνεκφώνητος), introduced as a 'confuser' by the scurra grammaticus, who not only knew of the Greek silent iota, but had connected it with old Latin orthographical peculiarities.³

The really difficult word in our inscription is QOI, and no progress has been made in solving the difficulty since the searching study of Bersu (*Gutturalen*, p. 37).⁴ Rather has the difficulty been

¹ It might possibly be an uncrossed *i*: note the very long shanked *i* with short crossbar in *statod*.

² Earlier Latin borrowings from the Greek bring over the adscript iota, but not later ones (cf. Blass, *Aussprache*³, pp. 48-49).

³ I refer to such spellings as the datives *salute* (D. 2975), *matre* (2981), in contrast with *Apolenei* (2970); *Vediovei patri* (2988), but *Dioue* (2989); on the self-same (? refact) *Scipio Epitaph* (7) *honore*, *dat.*, and *virtutei*, *abl.*, (*Romano indicante*); *ei* for *ē* and *ē* in *L. Aemilius L. f. inpeirator decreivit* (D. 15; cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 22, § 11, who also notes *leigibus* and *pleib.*) The parallelism of *-d* and *-oi* in the dative sg. masc. had certainly been made a matter of grammatical observation; cf. *Marius Victorinus* (Keil, vi, 17), who cites *populoi Romano*; the forms *cameloi* and *caproi*, cited by the same (ib., p. 24) "*ex peritorum quorundam scriptionibus*", are probably correctly explained by Sommer (*Gram.*, p. 372) as mere transcriptions of Greek datives in *-ωι*. We cannot doubt that, in the phonetic passage from *-oi* to *-o*, there was a stage in which *-d* was written down as *-oi*; cf. the curious inscription, No. 7292 (D.), where *virginio infelicissimoi* can only be a dative. The same phenomenon with the dative in *a/oi*, e. g., D. 3100, *Iunonei Loucina* (3101, *Iunone Loucinai*, cf. 3099 *Iunone Loucina*. I cannot but think that the (professional) inscription writers followed old norms more or less bunglingly, and I see no real phonetic differentiation but a mere graphic inconsequence in the datives of the inscription . . . *leibertus Iunone Seispitri matri reginae* (D. 3097), where the common names have the form of the normal grammar paradigms. Further note *Caeicilius* of 147 or 116 B. C. (Lindsay, l. c., p. 242). To avoid being misunderstood, let me add, apropos of line 3 of this footnote, that I am aware that *honore* is generally interpreted as *accus.* (so Dessau, quoting Mommsen), but the dative seems to me more probable (cf. *Livy* 1, 24, 7, *illis legibus populus Romanus non deficiet*): thus *vita defecit honore* syntactically equals *vita non suffecit honori*.

⁴ Bersu makes it entirely clear that Q (κόππα) was never a recognized transcription of *qu-*: late spellings like *qa-* are not in point. The spelling *quom* for *qom*, *cum* is analogical, perhaps directly with *-que*, as (in an imaginary instance), *me teque amat* = *me tecum amat*.

increased by the discovery of the Forum Cippus with its QVOI. That QOI represented a real pronunciation quoi seems quite inadmissible till a late imperial period, far too late for our inscription. There is absolutely no evidence, either, that Q was ever used as a graphic sign for qu. I can find but one reasonable explanation of QOI (? for QOOI), and that is that in the cryptograph QO- is a Greekish transcription, wherein Ko- = Lat qu- (cf. Κόιντος = Quintus, D. 8764, anno 195-4).¹ We need not wonder that the cryptographist, who had chosen an alphabet rather nearer Greek than Latin, should have used a Greekish transcription: QOI lent itself to confusion with case forms of 'Cous', and might have seemed to the cryptographist less transparent than QOEI would have been. At any rate, we may suppose that the graphic doublet *i/ei* was applied by the scurra ad libitum.

2) nei ted e[? i]ndo cosmis virco sied.

The spelling *cosmis* may have been based on instances like *triresmos*, on the refact elogium Duilii (Dessau 65, 12; cf. *dis-mota* D. 18, 30), on grammatical knowledge of doublets like *Casmenae* | *Camenae* registered (for us) in Varro, L. L. 7, 27 (with an entirely gratuitous middle term *carmenae*), and in Festus (de Ponor. 244, 14), who adds *pesnis* | *pennis*, *caesnas* | *caenas*: further cf. *dusmo* in loco (l. c. 47, 22). But any grammaticus was capable of connecting *comis* with κόσμος, as a glossist actually did and as, in fact, we ought to do ourselves, in view of the very plain meaning of the adverb in the oracle of Marcius (quoted by Livy, 25, 12), *ludi qui quotannis comiter Apollini fiant*.² And I would say, in passing, that, however much better delimited our present comparative method is, it has not produced results greatly superior to the Graeco-Roman equations listed by Varro, L. L. 6, § 96. In view of the Paelignian traces later to be pointed out in our inscription, we may also note *prismu* 'prima' as an instance of sm/m.

To the serious interpretation of *virco* as 'aqua' immediate objection would spring up, I am aware. Certainly it is nothing

¹ Cf. Varro, L. L. 6, 2; Cointos in Roman script in an inscription of Arabian provenience (CIL. III, Suppl., 14382).

² I do not mean, of course, that either *cosmis* or κόσμος go immediately back to primitive *kosm-*, but they go back, in my opinion, to *kodsmo-*, *kod-* belonging with the base *s)k(h)el(y)d-* 'caedere' (cf. the writer, Am. Jr. Phil. 26, 395 sq.), and the primitive sense was something like 'shapely, trim.'

strange, however, to explain *virco* as a humorous substitution for *nympha*, and *nympha* as a practical doublet of *lympa*. The hesitant reader may satisfy his doubts by turning up the *vox media nympha* in a lexicon, or the inscriptions to the *Nymphae* in Dessau, particularly 3858, where on a bilingual we have *Lumphieis* but *Νύμφαις*; and 3859, which begins *Nymphis Lymphisq. Augustis*. But we have even better evidence, which will perhaps throw light on the date of our riddle. In 19 B. C. Agrippa constructed the aqueduct known as *Aqua Virgo*, called simply *Virgo* (*gelidissima*) by Ovid (*Ar. Am.* 3, 385¹) and by Martial (6, 42, 18 et al.). So our *scurra grammaticus* may have used *virco* as a substitute for *Aqua* (or *Lympha*, cf. *Lympha Marcia*, Tibullus 3, 6, 58) *Virgo*. As for the name, we have on the one hand the statement of Frontinus (*Aquae.* 10) that the discoverer of the source was a *puella virguncula*—where I think it an open question whether *virguncula* may not be an *abl.* = *virgula divina* (cf. the gloss *virguncula virga modica*); on the other, Pliny (*N. H.* 31, 42) has it <virginem> *iuxta est Herculaneus rivus, quem refugiens virginis nomen obtinuit*. And the name *Aqua Virgo* may be a combination older than either story: cf. the Homeric Hymn to Ceres 99, where a *φρίαρ παρθένιον* is mentioned, and in the *Rig Veda* we have a *Nympha* known as *ápyā Yóṣā* (*Yóṣaṇā*) ‘*aquea virgo*’. Thus *Aqua Virgo* may prove to be so old a linguistic combination as to serve us ill in giving a date to the inscription.

I take *sied* for metrical reasons as a monosyllable. To the scribe it was a written equivalent of *sit*, not a phonetic variant for it, I fancy. The scribes of Plautine manuscripts write it so every now and then.

3) *Duenos med feked¹ en manomeinom.*

The spelling of *Benus* as *Duenos* required no great antiquarian knowledge. For *dv-/b-* we know the necessary analogies from the form *duonum* ‘*bonum*’ (*Paulus-Festus* 47); the stem *duono-* also on a *Scipio* epitaph (*D.* 3), and in *Livius Andronicus*. The

¹Ovid is also cited in the *lexica* for *virgineus liquor*, *virginea aqua*.

²It is merely a toss-up whether we print *feked* or *feced*, as the scribe has, here and in *karivovis* (l. 5), so superposed *κ* and *ϰ*, the one above the other, as to leave it quite uncertain which character he meant finally to leave. Thus the *κϰ* monograms also seem a part of the cryptographer's apparatus of confusion.

doublet duellum/bellum was a thing of common knowledge, and a grammaticus should have known Varro's duonus cerus es (L. L. 7, 26).¹

For *feced*, we may cite the form cepet (Dessau 65, 5); cf. fuet and cepit on the same Scipio epitaph (D. 3). For the final -*d* see above, p. 128, and note fecid but dedit on the same cista (D. 8562)—with *dedit* by dissimilation from dedeid?

There is room for doubt as to the real meaning of *manomeinom* in the cryptograph: I am most inclined to take it as *μαινόμενον*² 'lymphatum, furentem' (sc. vino); cf. Horace, C. 2, 7, 28, non ego sanius | bacchabor Edonis: recepto | dulce mihi furere est amico; also 3, 19, 18 insanire iuvat; and in general Cicero, Brutus 276, furere et bacchari, Il. 6, 132 *μαινόμενος Διόνυσος*, Sophocles, Antigone 1152, <Θυιάδες> *μαινόμεναι*, Plato, Legg. 733 D, *μαινόμενος οἶνος*. The cryptographer may have modelled his spelling of *d* for *ai* on the relation of *crāpula* to *κρασιπάλη*, an identification any scurra furens was capable of; further the pair Saetur-nus | Saturnus may be noted, also the dative doublet -*d* | *ai*; cf. also the Petronian guessing contest (56) in which the conundrum as to *muraena* is answered by murem cum rana.. <accepit>.³ The appearance of *ei* for *z* may be paralleled by inpeirator, noted above, but I think we can allow the cryptographer his 'silent' *z* anywhere. If we divide manom einum, I suppose *cinum* to have been some sort of canting pronunciation of vinum, under the influence of οἶνος, cf. petimus uinum ex oenopolio (Plautus, Asin. 200). This leaves us with two possibilities for *manom*, viz.: (1) mānum = 'bonum', (2) Mānium; and I have even thought—if the inscription were of serious import—of a third, 'hominum'. The third etymologically illuminates the other two. If Italic had a stem

¹ Varro goes on with dunus Ianus: with *δυναις*, and Paulus-Festus's (l. s. c.) *dubenus* (lege duuenus) apud antiquos dicebatur qui nunc dominus, before our eyes, I cannot but believe that *duonus*, *dunus* and *duuenus* belong with *δυναμει* (pace Walde, s. v. bonus): for the sense cf. the comp. *κρείσσων* 'melior': *κράτος* 'vis'. With the proper name Duenos cf. *Κράτης*. Further note Plautine bona voce 'of a strong voice' (Mo. 576).

² For the Grecism cf. tangomenas (? lege tengomenas), Petron. 34, 7.

³ Note may here be taken of Ennius ap. Charisium 1, 98, 12 (Thesaurus I 1066, 22): *crumnam* Ennius ait per e solum scribi posse, quod mentem eruat, et per a [et e, so Vahlen's Ennius² Inc., No. 49, fn.], quod macrorem nutriat. This is not only very early testimony to *ae/e* (cf. my note on aetate et satietate, Most. 196), but seems to attest a form *arumna* (for I take it that nutriat has here ousted alat from the text) and the vowel alternation *ae/d*.

corresponding to Skr. *mānu-* (1) 'homo', (2) 'die Ahnherrn' (approximating 'Manes'), its genitive plural might have been **mānwōm*, and I know of nothing to prevent us from believing that Italic *-anw-* might have yielded *-ān-*, just as, in not a few dialects, *-anf-* yields *-ān-*. The nom. sg. **manus* would have had beside it an acc. **manvom*, whence **mānom* (or allowing for the reduction of *vo* to *o* **mānom*). These two case-forms may be the source of the Latin adj. *mānus* 'good'. It seems to me much more likely that the adj. form came from *manu + o > manvo- > māno-*. In view of "manuos in carminibus saliaribus Aelius Stilo† significare ait bonos" (Festus, p. 130, de Ponor), we may look upon this derivation of **manvo-* as almost attested, unless *manuos* be morphologically connected with Skr. *mānavā-s* 'humanus'. For its sense, *mānus* is to be defined by 'humane', cf. Skr. *manuṣyā-s mānuṣa-s*, 'humane', 'homo'; *manuṣyās* 'Manes'. For the change of stem in *Manes*, we may note the usual passage of adj. *u*-stems, in Latin, over to *ui*-stems (as in *suavis*, e. g.); and if the feminine played a rôle there, we may well suppose that an adj. **mānu-s*, fem. **manwis* gave rise to a masc. **manwis*, preserved only in the context (di) *Manes*.¹ Also note, in Oscan and Umbrian, the ablv. in *-id, -i* (Osc. acc. in *-im*) to *u*-stems (cf. Buck, Elem. -Buch §§ 157, 49). The connection of *mānus* and *Manes* with Skr. *mānu-s* has everything in its favor, except the superstitious reluctance to accept any etymology of high cultural import. It does not conflict with the cognation of *Manes* with Phryg. *μανία* 'καλή' (cf. Kretschmer, Einl., p. 198, infra), taking 'καλή' as a secondary development from 'ἀγαθή';² and it makes for the connection of *Manes* with *Μάνης* 'man', a common name for Phrygian slaves (cf. Eng. "Like master, like man"); and *Μάνης* is the 'man(nikin)' used in playing at cottabos. *Μὴν καταχθόνιος*, a divinity invoked as protector of graves, and *Μάνης* are names for the Ahnherrn, the *Manes*. The same group in German *mann*, *Mannus*.

4) *dzenoi ne med mallo <s> statod.*

That the inscription actually means to read *dzenoi* and not *dvenoi* seems to me every way the more likely. I take *dz-* as a pho-

¹ I do not cite the 'negative' *immanis* because I have never been sure it was semantically connectible with this group.

² But we may well connect *μανία* with *μανός* 'rarus' (cf. MHG. *kūme* 'dünn, schwach, gebrechlich' cognate with O. Eng. *cȳme* 'zart, fein, schön': v. Kluge, Woert., s. v. *kaum*).

netic transcription of Greek Ξ ,¹ and look upon the i as the cryptographer's 'silent' letter; cf. the curious *infelicissimoi* cited above (p. 129), where the -i can scarcely have phonetic value. It could hardly be that the -v of $\Xi\eta\nu\omega\nu$ left a sort of vanish in sinking to Latin Zeno. We may infer that Zeno would not have been looked upon as a good sodalis, *ἡσθιε δ' ἀπρίθια καὶ μάλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδοος ἀναρίον ἐπέπινε* (Diogenes Laertius vii 1, 12).

An unprejudiced reading of the facsimiles of the inscription will, I think, convince anyone that the third character in the word read now as *maao* and now as *ma λ o* may rather be λ or $\lambda\jmath$ (?).² The writer had in mind normal Latin *malus* and, having written his word, crowded in the second λ (or the v), making a sort of monogram. Given an Italic stem *malwo-*, the forms *malwos* and *malwom* would have yielded Lat. *malos*, *malom* (cf. *parum* < *parwom*). In the plural, gen. *malwōm*, after being shortened to *malvōm*, might also yield *malōm*. Assuming for the other cases assimilation of -*lv-* to -*ll-*, the genitives *mallōrum* *mallarum* might also have yielded *malorum*, etc. In Latin, the conflict of *malō-* and *mallo-* was resolved in favor of *malō-* (note the expletive *malum!*). In Oscan the stem *malvo-* > *mallo-* prevailed. I cannot think it likely, in view of the certain interpretation, in the Bantian inscription, of Oscan *perum dolum mallom* by Lat. *sine dolo malo*, that *mallom* had a different stem formation from *malo-*. And the question of the Latin (Italic) treatment of -*LWO-* I regard as still an open one. Solmsen (KZ. 38, 437 sq.) has, to be sure,

¹ I suppose the cryptographer to have first written *denoi*, to do which he need not have known his Aristophanes ($\Delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ for $\Xi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$, Ach. 911; cf. $\Delta\eta\nu\alpha$, ap. Blass. *Ausspr.*², p. 120) at first hand, for the grammatical tradition of *d-* as a transcription form for ζ is found in Priscian (ap. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 11). The subsequent insertion of Z (rather than Ξ) may have been intended to simplify the puzzle; or *dz-* may be interpreted, like the $\kappa\zeta$ monograms above (p. 131, fn. 2), as the intentional admission of conflicting methods of spelling.

² Conway (Am. Jr. Phil. 10, 447) thought that the scribe first wrote Δ and then corrected it to \vee , to which Hempl (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. Soc. 33, 166) properly objects that he did not rub out the Δ . My solution is that the scribe actually meant to write both, and for the nonce used a monogram in his *latebrae litterularum*. From Jordan's reproductions (Nos. 2 and 5 in *Hermes* 16, post p. 224) and Zvetaieff's (*Inscr. Ital. Infer.*, No. 285), it seems possible that we may have a monogram of three letters, the second of which—and this would date the inscription—may be \mathfrak{L} (in a right-to-left script), with its middle bar coinciding with the up-stroke of the \vee , and its lower bar merged into the following O which, in Zvetaieff's reproduction, is considerably flattened at the top.

discounted all the evidence for *ll* from *lv* in favor of the testimony of the three color words *heluos*, *giluos*, *fulvos* (all indicating shades of yellow, and all, in my opinion, deriving from the alternating base $\hat{G}HEL$ | G^WHEL -; see Am. Jr. Phil. 26, p. 386 sq.). Their phonetic testimony seems to me to invite impeachment: the ending *-vos* for color adjectives is also seen in *flauos* and *furnuos*, and a group association may have protected the *u* in *heluos*, etc., from assimilation, particularly in view of the semantic and phonetic nearness of *fuluos* and *flauos*. If this consideration destroys the weight of the testimony of *heluos*¹ etc., it throws into greater prominence the testimony of Lat. *malus*, Osc. *mallo*- [?dialectic **malvak*- (cf. Osc. *malaks*² 'malevolos'), whence Fr. *mauvais*].³

But to return to our inscription: *mallos* (*malvos*?) is a dialectic form for *malus* introduced, et ambagiarum et metri causa, by our cryptographist.

As for *statod*: if it means 'sistito', I can add nothing to Lindsay's defense of the transitive usage (Lat. Inscr., p. 20). Possibly, though, *med statod* is used by the cryptographer for *a me stato* "stand on my side" (= by me).⁴

5) ast ednoisi opetoite siaipa kariuois.

In this line *ast* is the only entirely Latin word. I explain *ednoisi* as a dat.-loc. plur. from a stem *eda*no*-, cognate with

¹ I note Lat. *galbus* $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}s$; i. e., 'albogilvus', which is a blend of a form belonging to $\hat{G}HEL$ - with the stem $ALBHO$ - 'white'; this $GHLALBH$ - was formed early enough to suffer aspirate dissimilation to $*glalb\acute{h}$ - > $*galb$ -: the *g* of *giluos* may then be ascribed to association with *galbus*.

² Suffix like *audax*.

³ I admit that Fr. *mauvais* is not entirely adequate testimony for an Italic $*malvo$ -, but it may be observed that *malvo*- need not be of pre-Italic origin. Supposing Latin *malus* the actual outcome of pre-Italic $*malos$, a secondary derivative $*malvos$ may yet have originated in Italic by the association of $*malos$ with its synonym *prauos* and its antonym $*manuos$ (cf. *mānus*, p. 133). It is common for us to forget the long centuries of ethnic language history in which proethnic suffixes may have become ethnically associated with proethnic 'roots'.

⁴ I would defend the simple ablative on the inscription much as Lindsay defends *tua re feceris* (note on Captivi, 296); in *ā me stat* (facit) 'he stands (acts) on my side', *ā* is a reinforcement of a simple separative ablative, as attested by *meā re fert* 'it bears on my interest'. The same conception in *ex tua re est*, where *ex* doubtless reinforces the simple separative case. Conceivably, of course, *mea re* is an associative and we might have expected *mea cum re* to develop: cf. *a me*, *cum me stat* (facit).

ἰδαρόν (: Skr. *annám* 'food', found also perhaps in Plautine *sociennus* 'qui socios comedit', cf. Am. Jr. Phil. 28, 417); and adumbrated in the Latin nouns *edo*, *comedo*. Whether *ednoisi* is masc. and means 'comendonibus', or neuter and means 'escis', is not clear. The ending *-oisi* is either macaronic Greek or Paelignian—wherein forms in *-ois* are extant. Whether Paelignian or Old Latin ever had loc. plur. forms in *-oisi* is not attested. I have recognized consonant stem locatives in *-si*, in *necesse* and *vicissi* <*m*> (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 37, 12; 16).

As for *opetoite*, has it 'silent' *i* = *opetote*? Or is *-i* a parasitic vanish left by the *-d* of the sg. *opetod* + *-te*? It is to be connected with Latin *oplant*, or rather with the Festus entry *praedotient* (lege *praedopiunt*, *t* being a common ductus misreading for *p* in a thin capital MS.), Umbrian *upetu* (plur. *upetula*) 'optato.'

I take *karivois* as an extension of *carus* 'dear'¹; cf. *coctus*: *coctivus*, etc. Its sense will vary according to the sense given to *ednoisi*: it may be some sort of a *cena*, and to be interpreted by 'in caristiis'; or a kind of food, quasi 'cher-cher' (cf. *bonbon*); or, if masculine, it may mean 'amicis'.

Last, I take up *syaipa* = 'siquā', but to be rendered by 'sive'. If there is not an error here for *svaipa* (cf. Osc. *svai puh*, Umbr. *svēpu* 'sive'), and if we may explain the word as a genuine Paelignian form, then *syai* is a loc. sg. fem. to a stem *SYO-*, represented by Skr. *sya-* (nom. only), Gāthic-Avestan *hyať* 'quod, quom, si, ut', Old Persian *hya-* (used as a relative), with the adverbial case form *hyāť*. No good reason seems to me to have been advanced, pace Bartholomae, Woerterbuch, 1227, 2, to disconnect *hyať* from *hya-*. The demons.-rel. stem *SYO-* is as well attested as is the demons. stem *SWO-* (= Avest. *hva-*), to which we must ascribe Oscan *svai*, Umbr. *svē* 'si'; nor does Lat. *si* <*seri* (? *siyai*) belong to a demonstrative stem of clearer attestation.

And now to summarize the details presented above, in necessarily scattered fashion: The three *doliola* which hold the Duenos inscription, a dialogue in riddles, constituted a jocular apophoreton (p. 124); and the legend was, to a certain extent, a cryptograph, and was accordingly written from right to left, without interpuncts, and in an ancient Chalcidico-Italic script (p. 125). The inscription contains archaic and dialectic (even macaronic) spellings and word forms which may have been furnished by a *scurra grammaticus* from a time prior to Lucilius down to the time of

¹ The productivity of the suffix *-ivus* is attested by Petronian *absentivos*.

Quintilian (p. 126). The following archaisms, some of which (I refer more particularly to silent *i* and the EI(?), DZ and KC 'monograms') may have been conventions of the riddle or inventions of the riddler, occur (see also p. 128):

1) In transcription,—*ei* for *i* (*deiuos*, but *goi*, p. 130); the blending (p. 131) of *k* and *c* in *fekced* and *kcarivois* (consult a facsimile); *c* for *g* in *uirco* (p. 128); *-os* for *-us* in *duenos* (p. 131); *-sm-* for *-m-* in *cosmis* (p. 130); *dx-* for *z-* in *Dzenoi* (p. 134); *QO-*(= Lat. *qu-*) for *ko-* in *QOI* (p. 130); *ā* for *ai* in *manomeinom* (p. 132); *e* < *ei* in *feced*; "silent" *i* in *Iouei* (p. 128), *manomeinom* (p. 132), *dxenoi* (p. 134), *opetoite* (p. 136); *t-* for *-tt-* in *mitat* (p. 128), but *-ll-* (? *lv-*) not *l* in *mallo* < *s* > (p. 134); *du-* for *b-* in *duenos* (p. 131).

2) In forms,—3d sg. verb ending in *-t* (*mitat*), in *-d* (*sied*, *feced*), and with *-d* dropped (*iouei*); *sied* graphic for *sit* rather than for *siet* (p. 131); dat.-loc. plur. (? Paelignian or macaronic) in *-oisi*, *-ois* (p. 136).

3) In vocabulary,—*siaipa* = *siqua* (p. 136); *uirco* = *nympha*, *aqua* (p. 130).

If the synthesis doliolorum had a serious purpose, it may have served to contain a trisponadic offering to the Manes: then *cosmis uirco* alludes to the prescription of chastity in that ritual, and (*mano* < *m* >) *meinom* is a *communitas* or *munus* (*Manium*). Or the vessel may have been used for some unknown ritual in a *sodalitas iuvenum* (cf. Usener's *Über vergl. Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 42 sq. of the Sonderabdruck Hess. Blättern für Volkskunde I, 3), without change in the reference to *cosmis uirco*, but with *mano* < *m* > = 'hominum'. Those who think of a witchcraft practice may well consider whether the Paelignian touches pointed out in line 5 may not be due to some Paelignian anus (cf. Horace, Ep. 17, 60).

In conclusion, to leave no doubt as to the interpretation I advance, I present the text—using, in the now customary style, insertion and excision parentheses to indicate the insertions and erasures of the graver—with a translation into English that must, perforce, fail to render the equivoques pointed out above:

Ioue < *i* > sa[? e]t deiuos qoi med mitat.
 Nei ted e[? i]ndo cosmis virco sied.
 Dvenos med fek[c]ed en manomeinom.
 D < *z* > enoi ne med mallo < *s* > statod.
 Ast ednoisi opetoite siaipa [k]carivois.

1st Demi-John. He quite would please the gods who'd send them *me*.

2d Dem. Unless in *you* they found but ord'n'ry water.

1st Dem. Benus made *me* for such-as-take-theirs-straight.

2d Dem. Nor let no dour Stoicks stand by *me*.

3d Dem. But, <gin ye chuse,> chuse <*me*> for vittelage or daintrels.

Literature (accessible to me):

Buecheler, Rh. Mus., 36, 253; Jordan, Hermes, 16, 225 (with excellent facsimiles); Thurneysen, KZ., 33, 212; Conway, Am. Jr. Phil. 10, 445 (with facsimile); Meiringer, IF. 16, 107 (with facsimile); v. Grienberger, IF. 11, 342; Hempl, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 33, 150; — Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Infer. Dialecticae, p. 80 (with facsimile); Lindsay's Latin Inscriptions, p. 19; Dessau, Inscript. Lat. Sel. II, p. 986 (with facsimile).

EDWIN W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

ADDENDUM TO A. J. P. XXIX 205: I beg to note—as I did with a pen in the reprints I sent out—that German 'von Kindesbeinen (an') is an apt illustration for ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων after it had sunk to the bald sense of 'a pueritia'.

II.—CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN MEDIEVAL ICELAND.

Research in the history of Medieval classical scholarship has done much to drive the term "Dark Ages" into disuse. We have peered into almost every nook and corner of Europe seldom failing to catch some glimmer of light. It is however with a feeling of boldness akin to diffidence that I ask the reader to follow me even into *Ultima Thule* with the promise that the way is not all darkness. But I am convinced that we have been too ready to believe Pythias, the discoverer of Iceland, who circulated a report that that region of the earth was a sort of "Great Boyg" which could not be penetrated.¹

The notes I offer are not exhaustive, having been gathered from desultory reading in a very extensive field; but I present them in the hope that historians of that field may be tempted by them to do the work more thoroughly.

For the sake of orientation a few dates and incidents may not come amiss. Iceland, it will be remembered, was settled by the Norse in the year 874 A. D. For the next century the inhabitants devoted their summers, for the most part, to plundering Europe, their winters to weaving the summer's adventures into song and story. In the year 1000 the island officially adopted Christianity. To be sure this did not materially lessen the amount of plunder at first, but it was nevertheless the beginning of a great change. Before 1150, the little island, with its meagre twenty thousand inhabitants, was the seat of two bishoprics, a hundred churches, and seven monasteries. The Sagas, a hundred or more vigorous tales of iron muscle and red blood, which were then in the making, had to give way to the anaemic saints' lives from the south. But there is another phase of the story. When the church had won its battle against the pagan worship and could afford to be conciliatory in matters non-essential, many of the better educated native churchmen extended their sympathies to the lore of their own land. In fact it is to these church-

¹ See Strabo II 4.

men that we owe the earliest transcription of native sagas. By a sort of reciprocity the people in turn gave ready ear to the learning imparted by the monastic and church schools, a learning that centered about the study of the Latin Grammar. Not only do we find numerous students in these native ecclesiastical schools, but the church records of the 11-14th centuries tell of many men of Iceland who attended the universities and monastic schools of France, Germany, England, and Italy for long courses of study; in fact the registration lists of continental and English schools contain many Icelandic names¹ among their students, monks and masters.

The most definite evidence regarding the extent of interest in classical learning is to be found in catalogues of names and in lists of classical quotations and translations, but there is another kind of evidence, less pointed and yet as indispensable for our purposes, which is contained in the lives of the earliest native bishops of Iceland (cf. *Biskupa Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1858). These biographies reveal from a more personal point of view the eagerness with which the new learning was sought and fostered. I may give a few excerpts of facts and phrases from the life of John, the first of Iceland's saints in the canon of the church (*Jons Biskups Saga*).² John (1052-1121), with several of the future priests and teachers of Iceland, learned his Latin in a native school conducted by Bishop Isleif and his sons. After several years of travel in Italy and northern Europe, and of preaching at home, he was appointed bishop of northern Iceland. It is significant that his first act as bishop was the establishment of a cathedral school. In making up the "faculty" of this school he sent to France for a teacher in "song and verse-making", and to Gothland for a learned man to teach *grammatica* (§ 23). The teacher from France, we are told, was a man skilled in the making of Latin verse. "Thus", the description continues, "at the bishop's seat there was much a doing, for some read holy writings, some copied, some sang, some studied, while others served as masters, but", continues the observant writer, "there was no jealousy to be found amongst them, nor

¹ See for example the Icelandic names in Reichenau's list of pilgrims entered from 950 to 1100 under the title "Hislant terra", ed. in *Antiquarisk Tidskrift*, 1843.

² I follow Gunnlaug's version (written about 1200), taking notes from the other version when it seems more explicit.

envy". The list of scholars who learned their Latin at John's school is a long one. It even includes "a maiden, pure and chaste, by the name of Ingun, who was inferior to none in book-lore, for she knew her *grammatica* well and imparted her knowledge to any who wished. She had many a Latin book read to her while she herself sewed and embroidered, thus teaching the ways of virtue in example as well as in words" (§ 27).

The books that were accessible even at this time (John was made Bishop in 1106) were evidently not all "holy books", for one day the Bishop found his favorite pupil "reading a book of verse called *Ovidius de Arte*. In this book master Ovid tells of the love of women and how men may beguile them" (§ 24). The saint remarked that man's weak nature was prone enough to worldliness without the stimulus of lewd ditties, and immediately had the book removed.

These excerpts from John's saga, to be sure, have little to say regarding classical writers, but the repeated references to the importation of foreign teachers, the copying of manuscripts, and the journeys to southern schools¹ reveal a certain eagerness for the southern education at a time when many parts of the continent were permitting their standards of scholarship to retrograde.

Passing over some two hundred years to the life of Bishop Laurentius (B. S., p. 789) we find the same activities continuing. This Laurentius (born 1267) began his studies in a native school under Thorarin, a noted master, "who had written many of the books of the church". His education was continued in Norway under the tuition of a master who had studied at Orleans and Paris (Laur., Saga, § 4-9). Laurentius' specialty seems to have been the making of Latin verse, for, the chronicle tells, he was a *versificator* of such ability that he could compose² Latin verse as

¹ The Bishops Isleif and Gissur attended the schools of Herford. Bishops Thorlak and Jon Haldorson, as well as John the Fleming, studied at Paris (see B. S., pp. 267, 799 and 838). Lincoln in England, Orleans, and Bologna were also favorite schools according to these accounts.

² To be sure an anecdote that follows this statement justifies a doubt as to whether the quality of the verse was as remarkable as the speed of production. The story goes that when Laurentius was introduced to the archbishop he was asked to give some evidence of the skill for which he was so far-famed. He innocently produced some verses that he had composed in praise of a certain fair nun. Needless to say the archbishop was far from pleased. "I would have you know", he said, "that *versificatus nihil est nisi falsa figura*". Laurentius, unable to resist an opportunity to turn a rhyme, at once replied, "I

rapidly as another could converse in Latin. While in Norway, Laurentius became involved in a controversy which necessitated his appearance at a court trial, and the description of this trial throws an interesting sidelight upon the state of northern culture at the time. King Hakon in person, we are told, conducted the proceedings in Latin, and his secretary, "a very learned master who had been educated in foreign lands", delivered the speech for the prosecution in the same language.

After a few years of clerical activity, Laurentius entered an Icelandic monastery where he continued his studious pursuits. "His constant devotion", says the Saga, "was to read, study the books, and learn". In fact it was largely this devotion to learning that secured him his appointment as bishop. One of his first official acts in this capacity was the endowment of a public Latin school at the bishop's seat, where, according to the Saga, there were never less than fifteen students at any time during his life". The bishop himself went about among the students and examined them; nor did he discontinue his own studious habits. "After dinner he would take a walk, then he would study, constantly taking notes on a wax tablet. These notes his secretary would transcribe into a book for him. As twilight came on the secretary would read him the lives of holy men in Norse, or at times Latin stories" (§ 44-8).

These notes from the bishops' lives will perhaps give a general impression of the reception accorded the new learning in Iceland. For more definite data we must turn to book-lists and manuscripts.¹ If we had the catalogues of the Benedictine² monastery

only know that *versificatura nihil est nisi maxima cura*." He was directed to study holy books henceforth. The verse is of course a leonine, not a classical meter.

¹ Direct quotations from classical authors, apart from the translations which we shall presently mention, are rare in the books of Iceland. The few that I have found are traceable to intermediate sources. Scandinavian writers on the continent are more given to a show of pedantry. For example, the first Norse historian, the monk Theodoricus, tries the patience of his readers with pointless quotations from Lucan, Horace, Pliny and Ovid (edited by Storm in *Mon. Hist. Norw.*, 1880), and a Northern crusader varies his scriptural citations with lines from Vergil and Juvenal (*Script. Rerum Danic.* V, p. 349). But these are beyond our present province. See *Class. Phil.* IV 82.

² This monastery, founded in 1133, was the oldest in Iceland. Seemingly it was always true to the high standards of the Benedictines, for some of the best literary activity of Iceland in native, as well as in Latin, writing emanated from its walls.

at Thingey, or of the Augustinian at Munkaþverá, both famed for their schools, we should doubtless find the names of several classics. As it is, the book-lists that have survived are from obscure localities and are made up chiefly of patristic and scholastic authors. The inventory of Helgafell cloisters, for example, made in 1397 (see *Dipl., Isl. Vol. IV*, pp. 170–171), contains the item of “35 Norse books and about 100 Latin books besides some breviaries”. That of Kirkjubæur, after listing some 30 books used in the service, adds the item of “20 Latin and Norse books” (p. 238), while that of Möðrudalur, which is even less explicit, simply records “about 150 books.”

The catalogue of Viðey-monastery, however (1397), furnishes more definite information as to the nature of the monastic book shelves. It gives about 100 titles (*Dipl. Isl., Vol. IV*, p. 110). Among these are found most of the books of the Bible; homilies, sermons, and commentaries of St. Augustine, Gregory, Leo, etc.; several standard church books, as e. g., *Vitae Patrum*, “*Martirilogium*”, *Cura Pastoralis*, *Vitae Sanctorum*; a fairly long list of text-books, as e. g., Isidore's *Etymologiae*, *Quaestiones Orosii*, *Cato (disticha) með glossa*, *Tobias glossatus*, a *Doctrinale*, a *Graecismus*, a *Lucidarius*; a few books of profane history, as a “*chronica*”, two *Annales*, and an *Alexander Magnus*; and finally, nine books of poetry (*IX versabaekur adrar*). This undetailed mention of “nine other books of verse” may well indicate that they possessed books of the order of “*Ovidius de Arte*” which had better (at least officially) be relegated to obscurity.

The books of interest to classical scholarship which are cited in the inventories as well as in catalogues of surviving manuscripts may be conveniently grouped under the two general heads of a) textbooks, b) historical works.

In the first group, as might be expected, grammatical works are most abundant, for scholastic activity in a large measure centered about the Latin grammar. The best representative of this class is the work of one Olaf Hvitaskald, which is contained in the MS of the younger Edda (Olsen's and Egilsson's editions print this part). Olaf (abt. 1250) has adapted some 12th C. Latin grammars that contained Priscian, bks. 1 and 2, with late interpolations, and Donatus, bk. 3. The post-Priscianic material has much in common with Aelfric and Petrus Helias but antedates the influence of Villedieu's *Doctrinale*. See *Islands Gram. Lit. II*, *Indledning*, by Olsen. The purpose of Olaf is not to teach Latin

grammar but to apply the aids of the grammatical and rhetorical sciences to native composition, for he replaces all the Latin illustrations by new ones taken from Icelandic poets. The effect is a bit startling. There seems to be something appropriate, to be sure, in the substitution of a line from Eilifr Guðrunarson for one of Vergil to illustrate the meaning of "barbarismus", but when one finds Olaf accusing his fellow-skalds of "labdacismus", "iotacismus" and "kakosintheon" one is tempted to ask: *cui bono*? Other brief grammatical treatises contained in the same manuscript discuss the alphabet and parts of speech, following the doctrines of Priscian.¹

The Doctrinale mentioned in the Viðey-catalogue above was doubtless the versified grammar of Alex. de Villedieu, one of the famous schoolbooks of the continent. The Graecismus is probably to be identified with Evrard de Béthune's work of about 1200. The "Cato með glossa" is, of course, an edition of the Disticha with vocabulary, arranged for school use, as it was on the continent. In Iceland its terse proverbs proved so popular that it was soon translated for general use,² or are we to suppose that the sons of the vikings refused to work out their Latin without some kind of a "Bohn"? Isidore's Etymologiae, also in the list at Viðey, was in Iceland, as on the continent, the favorite encyclopedic dictionary—if we may so designate it. Finally our

¹ The fourth of these, seemingly in reference to the first native grammar in Iceland (before 1150), contains a very curious statement. In the introduction we read: skal yðr sýna hinn fyrsta leturshátt sva ritinn eptir sextán stafa stafrófi í danskri túngu, eptir því sem þóroddr rúnameistari ok Ari prestr hinn fróði hafa sett í móti Latinumanna stafrófi er meistari Priscianus hefir sett. It would seem from this that when Ari the Wise and his coworkers were delegated by the Icelandic council in 1117 to inscribe and codify the still unwritten law of Iceland, they decided to abandon the cumbersome runes and learn the Latin system of writing from a study of Priscian. This gives a no insignificant place to Priscian in the history of Icelandic culture (see Keyser, *Efterladte skrifter*, p. 64 ff.). The accuracy of the statement has been questioned (see Olsen). However the brilliant first treatise proves at least how timely was the arrival of Priscian for the preservation of Norse literature. On this whole subject see Jónsson's *Oldnorske Lit. Hist.* II 921 f.

² Entitled *Hugsvinnsmal*. Numerous manuscripts of it survive to tell of its popularity. See Cat. of the Arnamagnaens Library of Copenhagen. The Cato is the first Latin book cited in Icelandic. It is quoted in the first grammatical treatise, written about 1140. The Doctrinale and the Graecismus were used in the making of the fourth treatise, written about 1310. See Jónsson II 938.

list of grammatical works must include several less important¹ fragments dealing with versification and parts of speech.

Grammar, however, was not the only science that flourished on the island. Medicine, astronomy, mathematics, natural history and geography as taught in the Latin schools of the continent were also introduced here. A fragment of a *materia medica* in Icelandic, containing prescriptions of Galen and Dioscorides is printed by Gislason (*Prøver*, pp. 470-475). The manuscript is in a hand of about 1250. A later but fuller one is edited by Kålund in his edition of the interesting Old-Icelandic "Encyclopedia", *Alfraeði Islenszk*, pp. 61-77, 1908. Students who frequented a school like Bologna were doubtless eager enough to acquire the medical knowledge of the ancients and substitute it for the enchanted brews still in vogue at home. The *Rimbegla*² (about 1300) contains very full discussions of the Julian and Gregorian calendars and various elaborate astronomical treatises. Its author takes a high place among medieval students of these subjects. In the matter of natural history, Iceland fared with the rest of Europe. It will be remembered that in the fifth century some "nature faker" of Alexandria garbled and mythified the physiologies which had had their source in Aristotle. The Latin version of this Greek Bestiary spread like a romance throughout Europe. Its vogue in Iceland is attested by fragments of two elaborately illustrated manuscripts³ written in the vernacular of about 1200. Finally we may mention a native treatise⁴ on

¹ Cf. Catalogue of the Arnam. Library at Copenhagen: A. M. 732 b, 4to (3 and 7), a discussion of the Greek alphabet in Latin, also Latin metrical matter; A. M. 921, 4to, a fragment of a Latin grammar in the vernacular (see Olsen's edition, p. 156); A. M. 792, 4to, Latin grammatical and metrical notes, and a brief glossary printed in *Smástykkur*, 1884.

² Edited with a Latin translation by Björnson, Copenhagen, 1801.

³ Cf. Dahlerup, *Physiologus*, Copenhagen, 1889.

⁴ From the manuscript of *Hauksbok* (about 1290). Printed by Kong. Nord. Oldskrift-Sels., 1896. This manuscript, by the way, written in the hand of the lawyer Hawk, tells an interesting story of the literary and scientific interests of the cultured layman of Iceland. Here is a judge who, besides gaining fame for his excellent performance of public duties, has time to write extensively on the history of the North, to acquire command of Latin and French, and an interest, at least, in Hebrew, to familiarize himself with the textbooks in astronomy, geography, natural history, theology, mathematics (his copy of the *Algorismus* is seemingly the first translation of the Arabic arithmetic—through Latin—into Icelandic), to acquaint himself with native as well as classical history, and with the British and French romances

geography, which gains most of its information regarding southern Europe from Isidore's *Origines*. Now that the vikings were being transformed into crusaders and pilgrims, knowledge of the eastern Mediterranean was eagerly sought after.

These fragments of textbooks, brief though they are, speak clearly after all of how far the light from the south succeeded in penetrating the remote¹ parts of Europe.

Under the group of classical-historical works we have fuller remains. There are various brief summaries of ancient history, usually in annalistic form, some historical romances, notably of Troy and Alexander, and finally a few translations and paraphrases of Roman historians.

Of the *Annales* and *Chronica* mentioned in the old inventories, several still survive, and have recently been edited by Storm (*Islandske Annaler*, 1888). These,² like many of the annals

as well as with the native saga literature! See his biography by Munch in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1847. The *Alfræði Islensk*, cited above, adds an interesting itinerary to Rome and the Holy Land (pp. 1-31) taken from the notes of one Nikulas Bergsson, who travelled about 1150. This work ought to be included in future editions of medieval itineraries.

¹ As a matter of literary curiosity we may be permitted, in discussing the extension of learning, to suggest that Latin was doubtless studied in Greenland in the eleventh century, and used at least in the ritual on American soil in the twelfth century. I would not pretend that the facts are so conclusively established, or, if proved, so important as to warrant any considerable enthusiasm, however, we undertake in this study to track the classics in their remotest journeys. What we know is that in the twelfth century Greenland already had *two monasteries*, and a *bishop* regularly stationed on its soil (see Grønland's *historiske mindesmaerker* II 672-85, and III 810-13). The mission in Greenland was an extension of the work in Iceland, which was, as we have seen, conducted by men well taught in Latin. An Icelandic priest by the name of Erik was the first bishop stationed in Greenland (1112 A. D. See *Landnámabok*, I, 13). The traditions of the Icelandic church would hardly allow an untutored man in the bishop's office at that time. This Erik went to the American continent (Vinland) in 1121, doubtless to look after the welfare of the church among the people who had emigrated thither, possibly also to preach to the natives. We know nothing further of this man. The second bishop of Greenland was Arnold of Norway, certainly a man of education, for he was brought up in the court circles of Norway. Arnold held office from 1124 to 1150 (see Grøn. hist. m., cited above, II 672).

² The so-called *Annales Regii* (Storm, pp. 79-155), covering the period from Julius Caesar to the year 1306, may be taken as a typical example. The entries before the tenth century are usually in Latin. The kind of ancient history that these annalists chose to preserve may be learned from entries like these:

collected in the Monumenta Germ. Hist. are founded upon the annalistic work of Dionysius and Bede, with later insertions from St. Jerome, Isidore, Ekkehard v. Aura, and other chronographers. Somewhat fuller than the *annales* is the *Veraldar Saga* which gives a brief history of the world according to *aetates* in the manner of Isidore, extending from the creation to the time of Barbarossa. It devotes a chapter to the Trojan war following the interpretation of Dares, and two chapters to the founding of Rome, and the wars of Caesar and Augustus, in which the author relies chiefly upon the Historia Miscella or upon some of its dependents. The history of the Empire is summarized very briefly. Parts of a fuller version of the same Saga occur in the Rimbegla, which shows that the story was circulating in various forms during the thirteenth century.

It may have been this saga that acquainted the Icelandic people with the story of the Trojan wars. At any rate the story reached Iceland before the thirteenth century, creating the mischief it had so often done before. Troy once more had to stand father to a nation looking for a respectable pedigree. Snorre (abt. 1225), for instance, in the introduction to the younger Edda, claims Trojan ancestry for the northmen, and the lawyer Hawk left a genealogical table which traces his family through Odin, Thor ("i. e. = Tros"), Priam, Jupiter, Javan, etc., to Adam (Dipl. Isl., Vol. III, p. 5).

With the adoption of this relationship, the Troy-tales of the South became popular in the North. The Icelandic Troy-tale (Trojumanna Saga; see Jónsson's excellent ed. of Hauksbok, Copenhagen, 1896; also the later variants in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1848), differs from any hitherto found on the continent. It is in good Icelandic prose and follows Dares fairly closely in parts, though it is never a slavish translation of him. The first seven chapters relate by way of introduction, the myths regarding Jupiter. They are told with full appreciation of whatever humor these may contain. The author has gone beyond Ovid for his mythology. In the remainder of the work the author elaborates freely, inserting

Egiptus romana provincia fit. quam primus Cornelius Gallus poeta rexit et ex hoc loco quidam primum annum Augusti monarchie supputant.

Incarnatio domini secundum Dionisium et Helpricum.

(I omit several ecclesiastical items here.)

LX. Θ Lucanus meistari af éðablóði ok Seneca meistari Neronis með sama dáuða (i. e. death of master Lucan of blood-letting, and Seneca, Nero's teacher, of the same cause.)

additional adventures from the story of the Argonauts, from "Homer" (in fact, the *Ilias Latina*), from Theodulus (the "Ecloga"), and even from Vergil.¹

While speaking of historical romances, we may call attention to the northern form of the Alexander story. The catalogue of Viðey mentions an "Alexander Magnus". Seemingly this is a Latin work. It may, therefore, be a copy of Ph. Gautier's Latin version which followed Quintus Curtius and was usually styled the *Alexandereis*. At any rate, a translation of Gautier's poem was made into Icelandic about the year 1250 by a Bishop Brand, several manuscripts of which are to be found in the Copenhagen Library (published by Unger, 1848). This translation is called the *Alexanderssaga*. It has no direct connection with the numerous French Alexander romances which came by way of Julius Valerius and the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

We come finally to some documents that are more closely connected with the classics. Two short Icelandic manuscripts give in abbreviated form the Livian version of the beginnings of Rome. These may be found printed in Gislason (*Prøver*, p. 381 ff.) under the title *Upphaf Rómverja*, and discussed by Meissner in *Nach. v. d. Königl. Gesell. z. Göttingen*, 1903, p. 657 ff. The fuller version cites *Teitr hinn ofund-sjúki* (evidently = Titus Lividus, i. e. Livius), *Orosius* and *Lucan* as its sources, but Meissner shows that it is largely a paraphrase of Martin of Oppau (cf. *Mon., Germ. Hist. SS*, Vol. 22), who in this part follows the *Historia Miscella* (> Paulus Diaconus > Eutropius) very closely. The Icelandic writer, however, makes free to explain difficulties and to give his own motivation whenever he sees fit. He tries, for example, to explain what is meant by the auguries of Romulus and Remus, but the last confusion is worse than the first; and he represents Brutus as the husband of Lucretia, else why should he avenge her wrongs?

Another² group of manuscripts, also printed by Gislason (pp. 108-380) under the title of *Rómverja Saga* (The Story of

¹ The last sentence: *En her eftir hefir sögu frá Enea, ok þeim er Bretland byggðu*, may imply that the story came north from England. There is nothing improbable, however, in the assumption that an Icelandic writer might have had direct access to the sources that have been used in this saga. A more thorough study of all the manuscripts, together with all possible sources, may determine the question. See Jónsson's preface XCVII.

² To be sure, the *Upphaf* may have been the introduction to the *Rómverja Saga* in the original MS.

Rome) gives a fairly close paraphrase of Sallust's *Jugurtha* and *Catiline* and portions of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. This work, affording as it does the most detailed bit of evidence regarding classical interests in the north, merits, perhaps, a fuller description.

There are two manuscripts of this story. The earlier one (Gislason, No. 9) was originally the fuller, but it is now badly broken. The later version (G., No. 8), which is a condensation of the earlier, is much shorter, but the manuscript is not marred by any serious lacuna. It may also be noticed that the epitomizer occasionally takes the liberty of inserting statements from his own resources.¹

¹The methods of work employed by the translator and by the epitomizer may be illustrated by a passage that corresponds to Sallust, *Cat.* 59, 4.

A; the fuller version (Gislason, p. 352). Antonius then led his army against Catiline. Being sore of foot so that he was unable to walk he placed Petreius in command of his troops. This man had the rank of *Legatus*. Antonius (*sic*) was mounted on his horse. In the front rank he placed the veteran soldiers and arranged them in cohorts, according to the Roman custom. In the rear he stationed another army for support. Then Antonius rides all about the army, scrutinizes and arranges all things, calling each man by name to encourage him. Then he speaks to the army and begs them to remember that they are to do battle in defence of their country against robbers and evil-doers that are almost weaponless.

Antonius was a man of military training, says Sallust, having been in the army over forty years, always holding high rank, for he had been tribune or prefect, *legatus* or praetor, and knew the deeds and the names of most of his soldiers, and when he reminded them of these things then was he much loved by them.

The translator of *A* follows Sallust with a fair degree of accuracy except for the substitution of Antonius for Petreius. This error is probably due to the misapplication of *ipse* in the second sentence. Perhaps the Northman

B; the epitome (G., p. 177)

B follows A.

B omits.

B follows A.

B omits.

and speaks to them. He bade them advance boldly: "for now you must do battle with weaponless rascals and defend your goods and your liberty."

B follows A.

he had been consul or *legatus* or dictator or praetor or prefect.

B omits.

Relying upon the epitome wherever the earlier version fails, we can determine with a fair degree of accuracy what the original document contained. It gave a free translation of Sallust's *Jugurtha*, rejecting, however, what seemed irrelevant to the story, particularly geographical and pseudo-philosophical digressions. It then summarized into some five pages the Roman history of the years 104-63 B. C., quoting "Roman books" as its source. A free translation of Sallust's *Catiline* followed, omitting, however, the larger parts of chapters 1-15, and condensing speeches and descriptions. After a brief summary of events from 63 to 49 B. C., a largely reduced epitome of Lucan's *Pharsalia* was given. Finally "Roman books" were drawn upon to complete the story up to the birth of Christ.

In condensing Lucan the author works with skill and freedom. He mercilessly cuts catalogues of armies and of prodigies; he greatly reduces speeches, though he endeavors to retain the better lines of them. He is interested in the story. One cannot help admiring the ease and understanding with which he has traced the thread of a Saga through the mazes of Lucan's rhetoric.

The older manuscript, as I have said, is badly broken. It has lost the beginning of the *Jugurtha* up to ch. 31; chapters 15-40 and 47-52⁸⁰ of the *Catiline*; the connecting chapters between the Sallust and Lucan; the beginnings of Lucan up to bk. 3¹⁰⁰; the beginnings of bks. 5, 6, and 7 of Lucan, the latter part of bk. 7, all of bk. 8, and everything after Lucan 9²⁰⁰.

The author of the Saga doubtless used several sources in making up the connecting links which cover the years 104-63, 62-49 and 47-1. Most of the facts contained in these portions were furnished by books that had a large circulation in the north, such as Orosius, the *Historia Miscella*, Isidore's *Origines*, and Vincent of Beauvais. The account of the years 62-49 contains some medieval myths regarding the death and burial of Caesar which must have come from the *Mirabilia* or *Graphia*, or from some author¹ who had access to these. Finally, it is interesting to note

failed to comprehend how a trifling ailment (*pedibus aeger*) could keep a general from the joys of a battle. It may be noticed that *B* is prone to omit descriptive matter. He is even more reckless with the use of misunderstood technical terms than *A*. The methods of work illustrated in the above-quoted passage prevail throughout the manuscripts of both authors.

¹ The *Mirabilia* had such a wide circulation that it may well have reached Iceland. However, I find the myths mentioned above in Gothfrid of Viterbo's

that in telling of the civil wars between Marius and Sulla (pp. 328-9), the author draws independently from Lucan II 80-190, and that Sallust's mention of Masinissa reminds him of the dream of Scipio as given in "Macrobio" (p. 109).

My interest in the Rómverja Saga was first aroused by the hope that it might possibly reveal a good text tradition with which to fill in the troublesome lacunae of the Jugurtha. In this hope, however, I was disappointed. The Saga proves to be based upon ordinary 12th or 13th century texts. The manuscript¹ used in the paraphrase of Sallust belonged to the second of the three classes of Dietsch's edition. In fact its readings are exceedingly near to those of g², a 13th century MS of Wolfenbüttel³ except that it is not mutilated at Jug. 107 as is g². The author has treated Lucan with such free hand that it is difficult to determine his source. His use, however, of several interpolated lines (e. g. III 167-8 and V 795-6) proves that he had in hand a MS of the same group as V. R. and G.

In this summary account we have not been able to point to new MSS of classical authors, nor even to long lists of quotations that might serve as *testimonia*. We have nevertheless found a classical scholarship which, for all its meagerness, shows a certain vitality and sanity that it does not always reveal in the more pedantic south. There is something unique about the deliberate way in which the learned Ari sets about to study Priscian before undertaking his assigned task of codifying the laws of Iceland, and the poet Olaf strikes Vergilian and Horatian examples out of his Donatus, substituting lines from the skalds in his attempt to serve the needs of native poets. Thus the new learning is shaped to immediate ends. The literature as well, which made its way to the north, must adapt itself to native demands. A few historical tales are found serviceable and they are at once translated. Even Lucan's Pharsalia is transformed into a saga, and the Latin sermons are excerpted for entertaining anecdotes.

Speculum Regale, in Petrus Comestor, in Ranulf who quotes Petrus, in Vincent of Beauvais, and in Martin who quotes "Escodius" as source. Several of these books circulated in Iceland.

¹ The manuscripts of this class do not know the reading of *neque muniebantur* as at Jug. 44. 5, while, on the other hand, they have filled in the long lacuna at Jug. 103²-112². Rómverja Saga answers to this test.

² For instance, g² is one of the few MSS which read *confecto* and *belienum* in Jug. 104. Rómverja Saga has *vel sýslað* and *belienā* respectively.

These things, trifling though they may seem, were full of meaning to the new learners. The north was teeming with unwritten native lore which needed only the example of the artistically written tale to assume permanent form. This the new learning provided, and the result was a remarkable body of literature—not, to be sure, the equal of its model—but after all the finest fruit of the Germanic mind before the Renaissance. And when all this is quite accomplished we find Petrarch (Epp. III 1) sitting one night among his manuscripts, delving in Pliny and Solinus for some hint by which to settle the old question *de situ insulae Thules*.

TENNEY FRANK.

BRYN MAWR.

III.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

III.

The earlier articles in this series are to be found in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff., on A New Italic Divinity, and XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff., on some inscriptions which had been published incorrectly or had not been published at all. In this paper I offer a few notes on three inscriptions that have to do with the *iura sepulcrorum*, on one that reveals the name of a new granary at Rome and on several *tituli militum*. Most of these have not before been printed.

7. The first is engraved on a slab of white marble, m. 0,415 in width and 0,435 in height with slight lateral projections at the four corners. These projections once formed the top and bottom of two narrow perpendicular openings, one on each side of the inscription, which served as windows to admit light and air to the interior of the tomb. Naturally the narrow frames of marble left on the sides to enclose these apertures have been broken off and are missing. Such a slab, placed over the door and showing the inscription between two window-like openings, is represented by Bartoli in his drawing of a columbarium on the Via Aurelia in the Villa Corsini (now Pamphili).¹ This example seems to have come to light near Rome in the year 1906 or early in 1907 and bears the following text, which itself shows the provenience of the stone:

¹ Bartoli, *Veterum Sepulcra*, 1702, fig. IV, c: cf. C. I. L., VI, p. 3432. This illustration was brought to my attention by Professor Huelsen. Another inscription of this collection (number 23), which will be published in a later number of this Journal, is engraved on a slab of similar form.

D



M

A · SERG · HELIODORVS · QVI · PETIT ·
 A PONTIFICIB · C V · VTI SIBI PERM
 ITTERETVR IN MONIMENTO IV
 RIS SVI TECTVM VETVSTATE DILA
 PSVM RESTITVER QVOD EST · VIA FLAM
 INI · MIL · I₁ · ET · II₁ · EVNTIB · AB VRBE · PA
 RTE · DEXTR · IN ADFIN · HEDVLEIAM
 C · F · APHRODISIAM · ET · HERMEN ·
 AVG · LIB · TAB · ET · TREBIAM · ALBINAM
 FECIT · SIBI · ET · VLPIAE · HELIADI VXORI
 ET · LIB · LIBQ POSTQE · H · M · H · N · S · H · M · D · A · M

D(is) M(anibus). A(ulus) Serg(ius) Heliodorus, qui petit a pontificib(us), c(larissimis) v(iris), uti sibi permetteretur in monumento iuris sui tectum vetustate dilapsum restituer(e), quod est via Flamini(a inter) mil(iarium secundum) et (tertium) eunti- b(us) ab urbe parte dextr(a), in(ter) adfin(es) Heduleiam, G(ai) f(iliam), Aphrodisiam et Hermen, Aug(usti) lib(ertum), tab(u- larium) et Trebiam Albinam, fecit sibi et Ulpiae Heliadi, uxori, et lib(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue) post(eris)q(ue) e(orum). H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredes) n(on) s(equetur). H(uic) m(onu- mento) d(olus) a(besto) m(alus).

The cutting is deep and the letters are on the whole well formed in the monumental style, though here and there, as is usual in such inscriptions, the influence of the *scriptura actvaria* is noticeable. For example, the first stroke of M regularly, and of A usually, joins the second stroke at a point considerably below the top, and the upper horizontal stroke of F has a tendency to curve above the line. The loop of P is closed in every case but one: this important fact, as well as the two occurrences of G ending in an inward curve and the character of the writing in general, leads me to assign the inscription to a period not earlier than the end of the second century.

Of the persons mentioned not one is known from any other source, although the individual names, with one exception, are frequently found in the inscriptions. The *nomen* Heduleia, how-

ever, seems to be nowhere else attested, though the form *Hedulus* (*Hedylus*), which underlies it, is found, for example, in C. I. L., V, 4236; X, 1687 and 4645. This is, of course, the Greek ἡδύλος, beside which occur the cognate personal names ἡδύλη, ἡδυλίη, and ἡδυλίον. Many examples of *tabularii* who were imperial freedmen, occur in the sixth volume of the *Corpus*, e. g., 9055 ff.: in fact, so far as the imperial service is concerned, the *tabularius* was always a freedman, never a slave.¹

This inscription adds one more to the already long list of those which show that the permission of the pontifices was obtained before the erection or restoration of a tomb was undertaken. The religious significance of places of burial and especially their dedication to the *Di Manes*, sufficiently account for the authority of this college in such cases. Close parallels to our inscription are C. I. L., VI, 2963, . . . petit a pontifices (?) ut sibi permitterent reficere n(ostrum?) monumentum iuris sui, and ib., 22120, Marcia Augurina sepulcrum parentum suorum vetustate corruptum permissu pontificum, c(larissimorum) v(irorum), restituit. A list of the inscriptions bearing on this subject is given by F. Wamser, *De iure sepulcrali Romanorum quid tituli doceant* (Diss. Darmstadt, 1887), pp. 49 and 51, and by Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani* (6th ed.), pp. 334 ff.

The only other point which calls for remark is the order of words indicated by the last letters, H · M · D · A · M, instead of the regular H · M · D · M · A, which appears on a multitude of sepulcral monuments. The order A · D · M occurs in C. I. L., VI, 10665, but another example of H · M · D · A · M I have nowhere observed. The true explanation of this remarkable arrangement is probably to be found in the supposition that the graver, when the letter M was half done, absent-mindedly cut the cross-stroke to make the A which was already in his thought. Then seeing his mistake, he simply added the M in the space remaining. A case in some respects similar is C. I. L., VI, 13944, H · M · H · N · S | EXTERVM, where the last word, unintentionally omitted in its proper place, was added at the end and written out in full.

8. To the already numerous documents which bear on the *iura sepulcrorum*,² a new fragment was added recently by Gatti, who published in *Bull. Com.*, XXXV, 1907, p. 328, part of an inscription from the late excavations in the *Campus Martius*

¹ Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 62.

² Bruns, l. c., pp. 334 ff.; Wamser, l. c., pp. 24 ff.

(Montecitorio).¹ Another fragment, similar in some respects, but possessing peculiarities of its own, may be given here. It is engraved on a slab of marble which is now m. 0,25 in width and 0,305 in height, though originally it was much wider, in all probability at least twice as wide: and even of this remnant the upper left corner is broken off and is missing. The roughness of the edges on the left side and at the bottom seems to be the result of unskilled cutting and chipping rather than of accidental or violent breakage, so that there can be little hope of recovering the lost portions of the stone. The text, so far as it is preserved, is as follows:

	<i>sec</i>	T · SIBI · ET ·	
<i>coniugi</i>		SVAE · ET	
		P · V · B · L · I · C · I · A · E	
		T · P · O · S · T · E · R · I · S · Q · V · E	
		T · A · E · P · R · A · E · S · I · D · I · V	5
		C · O · N · T · R · A	
<i>m</i>		O · N · I · M · E · N · T · O	
		A · A · B · E · R · E	
		T · I · S · I · M · A · F · I · L · I · A	
<i>mm</i>		M · E · N · T · V · M · A · D · M · I · S · E · R · I · T	10
		M · M · V · M · I · N · A · E · R · A · R · I · O	

The general sense and bearing of this fragment are perfectly clear, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the original length of the lines and to supply the missing parts with certainty. On the basis of the formula of the last two lines, however, I should think that rather less than half of the inscription is preserved, though one cannot reach definite conclusions on this point because of the considerable variation in this formula in different cases. In the first line was, of course, the name of the builder of the tomb; in the second, that of his wife, with the words *coniugi* SVAE; and in the third, the names of some other person or persons, which were chiselled out in antiquity so completely as to be almost indecipherable. The latter part of this line, that is to say, the part originally cut on the stone now extant, consisted of nine letters, which were almost certainly those of the name

¹ The same text is given in Notizie d. Scavi, 1907, p. 448, but with little attempt at restoration.

Publiciae.¹ Its position at the end of the line suggests that it was probably used here as a cognomen, and this use of a *nomen* would not be unusual in the period to which this inscription belongs. In the fourth and fifth lines the freedmen and descendants were mentioned, probably in the form *lib. et liber* T · POSTERISQVE *eorum*. At the beginning of line 5 there is preserved before TAE a part of a letter which was probably either I or N. The word *praesidium* in the same line does not seem to occur elsewhere in the extant inscriptions of this class, though *custodia* and *tutela* are common:² here, however, an expression similar to *parentibus praesidium* (C. I. L., IX, 5557) may be required. *Contra* (line 6) appears often in such connections as *quod si quis contra voluerit fecisse* (VI, 17301), *quod si quis contra hanc inscriptionem fecerit* (ib., 22518), *quod si quis contra legem s(upra) s(criptam) fecerit* (ib., 7458), but I am unable to propose any definite form for the present case. Merely as a tentative suggestion, to convey the probable meaning, I should restore the last five lines in some such way as the following:

in hoc m ONIMENTO
itum aditum ambitum h ABERE
debebit nemo nisi pien TISIMA · FILIA
quod si quis in hoc monu MENTVM · ADMISERIT *
inferet HS cc milia n VMMVM · IN · AERARIO
(*populi*) (*Romani*)

The inscription is well cut in the monumental style with few traces of vulgar usage and seems to belong to a good period, probably to the second century.

9. Another inscription of this general class is cut on a tablet m. 0,34 in width and 0,17 in height, which is said to have been found outside the porta Pia, not far from the church of S. Agnese. The letters are well made in a good monumental style of the earlier half of the first century. The text runs as follows:

LIVIAE · ACTE · ET ·
CLAUDIO · FELICI
IN · HOC · MONVMENTO
DEDIT · OLLAS · DVAS · C · HEIV
LEIVS · GALENVS · ET · ITV · AMBITV

¹ This reading is accepted by Professor Huelsen, who saw the stone. He also read a proof of this paper and made several valuable suggestions.

² Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.*, s. v. *custodia*.

³ Cf. C. I. L., VI, 26445, 36537 and Olcott, *Thes. Ling. Lat. Epig.*, I, p. 108.

The usual formula for allowing or forbidding access to a tomb includes *itus aditus ambitus*, but a parallel for our form is seen in C. I. L., VI, 26229, *cui itum ambitum dedit*. As far as the names are concerned, the chief point to notice is the occurrence of the *gens Heiuleia*, which appears rarely, but is attested at Capua (X, 3776), at Ateste (V, 2640), and at Aquileia (V, 1299, *C. Eiuleio*). Three freedmen of a C. Heiuleius are mentioned in IX, 5921 (Ancona), and one C. Heiuleius, T(iti) f(ilius), was a quaestor at Tibur (XIV, 3655). Our Galenus may well have come from Tibur or from Ancona, but, so far as I am aware, this is the only extant reference to the *gens Heiuleia* at Rome. In XIV, 899 we find a Livia Acte and in VI, 8847 a Cl(audius) Felix Eunuc(h)us, Act(es) lib(ertus); but the name Claudius Felix is especially common, and these are not the persons who received two urns from C. Heiuleius Galenus.

10. The next inscription to be considered is engraved on a tablet of white marble m. 0,455 in width and 0,225 in height and is furnished with two holes for the nails by which it was attached to the wall of the tomb. A small fragment at the upper left corner and a larger piece at the lower right corner are missing, and the stone is broken into two parts on a line running from the center at the top downwards to the right, as shown below. Subsequent to the fracture the larger piece was very much discolored, probably by exposure to fire, but the text is entirely uninjured. This tablet, said to have been found in the year 1907 outside of the porta Pia, in the vicinity of S. Agnese, bears the following inscription:

SÓTERIDI · IULIAE
EPIPHANIAÉ · SER · V · A · XXX
BENEMERENTI · SPERATVS
CONTVBERN · EX · HORREIS
FAENIÁNIS · FECIT

Soteridi, Iuliae Epiphaniae ser(vae, quae) v(ixit) a(nnis tri-
ginta), benemerenti Speratus, contubern(alis) ex horreis Faeni-
anis fecit.

The cutting is deep, the letters are fairly well formed and in most cases furnished with ornamental pendants, especially at the top, and the style in general leans strongly toward the *actuaria* type. In spite of the fact that the loop of P is definitely closed in two cases out of three, the inscription, which shows four examples of the apex¹ and closely resembles number 252 of Hübner's *Exempla* (c. temp. Vespasian.) in the forms of its letters, may safely be dated before 150 A. D.

The names Soteris, Speratus, and Epiphania, the cognomen of this Iulia, are all well-known, but, of course, the persons cannot be identified. The special interest, however, centres in the reference to the *Horrea Faeniana*, which are nowhere else mentioned. According to the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* there were two hundred and ninety *horrea* in the Rome of the fourth century, though many of them were used for other purposes than the storage of grain. The names of seventeen of these storehouses are given by Huelsen in Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 3, p. 679: to this list our inscription now adds one more, but without giving any clue to its location. In the cases of other *horrea* named after persons, as, for example, *Aniciana*, *Petroniana*, *Seiana*, *Volusiana*, it is usually impossible to connect the name with a particular individual: in that of the *Horrea Faeniana*, however, the origin of the name is by no means difficult to discover. L. Faenius Rufus was *praefectus annonae* in the year 55 (Tac., Ann., XIII, 22) and *praefectus praetorio* with Sesonius Tigellinus in 62. When he was promoted to the higher office, the choice met with popular approval *quia rem frumentariam sine quaestu tractabat* (ib., XIV, 51, 5). There can be no doubt, then, that the *Horrea Faeniana* took their name from this L. Faenius Rufus, who was in charge of the whole matter of the grain supply under Nero and met his death in the year 65 along with others who had become involved in the Pisonian plot. The L. Faenius Rufus mentioned in a dedicatory inscription of Lyons (C. I. L., XIII, 1776) is, of course, a different person.

11. The Johns Hopkins collection includes also several military inscriptions, the first of which is engraved on a slab of marble m. 0,64 in width and 0,28 in height and reads as follows:

¹ On the use of the apex over the diphthong AE, consult Christiansen, *De apicibus*, etc., p. 17.

• D •

• M •

L · VALERIUS · L · F · FLA · SABINVS · NOVID VIXIT · ANN · XI (?)
 MILITAVIT · ANN · XVI · IN COH II · PR SEV · P · V · 7 · GAIANI ·
 L · VALERIUS · VICTORINVS · MIL · COH · SS · 7 · EADEM
 FRATER · PIÏSSIMVS · ET · HERES · B · M · FECIT

L(ucius) Valerius, L(uci) f(ilius), Fla(via), Sabinus, Novi(o)-
 d(un)o, vixit ann(is quadraginta?), militavit ann(is sedecim)
 in coh(orte secunda) pr(aetoria) Sev(eriana) P(ia) V(indice, cen-
 turia) Gaiani. L. Valerius Victorinus, mil(es) coh(ortis) s(upra)
 s(criptae, centuria) eadem, frater piissimus et heres, b(ene)m(e-
 renti) fecit.

This inscription, found near the via Ostiensis on the top of a hill known as Colle di Ponte Fratto, was published by Fiorelli in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for November, 1882, p. 581, and by Lanciani in the *Bull. Com.*, 1883, p. 236, n. 668. The text is now found in *C. I. L.*, VI, 32671, from which the copy given above varies only in the placing of one or two points. The letters are tall, narrow, and crowded, but fairly regular in form, and in details show characteristics which might be expected in the third century. The reading XI at the end of the first line is evidently a graver's error and probably stands for XL. L. Valerius Sabinus was a native of the municipium Flavium Noviodunum (or Neviodunum, as it usually appears on the stones), in Pannonia Superior,¹ and, so far as I have observed, is the only praetorian known to have come from that town.² According to the well-known custom, which seems to have begun in the second century, the personal part of the town's name, derived from an imperial founder, is used instead of a tribal designation.³ The Gaianus of the second line is doubtless the same as the centurion Gaianus of the *cohors secunda praetoria Pia Vindex Severiana* mentioned in *C. I. L.*, VI, 2456.

¹ Compare *C. I. L.*, III, p. 498, and especially number 3919.

² Compare Mommsen, *Ephem. Epig.*, V, p. 181.

³ See Hübner, *Müller's Handbuch*, I², p. 680, and Cagnat, *Cours*, p. 62, note 1.

12. A small slab of marble m. 0,355 in width and 0,295 in height has the following text:

D · M
AELIO · IULIO
FILIO · DULCISSIMO
QVI · VI · X · ANN · VII
M · II · AVR · VITVS
MIL · COH · III · PR · S ·
IVSTIANI · FECIT

D(is) M(anibus). Aelio Iulio, filio dulcissimo, qui vix(it) ann(is) septem), m(ensibus) duobus), Aur(elius) Vitus, mil(es) coh(ortis) quartae) pr(aetoriae, centuria) Iustiani, fecit.

This stone, which is broken perpendicularly into two nearly equal parts and lacks a considerable fragment at the upper right corner, is said to have been found in 1907 outside the porta Pia, not far from the church of S. Agnese. The letters are broad, well rounded, deeply and carefully cut, but show a tendency to the use of superfluous ornamental strokes at top and bottom. The date can scarcely be earlier than the end of the second century, and is probably somewhat later. The use of Iulius as a cognomen is almost too common to call for special comment: nineteen examples in the inscriptions of the city of Rome are cited in Huelsen's unpublished *index cognominum*. P. Aelius Iulius (VI, 31147, c, 8) and Aellus (?) Iulius (ib., 32915), though of the same name, are, of course, not to be identified with the young son of Aurelius Vitus, nor is the soldier of our inscription the same as the Aurelius Bitus of the sixth praetorian cohort mentioned in VI, 2601.

13. The next military inscription is engraved on a slab of marble which rises to a point in the middle like the gabled end of a house, and measures m. 0,38 in width and 0,25 in height from base to peak, 0,15 at the sides. This stone seems to have been found outside the porta Salaria and was broken in four pieces, but has now been repaired. The text, which follows closely a

series of straight lines lightly scratched upon the surface for the guidance of the graver, is quite uninjured and reads as follows:

D · M
Q · CAEDIUS · Q · FIL ·
VELLINA · FESTVS · AQVILEIA
MIL · COH · VI · PR · 7 ATILI · VIX
ANN · XXVIII · M · IIII · D · VII
MIL · AN · XII · MEMIA · PROBA ·
B · M · DE SE · FECIT ·

D(is) M(anibus). Q(uintus) Caedius, Q(uinti) fil(ius), Vellina (tribu), Festus, Aquileia, mil(es) coh(ortis sextae) pr(aetoriae, centuria) Atili, vix(it) ann(os duodetriginta), m(enses quattuor), d(ies septem), mil(itavit) an(nos duodecim). Mem(m)ia Proba b(ene)m(erenti) de se fecit.

The inscription is carefully cut in the monumental style, with broad, well formed letters, and may be as early as the first century. The persons mentioned here are unknown, but the names present no peculiarity except the spelling of *Memmia* with a single M, which is not uncommon (C. I. L., VI, 22386). The *gens Caedia* is attested at Forum Iulium (V, 1764), Patavium (ib., 2908), and Comum (ib., 5325), but not till now, so far as I know, at Aquileia. It is by no means improbable that the centurion Atilius also was a native of Gallia Cisalpina, for the *gens Atilia* is attested in nearly one hundred and fifty examples in the fifth volume of the Corpus and in at least one instance from Aquileia itself.¹ This *municipium*, too, must have furnished its fair proportion of soldiers for the praetorian cohorts: Bohn cites eleven cases from the inscriptions.² The *tribus Velina* is quite regular for Aquileia: the spelling *Vellina* occurs elsewhere also, e. g., C. I. L., VI, 2519.

¹ L'Année Epig., 1903, p. 49. L. Atilio L. f. Saturnino.

² Ephem. Epig., V, p. 251.

14. A large slab of marble m. 0,31 in width and 0,90 in height, said to have been found outside the porta Salaria in 1906, has the following inscription carefully cut in the monumental style:

D *corona* M

Q ·	METTIO ·	Q ·	F
ANIES ·	PRIMI		
TIVO ·	CREMO		
NA ·	MILES ·	COH	
VII ·	PR ·	7 ·	IEDARN
MILITAVIT ·	AN		
NOS ·	XXII ·	L ·	TVSI
DIVS ·	L ·	F ·	VEL ·
SABI			
NIANVS ·	PLANI		
NE ·	MILES ·	COH	
VII ·	PR ·	7 ·	IEDARNI

TIRONI · SVO · BENE
MERENTI · FECIT

D(is) M(anibus). Q(uito) Mettio, Q(uinti) f(ilio), Anie(n)s(i tribu), Primitivo, Cremona, miles (?) coh(ortis septimae) pr(aetoriae, centuria) Iedarni, (qui) militavit annos (viginti duos) L(ucius) Tusidius, L(uci) f(ilius), Vel(ina tribu), Sabinianus, Planine, miles coh(ortis septimae) pr(aetoriae, centuria) Iedarni, tironi suo benemerenti fecit.

This stone differs from those previously described in that it has the form of a tombstone and was intended to be set up beside the grave with the lower half buried in the earth. The top is rounded at the middle, but has pointed projections at the corners like the ears of a cat. Below the letters D M is a space m. 0,39 in height, which was designed to receive the inscription and was cut down to such a degree as to make possible the cornice-like frame which surrounds it. This depressed space, however, was insufficient, for the last two lines have run over and found place on the higher level of the original surface. The letters of the introductory formula are separated by a well engraved wreath. With no surer indication than the style of the cutting, it would be impossible to assign a more definite date than the second century, and even

that assignment would be made with some reserve, but the fortunate preservation of the name of our centurion Iedarnus in C. I. L., VI, 32520, *b*, 32, a list of subordinate officers of the praetorian guard in the years 143 and 144, makes more accurate dating possible. In this list Iedarnus appears as centurion of the seventh praetorian cohort, and in view of the uncommon character of the name, due, of course, to foreign origin, can scarcely be other than the Iedarnus of our inscription, which therefore belongs to about the middle of the second century.

Cremona was the native town of an unusually large number of praetorians,¹ and the tribe, when mentioned at all, is regularly the Aniensis.² Planina (Planine), on the other hand, is mentioned elsewhere as the birthplace of only one soldier, a subordinate officer of the first praetorian cohort in the year 144 A. D.³ The *respublica Planinensium* is referred to in C. I. L., V, 6991, and Pliny locates the *Planinenses* in the interior of Picenum (N. H., III, 111). The tribe (*Velina*) is attested in C. I. L., III, 6202, us, T. f. Vel. Claudianus, Planina. It is probably more than a coincidence that our soldier from Planina in Picenum is named L. Tusidius, for the *gens Tusidia* is especially common in Picenum⁴ and the only praenomen preserved for this *gens* in that region is Lucius.

15. Another inscription from Rome is found on a marble tablet m. 0,245 in width and 0,135 in height. The text, which is poorly cut and probably of late date, runs as follows:

D M
VAL VALERIANI FE
CIT AVR SCVPVS MIL
PR MVNICIPI
SVO · B · N · M

D(is) M(anibus) Val(eri) Valeriani fecit Aur(elius) Scupus, mil(es ex) pr(aetorio), municipi suo b(e)n(e)m(erenti).

The name Valerius Valerianus occurs several times in the inscriptions. For example, a man of this name is mentioned as one of the heirs of a soldier in the sixth praetorian cohort (C. I. L.,

¹ Bohn, l. c., p. 253.

² C. I. L., VI, 2379, *a*, I, 7.

³ C. I. L., V, p. 414.

⁴ Schulze, lat. Eigennamen, p. 376.

VI, 32693); one M. Valerius, M. f., Vel., Valerianus from Aquileia was an *equus* in a praetorian cohort in the year 173 (VI, 32638, 20); a certain M. Valerius Valerianus appears in II, 3385; and one C. Valerius Valerianus in XIII, 395 and 409. There is, however, no reason for identifying any one of these with the Valerius Valerianus of our inscription. Nor is it possible to name his native town, which he had in common with Aurelius Scupus. The cognomen Scupus, which I have not met with elsewhere, suggests that it may have been Scupi in Moesia Superior. This town was technically known as *colonia Flavia* (or *Aelia*) *Scupi*, but *municeps* might refer to a *colonia* as well as to a *municipium*.¹

16. Another marble slab in the form of a tombstone, though smaller in dimensions than number 14 above described (m. 0,215 wide and 0,38 high), came to light in Rome in 1906. In this case the top is fully rounded, and part of the bottom, which was buried in the earth, has been broken away. The inscription, which is rather poorly cut, though with an attempt at the monumental style, reads as follows:

D · M ·
L · RACILIVS · L F
VEL · AMPLIATVS
PICEN · MIL · COH · III
VIG · 7 MARCI ·
MASCVLI · VIX · A · XXV
MIL · AN · III · D · XXV
FVLVIVS · AVGENDV
COMMANIPVL ·
SVO · BENE · MERENTI ·
POSVIT

D(is) M(anibus). L(ucius) Racilius, L(uci) f(ilius), Vel(inatibu), Ampliatus, Piceno, mil(es) coh(ortis tertiae) vig(ilum, centuria) Marci Masculi, vix(it) a(nnis viginti quinque), mil(itavit) an(nis tribus), d(iebus viginti quinque). Fulvius Augendus manipul(ari) suo bene merenti posuit.

The letters are somewhat irregular in form, and even the same letter is not always made in the same way. For example, in line 5

¹C. I. L., III, Suppl., p. 1460.

we find the G with perpendicular finishing stroke, which is common in the first and early part of the second century, but in line 8 the G ending in an inward curve, which is frequent in the time of Septimius Severus. Similarly, in line 9 the outside strokes of M are perpendicular in the first case and oblique in the second case. Attention may be called also to the superfluous ornamental strokes added to many letters at top and bottom and to the ligature ND in line 8. All things considered, the date of the inscription can scarcely be earlier than the third century.

The persons mentioned here are otherwise unknown, but the names present no difficulty or peculiarity which calls for comment. It is distinctly unusual, however, for the soldier's native place to be put down simply as Picenum, without more definite indication, though a military diploma from the middle of the second century furnishes another example, C. I. L., III, p. 886, L. Nonius Bassus Piceno. In VI, 2887, is preserved the name of M. Pontius Fortunatus nat(ione) Picenus, which is somewhat different. When only such isolated cases exist, one is almost tempted to suppose that Piceno stands for Firmo Piceno¹ or Falerione Piceno,² for both of which *Velina* is the right tribe, as, indeed, it is for some other places in Picenum.³

17. From Rome also comes a tablet m. 0,25 wide and 0,215 high, with the following inscription cut in the vulgar style of a late period:

D M
PETRONIO CASTORI ·
EQ̄ R̄ QVI VIXIT ANN ·
LXXX DIEBUS XXX
PATRI B̄ M̄ FECIT
VAL · ANATOLIVS · MIL ·
LEG · II · HERCVLIAE

D(is) M(anibus). Petronio Castori, eq(uiti) R(omano), qui vixit ann(is octoginta) diebus (triginta), patri b(ene)m(erenti) fecit Val(erius) Anatolius, mil(es) leg(ionis secundae) Herculiae.

The letters are irregular in form, roughly, though not deeply cut, and are evidently the work of unskilled hands. Attention may be called especially to the meagre use of separating points

¹ C. I. L., IX, p. 508.

² *ib.*, IX, p. 517.

³ *ib.*, IX, p. 774.

and to the horizontal strokes over certain letters in the third and fifth lines. Such marks to indicate abbreviation are, as Hübner has pointed out, common in inscriptions of the second and later centuries.¹

The *legio secunda Herculia* was organized by Diocletian and named after his colleague Maximianus, who sometimes appears on the stones as Herculus. The records show that this corps saw service on the Danube at Noviodunum² and at Troesmis³; and that two of its cohorts raised a monument to Mithras at Sitifis in Mauretania.⁴ Several times also it is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁵ The title *eques Romanus* is interesting to notice in this late period, probably the latter part of the fourth century, when the equestrian order, in its old sense, had practically ceased to exist and the use of the title was correspondingly rare. An inscription from Africa of about the middle of the fourth century, which puts the *viri perfectissimi* after the *viri clarissimi*, seems to show the existence of the order there as late as that date.⁶

18. To these inscriptions of the army may be added two of the *classis praetoria Misenatium*. The first, said to have been found at Baia, is engraved on a tablet m. 0,26 in width and 0,235 in height and reads as follows:

D · M
T · CLAVDI
ARRIANI · VETER
CL · PRET · MISSEN
CINCIA · EVTYCHIA
COIVGI · B · M · F

D(is) M(anibus) T(iti) Claudi Arriani, veter(ani) cl(assis) pr(a)et(or)iae Missen(atium). Cincia Eutychia co(n)iugi b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The style of writing is an attempt at the *scriptura monumentalis*, but is marked by irregularity and by a tendency to crowd and run the letters together and to add ornamental strokes, especially

¹ Exempla Script. Epig., p. lxxii.

² Itiner. Antonini, p. 226.

³ C. I. L., III, 6194.

⁴ C. I. L., VIII, 8440.

⁵ See Böcking's index, p. 79.

⁶ C. I. L., VIII, 2403. Suppl., 17824: compare the comments of Kübler in Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 311.

at the top of the line. Particularly noticeable is the vulgar form of H in which the right perpendicular does not rise above the horizontal cross-stroke. Other indications of vulgar influence are the spellings *pret.*, *Missen.*,¹ and *coiugi*, which, however, occur elsewhere and require no comment. The date can hardly be earlier than the third century. Two other inscriptions contain the name Claudius Arrianus but doubtless refer to another person or persons.²

19. The other inscription of this class is found on a tablet (m. 0,285 in width and 0,21 in height) which appeared in Rome in 1907 and runs as follows:

D M
NOVELLIO · MONTANO
MIL · CLASSE MISENA
TIVM · MILT · ANN · XXV
FECIT NOVELLIA
ISMARAGDIS · PATRO
NO · B · M

D(is) M(anibus). Novellio Montano, mil(iti ex) classe Misennatium, (qui) mil(i)t(avit) ann(is viginti quinque), fecit Novellia Ismaragdis patrono b(ene) m(erenti).

The cutting is deep and of fairly even and square appearance on the whole, though vulgar influence is apparent in the general tendency to curves and, to cite a particular case, in the regularity with which the first and third strokes of M join the second and fourth strokes at some distance below the top. Taking into consideration the style of writing, as well as the presence of a prosthetic vowel³ in the sixth line, one can be safe in assigning this inscription to a period not earlier, and probably somewhat later, than the end of the second century. Here also the persons mentioned are quite unknown, though the individual names are common. For example, Zmaragdis occurs in C. I. L., VI, 29636; X, 2410; and XIV, 1815: the masculine form Zmaragdus, or

¹ E. Ferrero, *Indici Generali delle Iscrizioni Classiarie*, p. 97. For the *veterani*, see *ib.*, p. 118.

² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, s. v.

³ See Carnoy, *Latin d'Espagne*², p. 110; Stolz, *Hist. Gram.*, I, p. 202.

Smaragdus (Σμάραγδος), is still more frequently met with, and sometimes even with the prosthetic vowel in the form Ismaragdus (VI, 19258; XII, 1971).

20. With the military inscriptions may be mentioned two others, of which the one probably, and the other certainly, has to do with the training of gladiators. The first, found in 1907 outside the porta Salaria, is cut on a columbarium tablet (m. 0,37 wide and 0,19 high) of the ordinary *ansata* type, with the rusted remains of the nails by which it was attached to the wall, still adhering to the two holes at the ends. The text is fairly well cut, though in a somewhat vulgar style:

C · FVTIVS · C · L ·

PHILARGYRVS

DOC · V̇EL ·

The date is probably quite late, and the name presents no peculiarity, but the title DOC · V̇EL · is worthy of remark because, so far as I have observed, it does not occur elsewhere in the inscriptions. It is a well-known fact that raw recruits in the army, as in the school of the *lanista*, were put in the charge of *doctores*, or drill-masters, who gave them the training necessary for their profession. The chief of the military drill-masters was the *campidoctor*, but each special branch of the service seems to have had its own *doctor*.¹ In C. I. L., VI, 533, we meet with *cohortis doctor* and *campidoctor*; ib., 3595, *doctor sagittar(iorum)*; III, 10516, *(d)oc(tor) fabr(um)*, if Mommsen is right in his restoration; IX, 952, *doc(tor) eq(uitum) ac p(editum)*; and Vegetius speaks of *doctores armorum* (I, 13). I should therefore fill out the abbreviations in this case as *doc(tor) vel(itum)*, but whether the title refers to the *velites* of the army or to those of a *familia gladiatoria*, it is impossible to say with certainty. The latter is more probable in the light of the following inscription (number 21), which seems to have been found at the same time and place. The mark like an apex over V̇EL serves no other purpose than to indicate an abbreviation, unless the graver, intending it for the E, placed it over the V by mistake.²

¹ Beurlier, *Mélanges Graux*, pp. 297 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Daremberg et Saglio*, and De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, sub vv.

² Christiansen, *De apicibus*, etc., p. 24.

21. Probably from the same family tomb as the preceding came an inscription engraved on a columbarium tablet (m. 0,50 wide and 0,29 high), which is said to have been found outside the porta Salaria in 1907. The text is enclosed in a kind of rectangular frame made by cutting deep lines parallel to the edges of the marble. At the four points where these lines meet are holes which still contain the nails that fastened the tablet to the wall of the tomb. The inscription, which is written in a late and vulgar style, is arranged in two columns and reads as follows:

C · FVTIVS ·	FVTIA · C · L ·
HYACINTVS ·	PHILVRA ·
DOCT · OPL ·	FECIT

That there were *doctores* in the *ludi gladiatorum*, as well as in the army, is clear from Valerius Maximus, II, 3, 2, and Quintilian (?), Decl. 302, as well as from inscriptions; and each *doctor* seems to have been devoted to the training of a special class of gladiators. In C. I. L., VI, 10192, we find *doctor Thraec(um)*; ib., 10174, 10175 and V, 1907, *doctor Myrmillon(um)* or *Murm(illonum)*; and in VI, 10181, *doctor oplomachor(um)*, which sufficiently explains the abbreviation of our inscription.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

IV.—DUPLICATION BY DISSIMILATION.

In the collation of material for two recent studies of word-structure in Samoan, one systematic,¹ the other dealing with a specific activity of limited content,² the examination was so far extended into the other languages of the Polynesian stem as to make it clear that the principle of duplication was of uniform application throughout. The exceptions are negligible for the reason that contamination might easily be shown to be present. In the Tongan, however, we find regularly established a duplication phenomenon which is at variance from the Samoan and other Polynesian in two most important particulars. The former, that change is exerted upon the duplicating elements; the latter, that there is vowel variation, although it has been established that the skeleton of all Polynesian speech lies in its vowel structure and that the consonants are most largely the elements affected by structural mutation.

The relative position of the Tongan I have already discussed.³ It is a mixed language. Yet, while we may recognize the elements qualitatively, sufficient study has not yet been put upon it in the present treatment of these isolating tongues to enable us to make an estimate, even a provisional one, of the weight of each component. These two known elements are the Proto-Samoan, and the Polynesian of the second, or other later, migration which eventually colonized the islands in the three linked groups of Haafulahao, Haabai and Tongatabu. This is an event in history, it forms the critical episode of Matamatamē in Samoan tradition, the date whereof will be discoverable in the critical study of the succession in the royal line of the Malietoas, for which I have assembled the data and await only opportunity to coordinate the several elements of the problem.⁴ In this coloni-

¹ "Samoa Phonetics in the Broader Relation", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* XVII 79 et al.

² "Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Values", *American Journal of Philology* XXIX 33.

³ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* XVII.

⁴ "Samoa o le Vavau" in MSS.

zation the Proto-Samoan may have been swept along southward with the Tongan ancestors in their expulsion, or it may have become amalgamated with the Tongan through admixture during the period of the Tongafiti domination of western Samoa, the point being immaterial in this particular phase of our study.

The interaction of these two elements is so strongly featured that largely on this account I have set the resultant, the modern Tongan, down in my analytical key to the genera of Polynesian speech as a secondary or derivative tongue.

The determining principle of this is that in conduplication of Tongan words (ABAB type) there are cases in which a vowel change is introduced into the structural modification. The vowel undergoing alteration may lie under the accent in the stem or it may be unaccented.

The subjoined tables exhibit this vocalic dissimilation in each incidence of the accent. We shall first look at specimens where an *a* of the stem becomes *e* in duplication. The root is added within parentheses as identified in other Polynesian. Consonant variety needs no consideration in this examination. Likewise as the point under consideration relates wholly to the form of words it has not been considered necessary to translate into their English sense the words in these examples, save only where the identification through form seems to require support through sense.

Accented.	Unaccented.
efiáfi (áfi)	eveéva (éva)
mejimáji (máti)	iteíta (íta)
	bekebéka (péka)
	biebíá (pía)

The second table exhibits the change from a stem *a* to *o*.

Accented.	Unaccented.
oloálo (álo)	okoóka (óka)
unounáni (unáni)	bolobóla (póla)
bokubáku (páku)	
botubátu (pátu)	

The two tables balance in opposite directions, each has a closed and each an open column. Careful investigation discloses but two instances in which an accented stem *a* changes to *e*, but two instances in which an unaccented stem *a* changes to *o*, these

changes being respectively in the palatal and labial directions. Examples might be multiplied to show the *a-e* change unaccented and the *a-o* change accented, the Tongan vocabulary is full of them.

In my detailed study of Samoan phonology¹ it has been possible to consider more generally the obscure unshaded vowel under the eaves of the gable in the diagrammatic presentation of the vocal sounds. I have there pointed out that *d*, *ɛ* and *ɔ* are apical in respect of an inner triangle, and that as between the several races using the ancestral Polynesian stems in which this obscure vowel is engaged it is uncertain which angle will be selected in idiosyncratic facility of speech. The Tongan remains the only tongue which employs simultaneously more than one of these angles, and it is the only tongue in which vocalic dissimilation in duplication is found. This obscure short vowel mass has been independently studied by Brandstetter² and he has positively isolated it along other lines of approach and has assigned to it very happily the name of the "indifferent" vowel.

The vocalic dissimilation found in Tongan becomes a most important instrument in our study of obscure phenomena in the little known tract of the inoculation of the Polynesian and Melanesian in the island chain lying between Fiji and the Australian coast. We have abundant material in sister, or possibly parent, tongues to make sure determination of what is the true stem of these Tongan forms. That being established we may then proceed to discover what part of the word in all Polynesian duplication is regarded as the more important and what the secondary. It is at once clear in all these examples of conduplication that the relative value of elements in the duplicated form which we have hitherto designated by the formula ABAB is expressible as abAB.

We had ventured to reach the same conclusion in a consideration of the normal accentuation of such words in Polynesian generally. But the slight shade of ictus as between principal and echo accent has seemed too frail an argument on which to base strong conclusions.

¹ Journal of the Polynesian Society XVII 87.

² Prof. Dr. Renward Brandstetter: "Ein Prodromus zu einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch der malaio-polynesischen Sprachen für Sprachforscher und Ethnographen". Luzern, 1906.

This identification of the principal element of the duplicated word, brought to firm establishment through the dissimilative duplication in Tongan, will be found of great value in the study of the consonantal dissimilation. This is not found anywhere in Polynesia, but in the marginal Melanesian we are to become familiar with its presence and we may hope to obtain some comprehension of the reason which underlies its use. We may hope still further to find in it an instrument by the use of which, in proportion as we acquire more facility, the Polynesian content suspected in Melanesian languages may be brought to light.

In such Melanesian material as has been available hitherto for examination, and it is to be noted that it has been both scanty and fragmentary, it has been manifest that duplication exists in that tract as a factor whose weight in some languages is great and in others very small. Codrington's¹ notes on the subject have excited interest, but they present so many anomalies and exhibit such a tangle of uncoördinate methods that they have proved devoid of usefulness in the detailed examination of the topic.

Now for the first time we have a sufficient mass of material to enable us to subject to critical study so much as a single one of the languages spoken in Melanesia proper. This material is contained in the vocabulary of the speech of Efaté in the New Hebrides as recorded to the number of between three and four thousand words by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Macdonald,² for more than a quarter of a century a missionary to the people of that island, which occupies approximately a central position in the chain of islands stretching away from New Caledonia and the Loyalties past the eastern tip of New Guinea and so north toward the Indonesian area.

I have exhaustively collated this vocabulary for duplication forms, and the result of such collation is here presented. Furthermore, the material has sedulously been studied with a view to determine the method and value of this speech process in Efaté. As it is the first opportunity that has offered for a consistent and critical examination of a Melanesian language it is hoped that some, at least, of the conclusions herein reached will open the path toward a comparative study of the speech of the region in general upon a broader basis than existed at the time

¹ R. H. Codrington: "The Melanesian Languages", Oxford, 1885.

² "The Oceanic Languages: their Grammatical Structure, Vocabulary and Origin", 1907.

when Von der Gabelentz¹ passed this obscure philology under review.

The consonantal structure of Efaté falls into the following scheme, four inseparable doublets being interpolated in parentheses beside the consonants to which for the present they are assigned as secondary.

Palatal.	Lingual.	Labial.
...	r-l	...
ng	n	m (mw)
...	s (ts)	...
ch	dh	...
...	...	f
g	...	b (bw)
k	t (tr)	...

In the first place it is to be noted that duplication is far less common in Efaté than in any Polynesian language. It is almost wholly confined to stems which have an initial consonant. Efaté shows nothing of the variety in the form of this instrument or the facility in its use which characterizes the Polynesian. We lack data upon which to base such conclusions as to the functional value of this mechanism as have been developed in the study of the Samoan. But we must observe, even in a superficial search, that in a conspectus of the words which exhibit duplication phenomena a moiety and more exhibit that duplication with the added complication of consonantal dissimilation. In the following tables we shall record these wry forms, and wherever identification with Polynesian stems makes comparison possible we shall strive to discover what principle may underlie this characteristic disorder.

In the palatal series Efaté possesses in *ch* and *g* sounds unknown to the Polynesian. These consonants are not frequent in Efaté and, so far as our observation has gone, are not involved in any duplicated forms. That leaves in the series *ng* and *k*. Stems possessing the former for an initial are duplicated without dissimilation. Stems in initial *k* may duplicate without change, or

¹Hans Conon von der Gabelentz: "Die melanesischen Sprachen nach ihrem grammatischen Bau und ihrer Verwandtschaft unter sich und mit den malaiisch-polynesischen Sprachen". Leipzig, 1860, 1873.

Georg von der Gabelentz und Adolf Bernhard Meyer: "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der melanesischen, mikronesischen und papuanischen Sprachen". Leipzig, 1882.

they may exhibit a dissimilation of the type *ng-k*. Of the following tables the former presents the cases of *ng-k* dissimilative duplication where it has been possible to establish a satisfactory identification with known stems of the Polynesian, these being set within parentheses.

ngakat	(kati)	ngarukaru	(kili)	ngorokoro	(kolo)
nganikani	(kani)	ngatikati	(kati)	ngotokoto	(koti)
ngarikari	(kili)	ngiki	(ki)	ngkita	(kite)
ngarokaro	(kili)	ngikili	(keli)	ngkon	(kona)

In the following table are presented those words which show the same form of dissimilation in duplication but which have not yet been satisfactorily identified in the Polynesian and are, therefore, lacking in the element essential to valuable comparison.

ngafikafi	ngakau	ngelakela	ngokofita	nguku
ngakalau	ngakua	ngesakesa	ngko	ngkuruk
ngakarafi	ngakala	ngiskis	ngkola	ngukut
ngakasi	ngarakarai	ngofkofua	ngkolau	ngkel
.....	ngasukasua	ngkolofa

In *kufangufa* (to fly, to flutter, to flap the wings) there appears the solitary reversal of this *ng-k* order of dissimilation. There can be little doubt that it is the stem which is found in Polynesian as *kapakapa* (Tongan: to flap the wings), for the sense is exactly the same. Such being the case it represents a possibility of dissimilation in the reduplication of the initial palatal of the type *k-ng*.

Advancing forward in the mouth to the lingual series we find that Efaté shares with Polynesian the *r-l*, *n*, *s*, and *l*. In addition it possesses the doublets *dh* (*lh* in *that*), *ts* and *tr*. Duplication of the familiar types holds in respect of *r-l*, *n*, *s* and *l*. In the case of initial *r-l* alone do we encounter dissimilation.

The table of dissimilated forms whose identification we may carry over into the Polynesian is but brief:

taraku	(laku)	torongo	(longo)
--------	--------	---------	---------

The words in this group not identified in Polynesian are the following:

tarako	toroba	tabaraba	tobaroba
tiringi	tofarofa	tirāngi	tolarola

For each of these ten words, with the possible exception of *tolarola*, there exists an alternative parallel form without dissimilation, e. g., *raraku*, *rofarofa*.

In the labial series, where cultured speech shows its greatest delicacy, Efaté lacks *v* and *p*, but possesses *b*, which in Polynesian is found only in Tongan and imperfectly in Viti, where it requires a nasalized preface as *mb*. In addition Efaté employs the doublets *mw* and *bw*. Duplication of the familiar types occurs with initial *m*, *f* and *b*.

A doubtful case of initial *m* is found in *molamwota*; the case is even suspicious because highly anomalous. This word is identical in meaning with the Polynesian *otaota* (rubbish), but we have no data whereupon to discuss the problem of the loss or assumption of *m* initial, whichever it may be considered to be.

In this series the dissimilation factor appears in stems with an initial *b*. Where words thus affected have proved susceptible of identification we find such diversity of the corresponding Polynesian labial that it will make for clearness to present them in several tables.

First come such as represent a Polynesian *f*:

bafano (fano) bungafunga (fafangu) bulifulia (fula)

Corresponding to *p* in Polynesian are these:

balafala (pili) biaufiau (peau) bilafila (pupula) butafuta (puta)

In two words we can carry our identification no further than to *v* in Viti, their existence in Polynesian has not been ascertained. They are:

berafere (vuruvuru) bisafisa (vosa)

In two words we find a *b-u* dissimilation. We lack material on which to discuss this phase, but it will be observed that while the former is identifiable with a Polynesian *p* and Viti *mb*, the latter represents a Viti *v* and Polynesian associations, if any, not traced. The words of this type of dissimilation are:

beluuelu (pelu, mbeluka) boriuori-si (vorota)

In the identifiable class there yet remains a single instance of *bw-f* dissimilation in *bwefe*, identifiable with Polynesian *veve* (the leaf covering of a pit oven).

Finally this table presents the unidentifiable instances of dissimilation in the labial series :

bafatu	biliuili	bworaiuorangoro	bunufunu
balifali	binofinoi	bwosauosa	burafura
beifei	birifiri	bwotauota	burufuru
befe	bwisiuisi	buafua	busafusa
bibwila	bokauoka	bulufulu	bwusiwusi
.....	bolofolo	bunofunoi

The data thus assembled we shall now investigate in detail by series.

In the Polynesian the palatals are decadent. We have no evidence that there were ever more than the nasal *ng* and the surd mute *k*. The sonant mute *g* is not found sufficiently established to call for an alphabetic position, but the sound is not alien¹ to the Polynesians and may not infrequently be detected in colloquial speech as a variant of *k*. This *k* has passed out in Tahiti, Hawaii and Samoa, in the latter speech the loss having been evidently quite recent. In the other languages of the family it remains unchanged in the main. The palatal nasal *ng* is wholly wanting in Tahiti, in Marquesas it has passed into *k*, and in Hawaii it has moved quite out of the palatal series and loses itself in the lingual nasal *n*. Being thus left without any true palatals and with added duty thrown upon the lingual series Hawaii has effected a compensatory movement at the other end of the lingual series by which *l* passes backward to the palate and imparts a palatal *k* to words which etymologically should have the lingual *l*. This movement, already accomplished in great part at the time when Hawaiian was reduced to writing, is now in progress in Samoa despite the restraint of an established alphabet, the *ng* is becoming *n* and the *l* has become *k*.

We are, therefore, justified in the conclusion that ancestral Polynesian had but one palatal sound, that it lay between *k* and *ng*, rather nearer the latter. Efaté, however, possesses both these sounds. If, then, Polynesian commorants employed a palatal sound which was truly *ng* or truly *k* their Melanesian associates

¹ Shirley Baker: Grammar of the Tongan Language. "Ka—This consonant has two sounds, a hard and a soft sound; 2, a soft sound like *g* in *gold gulf*."

David Hazlewood: Fijian Grammar. "K—This letter represents two sounds, viz.: that of the English *k* and *g*."

would have found no difficulty in reproducing the sound. But because one sound is used in the stem under protection of unity of continuous speech effort and the other sound is used in the unprotected position of the duplication prefix we are fairly entitled to consider it a painstaking effort to be precise in reproducing a sound to which the voice organs were not properly attuned. Efaté has no difficulty in duplicating its own *k* and *ng* without any sign of dissimilation, *koko* and *nganga*, purely Melanesian stems, are sufficiently illustrative. Such peculiar forms as *ngkon* may in the end prove to be not true duplication but the indication of the mouthing of an unfamiliar sound and the attempt to reproduce it by combining the two familiar sounds which limited it in each direction.

In the lingual series we have but two examples of dissimilation in stems whose outer relations it has been possible to identify, entirely too scanty an allowance to admit of close study. We note that the play between *l* and *r* is the longest possible, it is a slip from one extremity of the series in the surd mute to the opposite extreme in the semivowel which is scarcely consonantal at all. Yet we may regard *l* as a consonant with a tendency to lose its precision, basing this upon the present kappation in Hawaii and Samoa and upon the assimilation of the Polynesian *l* not only with *l* in Viti but also with *nd*.

In the labial series, because of the fineness of the exterior organs of the mouth which condition the formation of the several sounds, we should expect to find greater precision. But inspection of the preceding consonantal scheme of Efaté makes it clear that control has hardly been acquired of the lips for the production of fine sounds. The surd spirant *f* seems to be well and centrally established; the other sounds of the series are the nasal *m* and the sonant mute *b*, and the presence of the doublets *mw* and *bw* go far to show that these highly important sounds *m* and *b* have as yet failed to settle upon definite values.

The Polynesian, on the other hand, has very nearly as much facility in the use of the lips as ourselves. Of the mutes *p* runs through all the languages of the family except Tonga, where it is replaced by the sonant *b*, and Viti, where the *b* sound can be reached only through the step of a prefixed nasal as *mb*. Of the spirants *f* is weak. It is found in Nuclear Polynesian (in Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea) at its full value; in Marquesas, Tahiti and Paumotu it may remain *f* or it may transform into *h*; in Manga-

reva and Hawaii it passes quite over into *h*; in Maori it is *hw*; in Viti it is *w*; and in Rarotonga it has dropped out entirely. The sonant spirant *v* is far more constant. In Tongarewa and Hawaii it is becoming a semivocalic *w*; in Maori it has passed completely over to the *w*.

To reproduce these finely discrete sounds Esat  has but *f* and *b*, and we have noted that the latter is practically alien to the Polynesian. We shall, therefore, regard these dissimilations in duplication of the *b-f* and *b-u* (*b-w*) type as indicative of the attempt to render unfamiliar consonants of the labial series through a method of approximation by double position.

The contours and the modeling of the normal Melanesian labia diverge as widely from the Polynesian as does the negro from the white. Since the physical difference is patent to the sight and the phonetic difference is equally apparent upon linguistic examination it seems that this is a case in which the skill of the histologist exercised upon the lip musculature may be expected to yield a better comprehension of underlying reasons.

In every case where it has been possible to identify the stems subject to this peculiar deformation we have traced them to Polynesian stock, and to no source within the strictly Melanesian area. What then are we to think of the considerable number of words similarly deformed? We have been unable as yet to identify them with Polynesian stems. Equally they have not been found linked up with other sources.

The following explanations suggest themselves as possibilities:

1. That these words are indigenous to Esat .
2. That they are indigenous words attracted into a formation method applicable to Polynesian borrowed words.
3. That they are the survival in Esat  of true Polynesian stems which have become extinct in the present homes of that race.

I incline most strongly toward this third explanation. Against the first suggestion it must be urged that these words, fifty-two in number, and all associated in a particularity of form which nowhere else appears in the speech, amount to little more than one per centum of the words presented by Dr. Macdonald as a complete vocabulary, a figure which is not impossible for a contamination but scarcely likely to represent a fixed element of the language.

Against the second suggestion it is to be urged that no words of known Melanesian origin betray traces of any such modification through attraction.

There can be no grave objection to the theory that so many words have become extinct in Polynesian. We know of words alive in one or more Polynesian languages yet extinct in one or more others, of words which yet remain alive but which have lapsed from reputable currency,¹ we know several causes which are active to produce this extinction.² There need be nothing to surprise us in the belief that half a hundred stems have been lost to the eastern Polynesian.

We may then conclude from this review of the available material that the phenomena of dissimilative duplication in the Pacific area represent two dissociated phenomena. Vocalic dissimilation in duplication represents a linguistic progress, the language which exhibits it stands on a more advanced plane of evolution. Consonantal dissimilation is but the sign of the effort made by a race inferior in vocal powers to attain to something higher in the assimilation of loan words.

Assuming, in conclusion, that the element in Efaté which presents to our awakening interest and curiosity this dissimilation phenomenon is the survival of Polynesian material it becomes of moment to suggest how it has come about that Polynesian word stuff has reached these Melanesians, a people scarcely possessing the requisite physical culture of the voice organs to admit of their holding the borrowed material. Two theories call for study. One, that these Polynesian traces in Melanesia are the result of tradewind drift of castaways from the islands to windward, a theory which has much to recommend it when plotted upon charts showing the prevailing winds and currents of the central and western Pacific. The other, that these islands

¹ I cite from the Samoan *alelo* (the tongue) now used only in the warmth of abuse and in the amenities of life replaced by *lau laufaiva*, and *pia* (arrowroot) for which the speaker who would avoid an obscenity among a people of singularly clean speech must substitute *māsoā*.

² The most completely effective of such causes is that known in the rhetoric of Tabiti as *te pi*. Any word which has been once used as the name of one of the superior chiefs or has formed a part of such a name falls under a tabu which prohibits its use in common speech. With great propriety Bishop Jausen has characterized it as a custom which has disfigured the language.

of Melanesia lie upon the track of the migration of the Polynesian ancestors toward their present home, that loan words sign-board the places of sojourn during the epoch of the voyages. While I feel convinced of the substantial validity of the latter theory the subject is too great to be considered here. It will form the theme of a memoir on the Polynesian content of Efaté which I have now in preparation, and in that memoir will be passed in review the whole linguistic material of this Melanesian tongue and not, as necessarily here, a single detail.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL.

V.—THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE GIRNĀR WORD *SĀMĪPAM*.

In the second of his Fourteen-Edicts Asoka tells us that he has established hospitals¹ for man and beast not only in his own realm but also in those of his neighbors. The list winds up with the name of the Greek king Antiochus. He then goes on to say that he has also established these hospitals in the realms of the neighboring kings of this Antiochus. The expressions used for 'neighboring kings' in all the versions, save the Girnār one, where extant, are the equivalents of Sanskrit *sāmanā rājānaḥ*. The Girnār redaction, however, has *sāmīpaṁ rājāno*. And it is the exact meaning and etymology of *sāmīpaṁ* that I propose to investigate in the present paper.

The meaning of the word in question is, of course, already determined in a general way by the correspondents of the other recensions; but regarding its etymology, the other versions are of little assistance.

In giving the various views of scholars, I will start with the decipherment of the inscription. Prinsep. JASB., 1838, Vol. VII, p. 159 read *sāmīno*, translating this by 'generals', evidently connecting the word with Sanskrit *svāmīnaḥ*. Phonetically this is impossible; cf. *svāmīkena*. Nor does the meaning fit in with the other versions. Moreover, the plate on p. 158 really reads *sāmāntā*. And the facsimile facing page 218 in point of fact has *sāmīpaṁ*. The copy of the inscription by Jacob and Westergaard in JBoAS. Vol. I, p. 257 ff. has *sāmīpaṁ* and this only, as Lassen (IAlt. II¹, p. 240, footnote 3 = II², p. 253, footnote 1) rightly saw. He translates the word by 'die benachbarten'; and considers that the final *m* is wrongly used, and evidently takes the form as a nom. pl., though he is silent regarding its etymology: yet some connection with Sanskrit *sāmīpa-* or *sāmīpya-* obviously

¹This is Buehler's interpretation; for other views see IF. Anz. XXII., Ergänzungsheft, p. 115.

²Strictly speaking, the expressions could mean 'vassal-kings'. I have made the orthography uniform in reporting the various reading, etc.; so that both *m* and *m̃*, for example, are given as *m*.

is suggested by this translation. Wilson, JRAS., 1850, Vol. XII, p. 165 read *sāmīpañ*; and on p. 169 translated 'and those princes who are near to (or allied with) that monarch (i. e., Aintiyaka). There is no explanation of the difficult word. Yet some connection with Sanskrit *saṁīpa-* must be implied by this translation. Mason, in his Pāli Grammar, Toungoo, 1868, p. 179 read *sāmanā* (*sāmañā* in our transcription), evidently using Prinsep's plate for a basis: this he read nearly correctly, but it should be noticed that although he rejected Prinsep's *sāmino*, the translation 'chieftains' recalls Prinsep's 'generals'. Kern, Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten, p. 89, read *sāmīpañ*, but on the next page said that in no case was this suitable: a doublet *sāmīpañ*, corresponding to Sanskrit *saṁīpe*, would be explicable; in view of the *sāmañā* of the other versions, it was either a blunder for this latter, or a false translation.¹ Senart, Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi I, p. 62 read *sāmīpañ*, and on p. 66 said this was for *sāmīpā*, a nom. pl. of an adjective formed from *saṁīpa* as *sāmanā* from *samanā*. This fails because the nom. pl. of *a*-stems is regularly *-ā*.² Pischel, Goettingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1881, p. 1325 queried if *sāmīpyā* (Sanskrit *sāmīpyāḥ*) were not the true

¹ As Kern took *sāmañā* as 'vassal', he was additionally prejudiced. A *sāmīpañ* would not be satisfactory, as where we have *-e* for *-añ* in this recension, it is a 'Māgadhism'; and in the 'Māgadhan' versions, it is not phonetic, but analogical. See too IA. v., p. 272 and ARSWI. II, p. 99.

² The sole case of a nominative plural of *a*-stems that apparently ends in *-añ* in this recension, is *bhūtapuruvāñ*, v. 4 (for such is the true reading). In the first place as it stands, one obvious correction must be made, namely, *p* is to be substituted for *pr*. And possibly we should substitute *ūrv* for *uvv*. Under these circumstances it would be but a little stretch to emend *-añ* to *-ā*. At any rate very little weight should be given the form. I may add that *bhūtapuruvāñ* could be taken as the equivalent of a Sanskrit *bhūtapūrvam*, an adverb. This appears not to be given in BR. or OB., but it is in Āpte's larger Dictionary, and is used in the native Sanskrit translation in a 'Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions, etc.,' cited below. Per se there is no reason why such a word should not occur in Sanskrit; Professor Lanman writes me that the Pāli equivalent of it is found in the Visuddhi Magga in the sentence: *Bhūtapubbāñ bhikkhāve Araho nāma sattā ahoṣṭi*, 8, 149; and also in the commentary to the Dhammapada: *sāligabbhāñ phāletvā dānañ nāma neva atite bhūtapubbāñ nānāgate bhavissati*, p. 126, line 11. [*Bhūtapubbāñ* occurs several times in the Saṁyutta Nikaya.] Now if Pāli has the equivalent of a Sanskrit *bhūtapūrvam*, there is no reason why we should not find it also in the dialect of the Gīrnār redaction of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts.

reading. If it were this would be satisfactory : but we shall see later that this cannot be the true reading.¹ Burgess, in Vol. II of the Archaeological Survey of Western India 1876, p. 99, read *sāmīpam*; the plate between pp. 98 and 99 shows *sāmī-* and the final *m* very clearly: the *p* is indistinct but recognizable. (Same collotype in Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, facing p. 257; poor reduced reproduction on p. 769 of Lefmann's *Geschichte d. alten Indiens*.) Cunningham, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I, p. 66, read *sāminam*, but the plate (v) reads *sāmino* in reality.² Buehler, *ZDMG.* 37, p. 95 read *sāmīnam*, and considered this a blunder for *sāmanā*. Senart, *JA.*, 1885, Février-Mars-Avril, p. 301 read *sāmīcam*, allowing that *sāmīcā* might be the true reading; at the same time he rightly rejected Buehler's *sāmīnam*. As to its formation, he suggested that it was a derivative of *samyac*. Unfortunately, he does not go into this further; but of course we assume that the derivative was from the 'weakest' stem *samic-*. But here again, the reading *-am* makes it impossible to take the word as a nominative plural, and later (*JA.*, 1886, Novembre-Décembre, p. 407) he gave up his reading *sāmīcā*. Still later (*JA.*, Sér. viii. t. 12, 1888, p. 313) he went back to his former reading *sāmīpam*. (According to Senart, Buehler contested the reading *sāmīpā*; for this read *sāmīpam*.) In the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1891, p. 240 he held that there was no more probable reading than *sāmīpā*; later (*IA.*, Jan., 1892, p. 3) gave this up. I have in general not reported the translations in *IA.* of S's work for obvious reasons. Konow, in his treatise on the dialect of the Gīrnār recension (in *Akad. Afhandl. til S. Bugge*, Kristiania, 1889) reports the views of Senart (neither completely nor absolutely accurately), Pischel, and Buehler, without coming to any definite decision, though he thinks it possible that the reading of the rock is *sāmanā*. But he says that the reading is uncertain. Buehler, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II,

¹ Moreover as *y* otherwise in our dialect is invariably assimilated to a preceding stop consonant, if *sāmīpyā* were accepted, a phonetic puzzle would remain.

² It is proper for me to state that Vol. I of *CII.* was antiquated at the time of issue; no reliance is to be placed in its readings; similarly the text of Prinsep (though of inestimable value at the time), and that of Wilson, as well as that of Kern, are hardly worth while consulting today. (But the translations and comments of Kern are still to be consulted with profit). Cunningham uses *-m* for *-m*.

p. 449 read *sāmīpaṁ*; the accompanying plate shows the word distinctly, and is particularly valuable in showing the termination *-paṁ* to be absolutely certain: it will be remembered that there never was much dispute concerning the first part of the word. It is to be regretted that Buehler is silent regarding the derivation of *sāmīpaṁ*. In 'A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of Kattyawar', etc., published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department under the auspices of H. H. Raol Shri Takhtsingji, Mahārāja of Bhavnagar, 1895, *sāmīpaṁ* is read,¹ and the plate, even though relatively poor, justifies the reading. In the Sanskrit rendering, *sāmīpaṁ* is translated by *sāmīpyā* (by sandhi for *-āḥ*), which reminds us of Pischel's view. Nothing is said concerning the final *-aṁ* instead of *-ā*; yet we must understand that the word is a nom. pl. from the translation. Bhāṇḍarkar, JBoAS., Vol. XXI, p. 398 read *sāmīpaṁ*, and rejected the translation of *sāmaṁtā* of the other versions by 'vassal', saying that *sāmaṁtā* must be made to agree with *sāmīpaṁ* in meaning: his translation is 'neighbouring or bordering kings'. This obviously supposes connection with Sanskrit *saṁīpa-* or *sāmīpya-*. But we are left unenlightened concerning the final *-aṁ*. Vincent Smith, in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIV, p. 245, follows Bhāṇḍarkar, and reports that he says of Gīrnār *sāmīpaṁ* "This variant is of great importance". Unfortunately, the word itself is not explained.

So far as I know, the above brings the literature on the word up to date; and as I am not satisfied with any of the explanations given, I should like to offer the following suggestion:

In the first place, *sāmīpaṁ* must be a nominative as is shown by the *sāmaṁtā* of the Kalsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa redactions as well as by the *saṁaṁtā* of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi recensions (it will be recalled that *saṁaṁtā* is merely graphical for *sāmaṁtā*). Now, if a nominative, it can only be a nominative singular neuter.

¹ Though extremely loath to depreciate native scholarship or cast any aspersion on a work made possible by a generous and enlightened prince, I feel compelled to say for the benefit of others who may be interested in the Asokan inscriptions, that the text in this edition does not come up to European standards. One will search in vain for such a combination of sounds as *pr*, and nearly for *rv*. As a specimen of what purely native scholarship can do, it is an interesting piece of work. What the value of the texts of the inscriptions other than Asokan is, I cannot say as I have not examined them with sufficient care; but Kielhorn, JRAS., 1896, p. 391 ff. speaks unfavorably of them.

The next thing is to find a Sanskrit counterpart that will fit the case. And that is not difficult: *sāmīpam* corresponds phonetically exactly to Sanskrit *sāmīpyam* 'neighborhood'. 'Neighborhood' simply stands for 'neighbors': it will be remembered that *sāmīpya-* when a masculine noun means 'neighbor' in Sanskrit. To make this clear, I give that portion of the Gīrnār text which is under discussion, and a translation of it: *ye vā pi tasya Aṁtiyakasa sāmīpam rājāno*; 'or which kings are the neighborhood (i. e., neighbors) of this Antiochus'.

Incidentally it may be remarked that as Gīrnār *sāmīpam* is a noun, it is possible to consider the *sāmāntā* of the Dhāuli and Jaugadā version also a noun, and not an adjective. It will be recalled that *sāmānta-* 'neighbor' is found in Sanskrit as well as *sāmānta-* 'neighboring'. And it should be noticed that barring this word, both these redactions agree absolutely in the wording of the passage with the Gīrnār recension. The translation then would be 'or which kings are the neighbors of this Antiochus'. Similarly it is possible to consider the *sāmāntā* and *samānta* of the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions respectively, also as nouns. As these two differ somewhat in the wording of the passage from the Dhāuli and Jaugadā recensions, I give their reading: *ye-cā aṁne tasya [Aṁ]tiyogasa sāmāntā rājāno*, K. II 5, *ye ca aṁne tasya Aṁtiyokasa samānta [ra]jano*, Shb. II 4.

The Mansehra text runs: *ye ca .sa samānta raja.*, the dots indicating the number of characters in the native alphabet to be supplied. This is without question to be read *ye ca tasya Aṁtiyokasa samānta rajane*: the number of conjectural letters in the native alphabet to be supplied exactly fits the case. We have then, in this text a 'blend-reading', representing partly the wording of the Dhāuli, and Jaugadā recensions, partly that of the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions.

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

VI.—THE SOMA OFFERING IN A FRAGMENT OF ALKMAN.

The interpretation of Alkman, Fragment 34 (Bergk) has occasioned considerable discussion, but none of the explanations that have been suggested are entirely satisfactory. Welcker¹ long ago raised objections to Fiorillo's idea that the verses are descriptive of a Bacchante making cheese of lion's milk. Schneidewin² agreed that this interpretation should be rejected; but he was not satisfied with Welcker's rendering for line 5, nor indeed with a conjecture of his own. Most editors and commentators, however, have with slight variations held to Fiorillo's view, although a sacrificial offering of cheese made from the milk of lions has in its favor neither testimony nor probability.

A way out of the difficulties may be found by referring the description to the Aryan soma sacrifice.³ The fragment from Alkman runs as follows:

Πολλάκι δ' ἐν κορυφαῖς ὀρέων δκα
θεοῖσι *Ῥάδη* πολύφανος ἐορτά,
χρύσιον ἄγγος ἔχουσα μέγαν σκύφον,
οἶά τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν,
χεροῖ λεόντειον σπαλαθεῖσα⁴
τυρὸν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἀτρυφον
Ἀργεῖφόντα.⁵

¹ Rh. Mus. X, p. 255 ff. Cf. Schreiber in Roscher's Lexikon, I, 565.

² Philol. X, p. 349 ff.

³ The liquor prepared from the juice of a plant named soma was offered in libation to the gods. The liquor itself was also called soma, and was deified under the same appellation. "The exhilarating and invigorating action of soma led to its being regarded as a divine drink that bestows everlasting life. Hence it is called *ἄμριτα*, the 'immortal' draught (allied to the Greek *ambrosia*). . . In some of the latest hymns of the Rigveda Soma begins to be somewhat obscurely identified with the moon. . . The identification is a commonplace in the Brāhmaṇas, which explain the waning of the moon as due to the gods and fathers eating up the ambrosia of which it consists. . . A comparison of the Avesta with the Rigveda shows clearly that soma was already an important feature in the mythology and cult of the Indo-Iranian age". (Macdonell, Hist. of Sanskr. Lit., p. 98 ff.) The Avestan name of the plant is haoma.

⁴ Manuscript authority gives *λεοντέον ἐπαλαθεῖσα*. For interpretation of the present reading see below. ⁵ Ἀργεῖοφρονται Δ, Ἀργεῖοφόνται BP.

Now if we compare these lines with accounts of the soma offering, we find them in remarkable agreement, point by point.

ἐν κορυφαῖς ὄρεων] In the Rig-Veda and the Avesta there is frequent reference to the mountain habitat of the soma plant; but in the present passage we are concerned rather with the place of sacrifice. Regarding this, the Çatapatha-Brahmana (III 1, 1, 1) gives the following direction: "They choose a place of worship. Let them choose (the place) which lies highest, and above which no other part of the ground rises". (Eggeling.) On such a spot the soma altar is erected.

πολύφανος¹] Words expressing brilliance are especially characteristic of descriptions of the soma sacrifice; e. g., RV. IX 64, 28: "Bright are these Somas blent with milk, with light that flashes brilliantly". (Griffith.) Avest. Yas. X 19: "These and thou art mine, and forth let thine exhilarations flow; bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way". (Mills.)

χρύσειον ἄγγοι] Golden vessels appear in both the Vedic and the Avestan ceremonial. RV. IX 75, 3: "Sending forth flashes he hath bellowed to the jars, led by men into the golden reservoir". (Griffith.) Avest. Yas. X 17: "Thereupon spake Zarathustra: Praise to H(a)oma, Mazda-made. Good is H(a)oma, Mazda-made. All the plants of H(a)oma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sun-dared hillsides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over". (Mills.)

ἔχουσα] Evidence that women, sometimes at least, had a part in the rite is found in RV. I 28, 3: "There where the woman marks and learns the pestle's constant rise and fall, O Indra, drink with eager thirst the droppings which the mortar sheds". (Griffith.) Compare the quotation just given from the Avesta.

χερσὶ λεόντειον σπαλαθείσα] This line has constituted the chief crux of the fragment, and calls for fuller exposition.

The only passage that is cited from Greek literature for express mention of the soma sacrifice is found in Plutarch's account of Zoroastrianism (De Is. et O. 46): πᾶν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες δμῶμι καλουμένην ἐν δλμφ, τὸν Ἄϊδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ρίπτουσι. Now in Geoponika 2, 42, 3, the term ἡ λεόντειος πόα appears as an equiva-

¹ For a defense of the form see Schubert, Misc. zum Dialekte Alkmans, p. 42 f.

lent of λέοντος βοτάνη or λεοντεία βοτάνη, a plant that is said to be called also δροβάκχη.¹ Under this last name Dioskorides² describes a plant having a reddish color and a succulent stem,—leading characteristics of the Vedic soma.³ The juice of the δροβάκχη must have been of value, for Dioskorides speaks of the method by which it was extracted.

The conclusion that Alkman's λεόντειον refers to a plant-juice may be reached by another line of argument. According to Du Cange, *laserpitium* was sometimes glossed: λεοντόγαλο,⁴ ὅπως Κυρηναϊκός. Now *laserpitium* and ὅπως Κυρηναϊκός denote the juice of the silphion, and extant descriptions attribute to the silphion the principal characteristics common to the sacred plants of the Veda and the Avesta. Soma, haoma and silphion all yield a milky juice having wonderful properties;⁵ all grow on the mountains;⁶

¹ In this passage, as well as in the passages cited below from Theophrastos, there are two readings, δροβάγχη and δροβάκχη. Theophrastos (H. P. 8, 8, 4; C. P. 5, 15, 5) writes of a plant that twines about vetches and chokes them. As this is clearly not the plant described by Dioskorides (De Mat. Med. 2, 171 Spr.), it seems reasonable to assume a confusion between two plants having similar names, δροβ-άγχη and δρο-βάκχη. The latter name is peculiarly appropriate for a plant having the character of soma. (Cf. Schol. Nik. Ther. 512: βάκχην δὲ ἀμπέλον ἢ μυρρίνην. Hesych. δροβάκχη βοτάνη τις· οἱ δὲ τῆς βοτάνης τοὺς καρπούς, οὓς ἐνιοὶ κυτήνους. On the vine, pomegranate, soma, etc., as representatives of the Tree of Life in Oriental art, see D'Alviella, Migration of Symbols, p. 153 f., Eng. ed.)

² De Mat. Med. 2, 171: Ὀροβάγχη [ἢ δροβάκχη] [οἱ δὲ κυνομόριον, οἱ δὲ λέοντα, Κύπριοι δὲ θυραίνην καλοῦσιν, ὃ κοινῶς λύκος ὀνομάζεται] καυλίον ἐστὶν ὑπερνήθρον, ὡς διασπιθαμιαῖον, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μείζον, ἀφυλλον [Sprengel; σῶργο φύλλοις], ὑπολίπαρον, ἐνδασυ, τρυφερόν, ἀνθεσιν ὑπολευκοῖς ἢ μηλίζουσι μεχρημένον· ῥίζα δὲ ὑπεστὶ δακτύλου τὸ πάχος, κατατετρημένη πρὸς τὴν καυλοῦ ξηρασίαν. The sentence following should be referred to the δροβάγχη.

³ Hillebrandt, Ved. Mythol., Vol. I. Soma u. verwandte Götter, pp. 12 f., 18 ff., 29 f. Just what plant the Vedic soma was neither philologists nor botanists have as yet determined. Indeed, it is almost vain to hope for certain identification. The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (IV 5, 10) enumerates plants that might be substituted for the soma; and it is not improbable that even at the time of the Vedas, use was made of more than one kind of plant.

⁴ An erroneous interpretation may underlie the remark of Aristides (1, 49): ὥσπερ καὶ λέοντων γάλα ἀμέλγειν ἀνέθηκέ τις αὐτῷ [τῷ Διονύσῳ] Λακωνικὸς ποιετής. The verb 'milk' is used of extracting the soma juice, e. g., RV. VIII 1, 17. Cf. ἀμέλγειν, Anth. P. 9, 645.

⁵ RV. IX, passim; Avest. Yas. IX-X; Theophr. H. P. 6, 3; Plin. N. H. 19, 15.

⁶ RV. IX 82, 3; Avest. Yas. X 3; Theophr. H. P. 6, 3, 6; 6, 5, 2.

all are plucked by birds;¹ all have the epithet 'golden';² all are intimately connected with the rain.³ Moreover, the characterization of the silphion as *παρθενώδες*⁴ opens the way for connecting this plant, like soma, with the fire myth. In view of these correspondences, the silphion may be regarded as a Greek equivalent of the soma.⁵ That the lion was associated with the silphion plant is further attested by some of the early coins of Kyrene, which show the silphion with a lion or a lion's head as an accessory in the field.⁶

But the silphion belonged especially to Kyrene; was there a plant having similar associations in the country of Alkman? This seems very probable when we recall that Kyrene was

¹ RV. IV 26, 6; Avest. Yas. X 11; Ael. N. A. 9, 32.

² RV. IX 92, 1: "Diese Bezeichnung durch *śari* [golden] hat aber besonderen Wert; denn es ist bekannt, dass die avestischen Texte wiederholt von dem *śāri*, *sairigaonō haomō* sprechen (Yasna IX 16, 30; X 12 u. s.), allerdings ohne uns zu sagen, ob dies mit Bezug auf Stengel, Blätter oder Früchte gilt. Es ist demnach überaus wahrscheinlich, dass schon der indoiranischen Zeit dieselbe Farbe als Zeichen der echten Somapflanze galt". (Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 25.) Theophr. H. P. 6, 3, 5: τὸ δὲ φύλλον τῇ χροίᾳ χρυσοειδὲς εἶναι.

³ The Rig-Veda (IX 82, 3) represents Soma as the child of Parjanya, the rain-god. Cf. Hillebrandt, op. cit., p. 55 ff. Avest. Yas. X 3: "I praise the cloud that waters thee, and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains". (Mills.) Theophr. C. P. 1, 5, 1: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἀνατεῖλαι φασιν ἐν Λιβύῃ πιπτόδους τινὸς ὕδατος γενομένου καὶ παχέος.

On the soma offering as a rain-charm see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 603. The seal described by Furtwängler (Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, p. 469 ff., Eng. ed.) and Morgan (Transac. A. P. A. 32, p. 96 ff.) seems to represent the bringing of the soma plants, which were "carried on a cart drawn by two rams or he-goats". (Stevenson, Transl. Sāma-Veda, p. iv.)

⁴ Theophr. H. P. 6, 3, 1; Diosk. 3, 84. Cf. Kuhn, Herabkunft d. Feuers u. d. Göttertranks, p. 24.

⁵ This view is confirmed by various features of the Kyrene myth, notably the connection of Kyrene with the Kentaur Chiron and with the physician god, Aristaios, who fed on nectar and ambrosia, who introduced the cultivation of the silphion, and who brought relief in time of drought. Details of representations of Kyrene in art are hereby explained. The cock acquires significance as an emblem of fire; the vine symbolizes the exhilarating drink; and the winged figures on the vase from Naukratis appear to be *eidola* seeking the draught that makes immortal. (Cf. Studniczka in Roscher's Lexikon, 2, 1724 ff.) The prominence of the lion in the Kyrene myth is particularly interesting for the present argument.

Head, Hist. Num., p. 726 f.

founded by Theraians,¹ who were descendants of colonists from Lakedaimon. In a new home, the settlers would naturally seek out a plant that they had held sacred, or would transfer the associations to a plant resembling the one with which they had been familiar. Now Theophrastos (H. P. 6, 3, 1) and Dioskorides (3, 84) say that the leaf of the silphion is like that of the selinon, and Pindar (N. 6, 42) calls the selinon βοτάνη λέοντος. The use of selinon wreaths at feasts and in funeral ceremonies is in harmony with the character of soma as intoxicating and as conferring immortality.² It may be noted, too, that selinon³ conforms to the mythological conception of the sacred tree as representing the female principle in nature. If the selinon figured in a Dorian cult, we can the more readily see why it formed the victors' chaplets at the Nemean and Isthmian games.

The name 'lion-plant'⁴ for an equivalent of soma can offer no difficulty: the lion is associated not only with fire, but also with the pouring out of waters and with the sacred tree.

¹ Excavations at Thera show that the art of the island employed the lion as an important symbol. (Hiller v. Gärtringen, Arch. Anz., 1899, pp. 183, 190.)

² Cf. the expression σελίνου δείται.

³ Hesychios and Photios, s. v.

⁴ The Greeks as well as the Indians appear to have connected the plant with the moon. An important passage is found in Ps.-Plut., De Fluv. XVIII 4-5: Παράκεινται δ' αὐτῷ ὄρη Μυκῆναι τε καὶ Ἀπέσαντος, καὶ Κοκκύγιον καὶ Ἀθηναίων, τὰς προσηγορίας εἰληφότα διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Τὸ μὲν Ἀπέσαντον ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον Σελήναιον. Ἦρα γάρ, παρ' Ἡρακλέους δίκας βουλομένη λαβεῖν, συνεργὸν παρέλαβε τὴν Σελήνην ἢ δ' ἐκωδαῖς χρησαμένη μάγους, ἀφροῦ κίστην ἐπλήρωσεν, ἐξ ἧς γεννηθέντα λέοντα μέγιστον Ἴρις ταῖς ἰδίαις ζώναις ἐπισφίγξασα, κατήνεγκεν εἰς ὄρος Ὀφέλτιον· ὁ δὲ ποιμένα τινὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, Ἀπέσαντον, σπαράξας ἀνεῖλεν· κατὰ δὲ θεῶν πρόνοιαν ὁ τόπος Ἀπέσαντος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετωνομάσθη καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Δημόδοκος ἐν α' Ἡρακλείας. Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῇ βοτάνη, σελήνη καλουμένη· τὸν δὲ καταφερόμενον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀφρόν περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ θέρους οἱ ποιμένες αἶροντες ἀλείφουσι τοὺς πόδας, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἀδικοῦνται. (All the details of this story point to the soma (or divine drink) myth; cf. on Apesantos and Opheltios, Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. u. Rel., p. 187 f.; on the foam, RV. VIII 14, 13; ÇB. 12, 7, 3, 3 f.; on the box, Gruppe, op. cit., p. 872, n. 1; on Iris, Meyer, Indog. Mythen. I, p. 155 ff.; on the girdle, Avest. Yas. IX 26; on the serpents, p. 194 below. According to De Fluv. XVIII, 9, Mt. Apesantos was called also Selinountios.) Charms recommended (Geop. 2, 42) for ridding fields of the λέοντος βοτάνη (here apparently confused with the ὀροβάγχη; cf. p. 190, n. 1 above) involve objects mythologically associated with the dawn and the sun.

If we conclude, then, that *λεόντειον* is to be understood as meaning the juice of a plant¹ equivalent to soma, the word that follows in the manuscripts—*ἐπαλαθείσα*—may be corrected to *σπαλαθείσα*, 'stirring'. Although we have no corroborative evidence for this verb, the noun *σπάλαθρον* is cited by Pollux.² With this reading the verse would closely parallel the frequent Vedic references to the preparation of soma with the hands.

Having found that this difficult line yields to the proposed interpretation, we proceed to consider the remaining points of Alkman's description.

τυρόν ἐτύρησας] One mode of preparing the soma was by adding coagulated milk. RV. IX 22, 3: "These Soma-juices, blent with curds". (Griffith.) Coagulation of the soma juice is mentioned in the Çatapatha-Brahmana I 6, 4, 5-6: "They prepared soma for him [Indra]. Now this king Soma, the food of the gods, is no other than the moon. . . Having prepared and coagulated it, and made it strong (pungent), they gave it to him". (Eggeling.)

In favor of a supposition that the Greek rite was carried from Lakonia to Thera it may be noted that the evidence for *τυρός* as a sacrificial offering³ includes two inscriptions, one from Sparta and one from Thera.

¹ There is reason to believe that the traditions were attached to other plants besides those already mentioned. The *παιωνία*, or *ἀγλαοφῶτις*, for instance, has various suggestive names attributed to it: *ὀροβάξ*, *μηνογένειον*, *μήνιον*, *σελήνιον*, *σεληνόγονος* (Diosk. 3, 147; cf. *ἀμβρόσιον βλάστημα*, Anon., *Carm. de Herbis* 152); according to Aelian (N. A. 14, 27), *μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν . . . οὐκ ἔστι πάνυ σύνοπτον, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐκφαίνεται καὶ διαπρέπει, ὥς ἀστήρ· φλογώδης γάρ ἔστι καὶ ἔοικε πυρί*; Theophrastos (H. P. 9, 8, 6) refers to the current belief that it should be dug at night, and that if any one gathering the fruit is seen by a woodpecker, he runs the risk of losing his eyes (on the connection of the woodpecker with soma, see Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ff.); and Pliny (N. H. 24, 102) says that it is found growing in *marmoribus*, and is used by the Persians when they invoke the gods. Cf. further, Gubernatis, *Mythol. des Plantes*, *passim*.

² 7, 22 and 10, 113; cf. Hesych. and Phot. The mention of the *σπάλαθρον* among bakers' utensils may have some bearing on the probability of the reading proposed; for Kuhn (*op. cit.*, pp. 105, 117, 215) has shown that bakers and bread-making have a place in the soma myth-cycle.

³ Stengel, *Neue Jahrb.* 125 (1882), p. 672.

ἀγρυφόν] This word (equivalent to ἀθροπτος, 'unbroken, imperishable') answers to the Sanskrit *amṛta*.¹ Hesychios² indicates that, like *amṛta*, ἀγρυφός was used as a substantive; and in Alkman's line the word is probably to be so construed (cf. v. 3).

Ἀργειφόντα] 'Serpent-slayer'.³ The corresponding Vedic term is *Vṛtrahan*, used most frequently of Indra, who is described as drinking great quantities of soma to stimulate him for his conflict with the serpent *Vṛtra*. RV. I 32, 3:

" Impetuous as a bull, he chose the soma,
And drank in threefold vessels of its juices.
The Bounteous god grasped lightning for his missile,
He struck down dead that first-born of the dragons."
(Macdonell.)

As an epithet of Soma, *vṛtrahan* is parallel with the Avestan *verethrajan*, applied to Haoma. (Cf. Verethraghna.)

Argeiphontes is here presumably Apollo.⁴ The worship of Apollo Karneios was dominant at Sparta, Thera and Kyrene;

¹ The Sanskrit roots मृ, 'die', and मृ, 'crush, break in pieces', are "doubtless the same". (Whitney, *Roots, Verb-forms, and Prim. Deriv. of Sanskr. Lang.*, p. 124.)

² ἀγρυφός [Welcker; ἀγροφός MSS]: τυρός δ' πησόμενος ἐπὶ Λακύνων.

³ Eust. II., p. 183, 12 f.: ἐπεὶ ἰστέον καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ Πανσανίου λεξικῷ φέρεται ἀργειφόντης ὁ ὄφιοκτόνος· ἀργην γάρ, φησιν, ἐνιοὶ τὸν ὄφιν καλοῦσιν. Cf. Harpokr.: Δωριεῖς, μάλιστα δ' Ἀργεῖοι, τὸν ὄφιν ἀργᾶν ἐκάλουν. The parallelism of *Vṛtra* and the *Gandharvas* as causing drought (Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 169 f.), and a corresponding interpretation of ἀργῆς as both serpent and Kentaur (Et. Gud. 72, 52 ff.); the connection of drought with the absence of Io under guard (Soph. *Inachos*; cf. v. Wilamowitz, Eurip. *Herakles* I, p. 88, n. 53); the appearance of Πήκος (Πίκος) ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, Αἰβύη and τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος in the Io story (Suidas s. v. 'Ιώ); a presumable equivalence of Hermes, Kadmos and Telephos as serpent-slayers (Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 635, 1327 f.); the connection of Hermes with ambrosia and with potent herbs (Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 207; Roscher, *Rh. Mus.* 53, p. 190); a correspondence of the Argos peacock with peacocks as guardians of the Tree of Life (D'Alviella, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 f., 138);—these points and others, which cannot be enumerated here, plainly indicate the direction in which we must look for light on the history of the Argeiphontes myth. Possibly the Roman *Argēi* are to be traced back to the same source.

⁴ Et. Gud. 72, 52 (s. v. Ἀργειφόντης): παρὰ δὲ Σοφοκλεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ παρὰ Παρθενίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Τηλέφῳ. The name of Telephos, 'Far-shining', and his overthrow by the vine of Bakchos suggest again the soma myth.

and in view of the significance of the ram as rain-bringing,¹ a connection of this cult with the myths under consideration would not be far to seek.

Further examination lies beyond the scope of the present paper; but the evidence brought forward shows that the development of the soma sacrifice must be placed earlier than the so-called Indo-Iranian period; that the connection of soma with the moon may without hesitation be attributed to pre-Vedic times; and that the Argeiphontes myth is to be traced back to an Indo-European cycle relating to the ambrosial draught and rain.

WINIFRED WARREN WILSON.

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 138 ff.

VII.—CHARITY THAT BEGINS AT HOME.

Saint Paul, writing to the Galatians (vi. 10) says: "Ἀρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχουμεν, ἐργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως. Addressing himself to Timothy (I., v. 4) he says: εἰ δέ τις χήρα τέκνα ἢ ἱκγόνα ἔχει, μαθητεύσας πρῶτον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς προγόνοις, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, and again (ibid. 8) εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα οἰκείων οὐ προνοεῖ, τὴν πίστιν ἥρηται καὶ ἐστιν ἀπίστου χείρων. These words, especially the last, ἐστιν ἀπίστου χείρων, seem to imply that the unbeliever (presumably the Greek) practises the precept and is familiar with the proverb, which is to us familiar but does not, I believe, appear in the Greek paroemiographi, concerning charity that begins at home. The form of expression reminds one of Matthew v. 47: καὶ ἰὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἔθνηκοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; It thus appears that the duty of generalized selfishness, embracing the family in the larger self as the object of civilized self-love, was proverbial in N. T. times; that it was so in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. it may be difficult to show directly, but indirect evidence is not wanting.

The narrower *amour propre* which says: "I to myself am dearer than a friend" (Two Gentlemen of Verona, II., vi. 23) had long before passed into a proverb. Thus Euripides (Med. 85 foll.) says:

ἄρτι γιγνώσκεις τόδε,
ὡς πᾶς τις αὐτὸν τοῦ πέλας μᾶλλον φιλεῖ,—

a sentiment echoed by Menander:

φιλεῖ δ' ἑαυτοῦ πλεῖον οὐδεὶς οὐδένα,

and passed on by Terence (Andria, 427), thenceforward to repeat itself everywhere.

With the Greek philosophers *φιλία* is an extension of self-love based on *κοινωνία* (Arist. Eth. Nic. viii, 1 and Stobaeus II. 166 foll. Wachsmuth) or *συμπάθεια*, which, according to the Stoics, varies (so to speak) inversely as the distance. On this conception is

grounded the virtue of *φιλανθρωπία* and from it springs the growing cosmopolitanism, of which traces appear in Aristotle (see Burnet, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, p. 348). Everywhere occurs the magical *οἰκεῖον*.

A derivative form of the maxim appears in Plato, *Legg.* 731 d: πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐμφυτον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ πᾶς αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχανᾶται· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν ὃ λέγουσιν ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τέ ἐστίν καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. It thus becomes clear that in Plato's time the notion of charity that begins at home was susceptible of application to such matters as self-indulgence. Another extension is found in Plato, *Apol.* 30a: ταῦτα καὶ νεωτέρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, διὰ δὲ ἐπιτυχάνω, ποιήσω, καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μου ἐγγυτέρῳ ἐστὶ γένει. Socrates will do good unto all men, but most of all to those of his own household. Here the irony of the suggestion is so plain that he that runs may read it. Equally ironical are the words of Nicias in Plato's *Laches* 187 e: οὐ μοι δοκεῖς εἰδέναι ὅτι, ὅς ἐστιν ἐγγύτατα Σωκράτους ἢ λόγῳ, ὥσπερ γένει, καὶ πλησιάζῃ διαλεγόμενος, ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἰάν ἄρα καὶ περὶ ἄλλου τοῦ πρότερον ἀρξῆται διαλέγεσθαι, μὴ παύεσθαι ὑπὸ τούτου περιηγόμενον τῷ λόγῳ, πρὶν <δὲ> ἐμπύση εἰς τὸ διδόναι περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὅτινα τρόπον νῦν τε ζῇ καὶ ὅτινα τὸν παρεληλυθότα βίον βεβίωκεν. In the light of what has already been said the meaning of the passage is clear and the text sound. He who would see what absurdities—not to speak of the indecent suggestions—even great scholars may propose in trying to amend a text perfectly sound but misunderstood, may read a curious lesson in the *adnotatio critica* of Schanz's edition. To mention only two proposals: Schleiermacher suggested bracketing ὥσπερ γένει; but this procedure, as Stallbaum clearly showed, leaves λόγῳ hovering unsupported in the air. Burnet brackets λόγῳ ὥσπερ γένει, adopting the suggestion of Cron, who regards the words as a gloss, or more properly, it seems, as two glosses, λόγῳ being first correctly supplied to ἐγγύτατα ἢ, and ὥσπερ γένει being then added as a reference to *Apol.* 30a.

He who hesitates to support the MS tradition in this case may find his doubts quickly resolved on comparing the curious parallel presented by Terence, *Phormio* 325 foll., where the parasite says:

Ah,

nón itast: factúmst pericúlm, iám pedum uisást uia.
quód me censes hómines iam deuérberasse usque ád necem,
hóspites, tum cúis? quo magis nóui, tanto saépíus.

Here Fleckeisen condemned v. 328 and Dziatzko brackets it, saying: "V. 328 erscheint einerseits so inhaltlos und bietet anderseits so schwere, durch Konjektur gar nicht zu beseitigende Anstösse, dass ich ihn entschieden für interpoliert halte. Wie ist *tum* zu erklären? Zu *noui* ferner lässt sich bei ungewungener Interpretation doch nur *eos* ergänzen, was einen durchaus unangemessenen, dem Charakter des Phormio gar nicht entsprechenden Sinn giebt". As to Dziatzko's objections, Donatus says on *tum*: 'ἀνακόλουθον secundum: deest enim supra, cum. Et bene posterius posuit id quod maius est'. Elmer well refers to Andria 262 and Cic. Philip. 3, 3, 7 for the use of *tum*. Dziatzko is quite right (as against Casaubon, who interprets 'Quo notior uia, tanto plures quotidie perdo') in regard to *noui*; it does have for its logical object *homines*, not *uiam*. But if one recognizes the ironical allusion to charity that begins at home, the verse is neither 'inhaltlos' nor unsuited to the situation or to the character of Phormio. It is pleasant to note that, though Tyrrell follows Dziatzko in bracketing the line, the American editors, Professors Elmer and Ashmore, defend it. The fact that these two passages, fundamentally so similar, should have been misunderstood and consequently mutilated in authors as far apart as Plato and Terence, suggested the desirability of a note on the proverbial charity that begins at home.

W. A. HEIDEL.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. By WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE. The Century Co., New York, 1908. 4°. Pp. XIV + 352. \$15.00.

This large luxurious and too expensive royal quarto volume (11 by 14 in.), printed on the best of paper and in beautiful type with few misprints presents 438 Greek and Latin inscriptions, more than half of them previously unedited. They were discovered in the first Princeton Expedition to Syria which took the field eight or nine years before the publication of this third volume. This expedition has proved one of the most important ever sent out by Americans, and no American undertaking except those of Professor Sterrett has yielded so many interesting inscriptions. The volume has been made attractive to the layman as well as to the epigraphist by the insertion of translations, and the dryness of epigraphical comment has been enlivened at times by brilliant similes and anecdotes. It is immensely refreshing to find a short series of little commonplace carvings (p. 39), about 3 cm. high, on a lintel likened by Professor Prentice's vivid imagination to so many and so varied objects of nature and common life. The first reminds him of the head of a Syrian spade, the second makes his mind migrate to the circular life-preservers hanging from the rail of an ocean steamer, the third is compared to a salamander, for a likeness of the fourth he has leaped from the salamander crawling on ruined carvings to sunny Italy and its fiasco of sparkling chianti. However, he is willing to end the series by calling a cross a cross. To be sure a vivid imagination is a light that sometimes leads astray. When Professor Prentice speaks a few lines further on of a "double-barrelled wish", meaning thereby a wish for a blessing upon them who bless and a curse upon those who curse our imaging faculty is inclined to resent the picture. Out of the same mouth proceed blessing and cursing, but both barrels of shot-guns, as we know them, are alike injurious. Nor are we much given to using the metaphor of a boomerang in a good sense. The crooked stick of the Australian seems to stand in all good literature for some deadly fling which recoils upon the thrower himself and to liken a blessing to a boomerang is surely a piece of new and striking rhetoric, just a bit crooked like the Australian weapon itself. The fact is, mental images have a peculiar way of coming upon us strongly just because they are concrete and at

the same time hazily because we do not look squarely and sharply at them. Plato always saw the physical basis of his metaphors with perfect sharpness, which is not always the case with us, or else Professor Prentice would not go right on in the next sentence to speak of a man's being "careful what he said of other people's houses, his own now being glazed". What he meant no doubt was that the man was to be careful what stones he threw at other people's houses, his own being glazed. To picture one's mere talk about another man's house as provoking that other to break the glass in your own is not a very vigorous image, nor was it in all probability the one Professor Prentice had in mind. However, such wrong metaphors as these, which I have taken from a single half page (p. 39), and such ungrammatical sentences as (p. 232): "Each doorway admits to a roomy central chamber, each of which contains in its walls three *arcosolia*", are not common. Professor Prentice's comparisons and mental images are on the whole exceedingly suggestive, and the reader is grateful for the effective way in which they heighten and brighten what otherwise might be very scholarly but possibly a little dreary. There are a couple of incidents, interesting if not relevant on pp. 60 and 232, which it would take too much space to quote here. One of them indicates how a place may be made holy, the other the unsanitary ways of Syrian natives.

But to return to the make-up of the volume, it is also well illustrated with photographs; but the practice of photographing a stone or monument with the squeeze covering the inscription is not to be praised. The letters themselves in such a photograph are hidden by the paper, whereas in a photograph of an inscription not covered by a squeeze the letters might be legible or at least suggested. Nor is our lack of such direct photographs wholly made good by substituting for them beautiful and clear reproductions of casts made from squeezes. This process is in itself helpful to a high degree, and when the casts are skilfully colored (cf. p. 138) as they are by the editor, they help us to see and realize the nature of the inscriptions themselves. A direct photograph, nevertheless, leaves less chance of obscurity and illegibility because its immediate touch with the original avoids the two removes of the squeeze and the cast, and because of the peculiar faithfulness which light alone shows in recording details on a sensitized plate. I may be pardoned another general remark before I take up the analysis of the inscriptions themselves. A map of Syria with the location of the towns where the inscriptions were found would have been useful. If repetition of text (cf. pp. 2 and 29) within the same volume is allowed, why not repeat such a map in this third volume even if it will appear in Vol. I, which will perhaps not be accessible to epigraphists?

The inscriptions here published belong to four different regions which are treated in Chapters II, III, IV, and V respectively.

Chapter II comprises the inscriptions of the Djebel il-A'la, Djebel Bārlshā and Djebel Halakah. This is the region west of Aleppo and extending from the 30th parallel of latitude on the south to Kal'at Sim'ān, which is about opposite the centre of the Lake of Antioch. These inscriptions are dated according to the Era of Antioch which began in October, 49 B. C. The inscriptions of chapter III come from the region which lies south of the first, called the region of Djebel Rīhā, and from Kal'at il-Mudūk, the ancient Apamea. They are mostly dated according to the Seleucid era which began October, 312 B. C., some using however the era of Antioch. The third region (chap. IV) includes Selemīyeh and Kinnesrīn, and the Djebel il-Hass and the Djebel Shbēt. The first of these is about twenty miles southeast of Hamā, the second is a small village on the site of ancient Chalcis, about twenty miles southwest of Aleppo. The third is a long mountain range east of il-Matkā and the fourth a smaller mountain southeast of the Djebel il-Hass. The inscriptions from this region are dated according to the Seleucid era and belong in the main to the sixth century A. D. In chapter IV are included also eighteen inscriptions from Ba'albek, Tell Nebī Mindō, Hamā, Ma'arrit in-Nu'mān, Khān Sebīl, Isriyeh, Palmyra, the "Khān il-Abyad" on the route from Palmyra to Damascus, and Dmēr. The fourth region (chap. V) is the Djebel Haurān, the mountain range lying southeast of Damascus and east of the Sea of Tiberias, a region already often visited. The inscriptions are dated by the name of an emperor or governor or according to the era of Bosra which began March, 105 A. D. or according to local eras. Chapters II and III are a complete *Corpus* of the Greek and Latin inscriptions from the regions there treated, many of which were already published. But only rarely does Professor Prentice publish as unedited an inscription already known. Chapters IV and V, however, give only the inscriptions reported by the Princeton expedition.

Chapter I is an introduction on the Character and Purpose of the Inscriptions of Northern Central Syria. The inscriptions fall chronologically into two groups, the one ranging from 60 A. D. to 250 A. D., the other from 324 to 609 A. D. Many are definitely dated by year, indiction, month, and day, so for example that which is reproduced in gilt on the cover, Εἰς Θεὸς μόνος. "Ετους ζ' Ϟ', μηνὸς Γοργυ(αί)ου ρί (Sept. 349 A. D.). Those of the earlier period relate to temples and statues of pagan gods or to sepulchral monuments, whereas those of the later period are found on nearly every sort of monument but especially upon tombs, churches, and private houses. The later inscriptions are mostly Christian, whereas the earlier ones contain no Christian symbol and no reference to the Christian religion. Many of the Christian inscriptions reflect the church ritual and perhaps these are the most interesting in the book because of the much light they throw on the ritual and life of the early Christian communities in

Syria. Many quote directly from the Bible, especially the Psalms and the New Testament, passages which are not in any of the extant Greek liturgies. Our knowledge of liturgies is thus greatly increased by the work of Professor Prentice; for with the exception of the *Didache of the Apostles* (which proves there was a liturgy as early as its date, the second century A. D.), and the remains of the liturgies in the *Apostolic Constitutions* we have none whose present form is older than the eighth century B. C.

These inscriptions are carved mostly on buildings, especially on lintels, and Professor Prentice argues that the main cause for inscribing them in that position was superstition, and the purpose was to bring good luck, but especially to avert evil. Even in what seems to be a genuine expression of piety Professor Prentice thinks there is much superstition. Especially interesting in this connection are the formulae or magic words expressed in the form of cryptograms. Any group of Greek letters whose numerical value equalled a certain sum could be represented by another group whose numerical value equalled the same sum. So $\phi\lambda\epsilon' = 535 = 20 (K') + 400 (v') + 100 (\rho') + 10 (i') + 5 (e') = \text{Κύριε}$. For $\chi\mu\Gamma$, which occurs very often, the interpretation of Waddington rather than that of De Rossi and others [$\chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma)$, $\mu(\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda)$, $\Gamma(\alpha\beta\rho\eta\lambda)$] is adopted, $\chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma) (\acute{o} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa) \mu(\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma) \gamma(\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma)$. The numerical value of $\chi\mu\Gamma$ is $643 = \text{Ἀγίος ὁ Θεός}$, the beginning of the "trisagion". However, Professor Prentice does not seem to know the article by Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (s. v. amphores), a work not cited at all by him. Other such cryptograms are $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta' = \text{Ἀμήν}$, $\beta\gamma\mu\Gamma = 2443 = \text{Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός}$, $\text{HN}\acute{\alpha} = 8051 = \text{Psalms cxx, 8} = \text{Κύριος φυλάξει τὴν εἰσοδὸν σου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδόν σου, ἀπὸ νῦν καὶ ἕως αἰώνων. ἀμήν}$, an inscription very common on lintels, and according to Professor Prentice a magic charm.

I doubt if Professor Prentice does not find too much superstition in these lintel inscriptions. His general remarks on p. 25 tempt one to make additional general remarks *per contra*. It is true some of us fear to seat thirteen at a table lest one should die within a year and feel happier if not with a Greek inscription at least with a horseshoe upon the lintel of our door. But on the other hand many a Romanist prays from a sincere heart even while he offers incense, really reaches after the mother heart of God in kneeling before some plaster image of Mary, and sees the cross in its deepest meanings within the carved crucifix which he carries. In these lintel inscriptions there very likely was some element of superstition and of faith in magic. Yet I believe the truly Christian element to have been much more largely present than Professor Prentice thinks in his "so-called Christian inscriptions" and that not all were prophylactic. After all we must judge men to a large extent by their words. These formulae are not, for the most part, verbally "addressed to evil spirits" (p. 25). They are addressed to God and Christ and Holy Beings

(cf. supra, Κύριος φυλάξη τὴν εἰσοδὸν σου, etc., cf. no. 116, Εἰσελθί, Χ(ριστ)έ, and many others). They may have been intended in part to avert evil spirits but to avert them by the *positive* use of the divine power and blessing, which is a very different matter from any mere negative exorcism. For the most part they do not say, "Avaunt, thou evil spirit", but they say, "Be present, Oh God, with thy help". Nor does the element of magic and superstition appear to me to be so very strongly present even in the few inscriptions given by Professor Prentice which do contain the direct mention of evil spirits. There are many people in our own day who cannot fairly be classed as superstitious who believe in the reality and personality of evil spirits and of Satan himself, and also believe in the power of the presence of God and Christ to keep these evil spirits away. If this is superstition, it is superstition of a very high order and includes a true moral and ethical quality. To say "Χριστοῦ τὸ εἶκος · φεῦγε Σατανᾶ" is a very different thing from putting a Faust's Drudensfuss or pentagram over the door. To say (p. 19) ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός), ὁ Υἱός, ὁ Λόγος τ(οῦ) Θε(ο)ῦ, ἐνθάδε [κ]ατοικεῖ μηδὲν λείπει κακόν is a very different thing from inscribing the lintel of our door with Paracelsus' hexagram. I think too that we must distinguish between the instruments a man uses and the purpose with which he uses them. A rough illustration is suggested by Professor Prentice's own reference to Rev. XIII 18.¹ Professor Prentice does not explain, though of course he knows, that John indicates the name of the persecuting Nero by the numerical cryptogram 666 with the value of the letters in Νέρων Καῖσαρ given as if they were Hebrew letters with their Hebrew numerical value (נרון קס"ו). When the Apocalypse fell into the hands of a Jew, he could solve the shrewd enigma. Now I venture to say no one would attribute the slightest particle of superstition to the Apostle because he made use of such a cryptogram. He used it simply because to say Nero outright might have cost the life of any man in whose possession the writing was discovered. In other words John's purpose was neither superstitious nor religious but simply a piece of practical shrewdness. Whatever superstition there might be in other men's use of cryptograms, there certainly was none in his. In like manner these Syrian lintel inscriptions might take cryptogrammic forms because cryptogrammic forms were current and customary, and yet their genuine intent might contain only the smallest modicum of superstition. Religious feeling in every age clothes itself in the forms and customs of that age except that it baptises them and adapts them to its purpose just as one may use current coin to

¹ It annoys one's sense of accuracy to find Professor Prentice repeating the popular mistake of the man in the street who because of the numerousness of the visions in the Ἀποκάλυψις pluralizes the English translation by adding an s to Revelation. He does this so many times (pp. 23, 35, 134 *et passim*) that one cannot charge it to the proof-reader.

purchase food or to purchase poison. I cannot but think that Professor Prentice has discovered superstition in formulae which do indeed resemble the formulae which superstition uses but are in reality only the expression of genuine religious faith in a form which was in habitual use for many purposes no more superstitious than the purpose of John in giving the number of the beast. In fact I am inclined to regard the whole mass of these inscriptions whether published by Professor Prentice or others as one regards the various uses of the divine name to-day. One man uses it with positive profanity, a second as a mere involuntary and almost meaningless exclamation, a third as part of the mechanical utterance of a fashionable liturgy, a fourth as an expression of sincere devotion, and a fifth as expressing the very essence of the soul's adoration. As it is now, so it was then. It is a question of the proportionate amount of the various emotions or thoughts behind the words and it does seem to me that the proportion of superstition or frivolity (cf. p. 20) or magic for example is fairly well indicated by the proportion of the inscriptions which express superstition or frivolity or magical intent, and that proportion according to the showing of the present volume is not large, and it is no more legitimate inductively to carry over the element of superstition into formulae which do not express it than it would be to carry the element of religious reverence, in the reverse direction, over into expressions where it is not manifest.

Another feature of general interest in these inscriptions is their orthography. There are many cases of dittography, haplography, corrections, wrong syntax, and wrong spellings. Many show the pronunciation of the times which has a decided resemblance to the modern Greek pronunciation, though this is not mentioned. Among the good indices is an orthographical and grammatical one (p. 350), and a few examples will suffice here. P. 66, no. 44 we have *σύμενε* = *σήμαινε*, and *υίύ* = *ύίι*; p. 87, no. 70 *ει* for *ή*; p. 135, no. 120 *ἔνθα κατοικίῃ μὴ ἔστω* for *ἐνθα κατοικεῖ μὴ ἔστω*; p. 151, no. 148 *ὁ θεός τῶν δινομένων* (accented by Professor Prentice *δινομένων*) *φιλάξει καὶ ἐλεήσει τὸν εἰσῶδον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἔξῶδον* where *ο* is for *α*, *ι* for *υ* and *ει*, *ω* for *ο*; p. 154, no. 153 *κὲ υἱέ* for *καὶ υἱοί* where *ε* is for *αι* and also for *οι* (the only case); p. 167, no. 171 *ὀρκίσω ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν εἶνα μήτις τολμήσῃ ἀδίξει* (for which we should undoubtedly read *ἀνίξει* = *ἀνοίξει*) *καὶ κυνήσῃ τὰ λ(εῖ)ψανα μου* where *ει* is for *ι*, *ι* for *οι*, *υ* for *ι*; p. 189, no. 216 *Ἐν ἀνόματι Χρυσοῦ* where *α* is for *ο* and *υ* for *ι*; p. 206, no. 241 *θάρασι, ψυχῇ οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος* where *ι* is for *ει*; p. 207, no. 242 *καὶ ἡλευθέρωσα (ἐλ- is misprint) αὐτὸν μὴ καταβένιν αὐτόν* (for which we should read *αὐτόν*) *εἰ(ς) τὴν πόλιν κὲ ἐ(γ)ὼ δίκας ἤμην, κὲ δίκας ὁδηγήθην*, where *ε* is for *αι* and undoubtedly represents the pronunciation of the times; p. 214, no. 249 *πᾶσσειν* for *πᾶσιν*; p. 224, no. 265 *ἐπηδήμησα καλῶς, ἦλθα καλῶς, καὶ κῆμε καλῶς. Εἰβήται ὑπὲρ ἡμοῦ*, where *ἐπηδήμησα* stands for *ἐπεδήμησα*, *κῆμε* for *κείμε*, *ἡμοῦ* for *ἐμοῦ*, and *εἰβήται* is probably for *εἰβετε*, a use of the

active voice of a deponent verb; p. 240, no. 295 we have 'Αθόν[ατος] for 'Αθάνατος and ὑπαχθίς δι' εἰ[μᾶς] for ὑπαχθίς δι' ἡμᾶς. The break-down of syntax is seen in such inscriptions as p. 219, no. 257, where we have δμα with the genitive, and as p. 48, no. 21; p. 52, no. 26; p. 73, no. 52; p. 86, no. 67, etc., where we have the accusative with βοηθία. P. 78, no. 58 we seem to have the genitive, though the dative may be meant since δ and ῥ are confused in these inscription, βοήθισον τοῦ κόσμου. P. 58, no. 32 we have βοήθισον ἐμὴν πάντας.

Another interesting feature is the form which proper names, undoubtedly Semitic in origin, take in these Greek inscriptions, but I cannot go into detail and must pass on to a few suggestions with regard to some of the inscriptions themselves.

P. 37, no. 8b for ΥΠΑ read ὑπά[την] (= most excellent) rather than (γ)υ(ν)α[ίκα]. P. 38, no. 9 ἔτους ἀρχ(αμένου?). This reading is not "very doubtful" but certain, cf. Rev. Arch. IX 1907, p. 287, no. 6; p. 288, no. 8. An acquaintance with this article by De Ricci, who republishes from a manuscript in the Hague copies made of Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria by the Belgian consul Gosche about 1700, when the stones were much more legible, would have saved Professor Prentice several mistakes and enabled him to give better readings than his own. Instead of his σεβ[όμενος(?)], μνήμης χάριν (p. 37) Gosche reads τειμῆς καὶ μνήμης χάριν. (Rev. Arch. l. c., p. 288). Instead of 'Εγένετο Νου[ρ]ινίος τοῦ γχ' ἔτους ἀρχ(αμένου?) p. 38 Gosche correctly read 'Εγένετο μη(νός) Γορπ(αίου) Ισδ(ικτιώνος) γ' τοῦ γχ' ἔτους ἀρχ(αμένου), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 282, 287. P. 41, no. 12 Professor Prentice says that ε as a sign of abbreviation is noteworthy, and nothing more. This is its first occurrence in this volume though it is very frequent in Syrian inscriptions sometimes as a mark of punctuation, sometimes as a sign of abbreviation, and sometimes as an abbreviation itself for καί. Yet there is no comment, except pp. 81, 192, and the sign is omitted altogether from the index of abbreviations and symbols (p. 349). The sign occurs in nos. 17, 22 (where it is attached to the bottom of lambda, ΦΙΛ, so that there was no letter after φιλ. as Professor Prentice says), 29, 56, 60, 61, 62, 71, 75, 90, 91, 120, 121, 122, 288, 297, 301, 305, 306, 314, 319, 332, 364d, 367, 368, but no mention or indication is made of this fact in most cases. In no. 29 ll. 12, 14, 17, in no. 61, in no. 62, in no. 71, in no. 122, l. 3 (where read ὑπὸ τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ κέρδος), in no. 314 this sign is for καί, but is overlooked. In no. 301 it is mistaken for iota and ἀγί(ου) is wrongly read for ἀγ(ίου) as in no. 332, l. 4. In no. 319 no indication is given in the text that we have εὔσεββ and δεσπςπ, rather unique forms for εὔσεβ(εστάρους) and δεσπ(ότας) [Professor Prentice prints the impossible form δεσπ(ότους)]. Professor Prentice also fails to note that an abbreviation is often indicated by a diagonal cross line, cf. no. 29, l. 14 ΕΝΔΟζ (cf. Am. J. Arch. XII 1908, p. 344 f.), no. 71 ΚΑΡΠΤΟΦΟβ; no. 75, ll. 4, 5 P should be β, and l. 3 we should read ΕΝΔΟζ, and no. 207 ΙΝΔ† and no. 232

Κ = καί. P. 103, no. 97 for ἐν ἐγκ[α]λωσίᾳ read ἐν ἐγμάλωσίᾳ = αἰχμαλωσίᾳ; no. 98, l. 2 Professor Prentice says with Franz "Quid ibi dictum sit, exputari nequit", but Gosche gives in his copy δεσπότης ἐν πολλοῖς α . . . [δ]εσποτῶν χαίρων ἐφιλοκάλεσεν ἑτοὺς δ' πρ' (cf. Rev. Arch., l. c., p. 291, no. 24). Again p. 113 Gosche's copy is better, especially in ll. 3, 4 where for Prentice's ΗΑΙΒ□ΥΞ read Εὐλαβοῦς. Nos. 102, 104, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 119 are also published from Gosche's copies in Rev. Arch. l. c. P. 127, no. 110 there is no special comment on the form μάκρᾱ instead of μάκτρᾱ in the sense of sarcophagus. We should probably accent on the last syllable as De Ricci (Rev. Arch. l. c.) and the MSS of Polybius XXX 20 do. P. 131, no. 115 the translation is extraordinary. It should be "Alulaios made this for his father and his own (not his father's) wife. I, Nikanor made this for my father and my (not his) wife, Eudemo" (τῇ γυνακεὶ μου). For Εὐδήμῳ read Εὐδημοῖ. A feminine, not a masculine is wanted, and Εὐδημῶ would be a good Kosename. P. 146, no. 135 for Succ(e)sso Gemelli, [Ol](u)larcii, etc. read Successo Gemelli A(uli) Larcii, etc., and in the Greek for Ὀλουλαρκίου read Ἀδλου Δαρκίου, cf. no. 15 Μάρκος Ὀλου. P. 151, no. 147 something like κοιμητήρι(ο)ν μνεῖαν αἰ(κ)ητήρ[ιο]ν [αἰών(ιον) τῶν] πεδῶν would fit the letters of the facsimile much better than μνεῖαν δ(ρα)τῆ(ν) τῶν πεδῶν (cf. no. 317). P. 201, no. 230 it is better to read τροχός than τροχὸς δ βίος ("Life is a race" rather than "Life is a wheel"; cf. Ps. 19, 5; Eccl. 9, 11; Heb. 12, 1; 1 Cor. 9, 24) in view of the next inscription, no. 231. P. 228, no. 273 ἐγένετο ἡ φρεατία does not fit the letters of the facsimile ΙΚΕΝΤΑΤΡΩΤΩΝ. Some official's name ending in -πρώτων is wanted. P. 244, no. 305 read Augustus for "august" in translation, and perhaps better than κυρίου in γαληνοτάτου [κυρίου] ἡμῶν δεσπότου, etc. would be σοφωτάτου or ἐνδοξ(οτάτου), or better still φιλοχρίστου (cf. Am. J. Arch. IX, 1905, p. 325). Likewise in no. 306 where the restoration of κυρίου makes l. 2 shorter than other lines. P. 283, no. 356 read πρόμοιρος for τυρόμοιρος = [π]υρόμοιρος = πυρόμενος.

What strictures I have made upon the broad pages of this fine volume must not be taken so seriously as to invalidate to any considerable extent its fundamental worth, which is really very great. Only one who has puzzled and brooded over such strange incisions in old stones as are here studied and has patiently yet restlessly striven to read their letters, to hit upon the right letters to add, and to change the ignorant spellings of a deteriorated culture into what they really stand for, and who knows by experience what a powerful mental grasp is needed to see a large series of inscriptions in the setting and framework and light and very atmosphere of the period and conditions to which they belong, can appreciate the constructive insight, the effectively interpretative sympathy of high classical culture with the often crude and half obliterated cuttings of a depressed age, and the power of generalization which so successfully groups and

arranges its materials as to show their main and telling significance. Professor Prentice has performed a very difficult task well and his wide acquaintance with Syrian epigraphy and liturgies has served him in good stead. It may not be impertinent to add that the undogmatic modesty with which Professor Prentice writes makes the present reviewer feel that his already high estimate of this work would be still further enhanced by being in the presence of the stones themselves, many of which were examined again in the second Princeton expedition of 1905.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione. By GEORG BOESCH. Göttingen, 1908.

This doctor's dissertation, which has passed through the hands of the Berlin professors Wilamowitz and Wilhelm Schulze, deals in two chapters with so much of the diction of Apollonius of Rhodes as is included in his verbs. In the first chapter, the divergence of Apollonius from Homeric precedent in the form and use of verbs is discussed. The second chapter is devoted to verbs that are foreign to Homer.

In a brief introduction the author draws his lines of demarcation. The overshadowing influence of Homer upon the later Greek epic is, of course, to be assumed. Reference is made to subsidiary influence, proceeding from Hesiod, Aratus, Mimnermus, Philitas and Phanocles. The dependence of Apollonius upon Callimachus and Theocritus is reviewed in a conservative way. Imitations of the *Ilias Parva*, the Hymns, of Empedocles, Eumelus and Antimachus are shown. This survey of the earlier poets to whom Apollonius is indebted is not, however, the important thing. The real problem is to determine how the later poet has used his epic inheritance, by way of change, of innovation and of enrichment. To measure the degree of the later poet's divergence from Homer and to discover the causes of this divergence will show the extent to which the studious imitator of the past is a child of his own age. For not even the most scrupulous care in the use of an obsolete idiom can keep the poet of a later day entirely free from the living forces of the language that he daily uses. Prominent among these forces are analogy, and the demand for new expressions that correspond to new objects and ideas. The divergence of the later poet from Homer, when clearly perceived, reveals the forces that were active in the poet's own day. A knowledge of this divergence and of the causes which are behind it is of importance in estimating the poet's own work and the work of all of his kind; it is further of

value in that it affords a glimpse of the course which the language has taken during its history. As far as concerns Apollonius, there has been no dearth of investigations into the actual differences between Homer and the later epic. But there has been no corresponding attempt to determine causes. Dr. Boesch, then, proposes to deal with causes, to pass from facts to principles.

In considering Apollonius as a craftsman, two distinct influences are to be recognized as at work. These two influences are natural opposites, yet they coexist and oftentimes work side by side. On the one hand, Apollonius was acquainted with Homeric usage to the smallest detail. Dr. Boesch quotes with approval the conclusion of Witte: "Das Werk des Apollonius ist geschrieben auf Grund der umfassendsten Einzeluntersuchungen über Homer und seine Sprache; auf Grund von philologischen Untersuchungen, an die bis auf den heutigen Tag noch kein Moderner gedacht hat". On the other hand Apollonius often deviates from Homeric precedent in a way which can be explained only on the supposition that he was swayed by forces that were dominant in his own day. Apollonius archaizes, most minutely and laboriously. Yet he does not always archaize. A good example of the outworking of these two forces is to be found in the use of the prepositions in composition. That *ἐς* and *μετά*, as elements of compound words, were on the decline, has been observed for the later period. The usage of Apollonius registers, for a relatively early period, the same tendency; but for *ἐς*, only. He uses few non-Homeric compounds with *ἐς*, only four in all, whereas *ἐπί*, *ἀνά*, *διά*, and above all *σύν*, are freely applied to form new compounds, unknown to Homer. Many of these are of the poet's own coinage. In the case of *ἐς*, then, Apollonius reflects the situation of his own time. The opposite is true of *μετά*. Apollonius knew well that *μετά* was yielding to *σύν*, yet he coins a relatively large number of new compounds with *μετά*, all of them poetical in coloring. One other preposition, the poetical *ἀμφί*, is similarly treated.

The scrupulous attention which Apollonius paid to Homeric usage is shown, for example, in his avoidance of the future passive tense system, the future optative, and of adjectives in *-ικος* except within the narrow Homeric limits. In the light of these facts, Dr. Boesch disallows the possibility that Apollonius used *κοινός*, the later equivalent of the Homeric *ξυνός*. For *κοινήν* which has stood in the text of I. 103 since Brunck's day, he reads *κελήν*, "illam", i. e. famosam, appealing to the ancient tradition preserved in the scholia.

In respect of the voice of verbs, Apollonius presents certain novelties. In some verbs he uses a middle form for Homer's active, in others, an active for Homer's middle.¹ Again, a group of verbs; e. g., *ἐρπυθαίρω*, appears with a new active form and a

¹Comp. A. J. P. IV 428; XXIII 131; XXVII 331; XXX 105.—B. L. G.

transitive meaning. These phenomena are in part traceable to the tendency of the later speech to create transitive actives out of intransitive middles. Instructive is the active *τεκταίνω*, for the earlier middle. Apollonius is here, as in the intransitive use of the active *κλίνω*, the herald of the Common Dialect, one of whose traits is the confusion of active and middle. Out of this confusion just the opposite result arises, in the case of *αἰρέω*, *τείνω*, *φαρμάσσω*, and *μετρέω*, whose middle forms are used by Apollonius with the force of the active. The use of the optative in a final clause, after a primary tense, in I. 657, 797, 1003; IV. 399, is interpreted by Dr. Boesch as a sign that the use of the optative was already on the wane: Apollonius is the forerunner of the decline which we find in Polybius and the almost total extinction of the optative in the New Testament writers.¹

Chapter II deals with verbs that are foreign to Homer. The problem here is two-fold: to determine, first, whether the word in question has been drawn from current usage or from a poetic source; and, further, when this question is settled, to determine what poets Apollonius has followed and on what dialectic foundation his idiom rests. Dr. Boesch gives a list of twenty-five verbs found in Apollonius but not found in the earlier epic. These verbs for the most part have associations with the Ionic dialect. More significant is the transitive use of *βλαστέω* found also in Hippocrates and in the LXX, and therefore referable to the popular Ionic speech. The unepic form *γατομεῖν*, II. 1005, owes its Doric *a* directly to Lycophron, ultimately to tragedy. The verb *δρλέω* has a similar history. Dr. Boesch finds other traces of indebtedness to Lycophron. Aratus, too, led the way in coining verbs -*αω*; e. g., *διχάω*, *σταλάω*. Apollonius not only borrows his new verbs, but makes the new ones *ἐπανθιάω*, *κατηφιάω*, *μεσημβριάω*. By way of explanation of these many new verbs, it is to be observed that the suffix was alive in the later period, as the *ἀγωνιδέω* of Polybius, for example, shows. Further, these formations, especially in the participial mood, lent themselves easily to

¹ American scholars have employed themselves a good deal with Apollonius and Dr. Boesch might have found some interesting illustrations of his second section, 'Quanta subtilitate Apollonius Homerum imitatus sit', in Goodwin, *Apollonius Rhodius, His Figures, Syntax and Vocabulary* (J. H. U. Diss., 1891). Of course, Haggett, *A Comparison of Apollonius Rhodius and Homer in Prepositional Usage* (J. H. U. Diss., 1904) and Oswald, *The Prepositions in Apollonius Rhodius* (Cath. U. Diss., 1904) lie outside of Dr. Boesch's restricted range as does Apollonius' coincidence with Homer in the matter of *ὦ* with the vocative (A. J. P. XXIV 197). Needless to say, the authors of these dissertations were trained not merely to collect facts but also to study the conflict of linguistic development with artistic tradition so that the line of research marked out by Dr. Boesch was not unfamiliar to them, and the subtle variations from Homer have been illuminated by them also. Unfortunately, there is no clearinghouse for studies of this kind and the same grist has to be ground over and over again. Some years ago Schwyzer began a 'Jahresbericht' but he was evidently overwhelmed by the magnitude of his task, with which he wrestled manfully but in vain.—B. L. G.

the needs of the dactylic verse, just as did the adjectives in *-αῖς*, of which Apollonius coins five, and the substantives in *-συνη*, of which he coins six. A parallel phenomenon is the multiplication of adjectives in *-αλεος* by Oppian.

The investigation of Dr. Boesch, presenting as it does a wide survey of the facts and dealing with a large mass of material offers to the special student of Apollonius much of value beyond what has been indicated in the above summary. I have attempted to give the author's point of view, his method of approach, believing that that is the most significant thing. Not only does he deal with the language of Apollonius as an historical problem, but he deals with it broadly, bringing prominently into consideration the common speech as well as the conventional literary language.

EDWARD FITCH.

CHRISTIAN HUELSEN, *The Roman Forum, its History and its Monuments*: translated by Jesse Benedict Carter. Second edition revised and enlarged. Rome, Loescher & Co., and New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1909. 271 pp. \$1.75.

During the last five years Professor Huelsen's little book has proved itself not only the most satisfactory of guides for the serious-minded layman but the best outline and introductory handbook for the professional student. Now, barely three years after the first appearance of the English version, based on the second German edition, we have new evidence of its popularity in the demand for a second issue. These years, it is true, have not been marked by such important discoveries in the Forum as those which aroused the enthusiasm of archaeologists in the years from 1899 to 1904, but there has been some progress and of this the author has in most cases taken full account. The useful bibliography (pp. 253-260) has been enlarged somewhat by the addition of references to the most recent literature and an entire new section has been added to the book to describe the *tribunal praelorium*. Other notable changes are the addition of the Latin text to the translations from Ovid (pp. 3 and 146), Plautus (p. 14), and Statius (pp. 142 f.), here and there a correction of statement, and in many places a marked improvement from the point of view of English expression, though we are still occasionally reminded of the language which underlies the translation. Some of the cuts previously used have been omitted, but more have been added, bringing the total number of illustrations from 139 of the old edition up to 151. The most interesting of these are the Forum as represented in the plan of the Anonymus Einsidlensis (p. 30), and the photographs taken from a balloon under the

direction of Major Moris. In a few instances drawings have been changed or corrected, as, for example, the reconstruction of the Rostra (p. 76), which is no longer rectangular as it previously appeared, but has curving steps of approach in the rear.

Coming now to matters of recent excavation or discussion, we notice that the foundations recently uncovered near the Arch of Titus are associated with private buildings rather than with the early temple of Jupiter Stator with which they have been thought to be connected. The difficulties in the way of identifying these walls with the substructures of the temple are, as I pointed out at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December, 1908, almost if not quite insuperable. In the brief account of the Forum of Trajan (pp. 21 f.) Professor Huelsen has not seen fit to change even a word of his earlier statement; for notwithstanding the interesting and important discoveries of the years 1906 and 1907 and the extensive discussion of them, he still believes in the old interpretation of the inscription and in a great work of engineering by which the projecting spur of the Quirinal was removed to make room for the imposing structures of Trajan. In this view I think that most scholars, after hearing his excellent arguments, will agree with him. Another monument which has been much discussed of late years is the Rostra, but in his treatment of this also the author has not been willing to modify his earlier views. The reasons for his position he hopes to explain in another place. In the section on the Basilica Aemilia (p. 133) there is no reference to the excavations which have been going on there—with interruptions—for the last two or three years. We are told that the "main entrance must have been on the west end, facing the Curia; on the opposite end lay the apse, the excavation of which is soon to be undertaken"—just the words of the earlier edition unchanged. As a matter of fact, considerable progress has been made at that very point and in August, 1908, the workmen had almost reached the ancient level on the side next to the temple of Faustina.

The great difficulties that attend the publication of an English work in a foreign country could not but result in a certain amount of typographical inaccuracy. In a cursory reading of the book I have noted almost forty errors of this sort, about half of them mistakes in reference numbers, for which the foreign printer can scarcely be held responsible. Most of these, however, are not seriously misleading: still, it might be well on p. 255, in section XV, to correct R. M. 1903 to R. M. 1893, and on page 263, in number 57, for Röm. Mitth. 1903 to read Röm. Mitth. 1893. On p. 29, in line 6, "at the *forth* of the Capitol" for "at the *foot* of the Capitol" would of course cause no misunderstanding. But the few typographical mistakes do not really detract seriously from the value of the book, which in its enlarged and improved form will continue to be what it has been in the

past, the most convenient and attractive handbook for the intelligent visitor to the Forum as well as a valuable outline for the more serious student.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642. A History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theaters, to which is prefixed a Résumé of the Earlier Drama from its Beginnings. By FELIX E. SCHELLING, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1908. Two Volumes.

The title-page defines sufficiently this valuable work, for whatever minor criticisms may be made, it is a *valuable* work and will be of great service to students of the Elizabethan Drama. As to the plan, it may be said that it treats in seventeen chapters the different kinds of literature according to subject that are comprised under the general head of Elizabethan Drama, and that are included within the chronological limits given. This plan necessitates the mention of the same author several times according to the nature of his subject-matter, and very briefly.

As a matter of personal preference the writer may say that he prefers the method of Ward and other historians of the drama who have made their treatment of the plays cluster around the individual writers, whatever may have been their subject-matter. This gives more unity, and is an aid to the memory, for in a great mass of details, the memory should receive all the help possible.

It has evidently been the intention of the author to notice even briefly, sometimes by title alone, all the attainable plays that have ever been written in this period of the English drama, and this has involved an immense amount of reading scarcely possible for one man.

It may, however, be doubted whether this is worth while, and this writer is inclined to believe that Warburton's cook conferred a boon upon English literature rather than inflicted a loss, and if he had had more pies to cover, the boon would have been all the greater.

We could readily have spared many minor writers, and the minor works of many greater ones. Life is too short to waste time over indifferent works, of which we have too many still left in the English drama. But if one undertakes to include all that have been preserved, Professor Schelling's work comes as near perfection as any that has been written.

One objection to a brief and cursory treatment of plays is that the reader has not sufficient information to go on to be capable of judging of the merits of a particular work, for it is not to be expected that any reader can duplicate the exhaustive labor that the writer of this work has undergone.

A Bibliographical Essay, a List of Plays, and what appears to be a good Index, always a great desideratum in a mass of details, conclude the work, for which all who are interested in the history of the English drama will give thanks to the scholarly author.

As slight additions to the bibliography, for no bibliography can be expected to be complete, the titles of one or two books that have come under the writer's observation may be given.

A thin brochure of twenty-eight pages, of which only four hundred and fifty copies were printed, entitled "Christopher Marlowe, Outlines of his Life and Works, by J. G. Lewis", was issued from London and Canterbury in 1891, with a view to aiding the Marlowe Memorial. The author says in a prefatory note: "The writer was amazed at the ignorance, apathy, or positive hostility displayed with reference to Marlowe. Some had never even heard of his name; others had a vague remembrance that he was a dramatist; whilst others again preferred to believe the unproved assertions of the poet's enemies, rather than to accept gratefully the glorious gift of the poet's works". The writer quotes from *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta*, *The Massacre at Paris*, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II*; and from the poems, especially *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, and Raleigh's reply. Also, I would add to the bibliography of Volpone, "Ben Jonson, his Volpone or The Foixe", with illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley, which Beardsley's death left incomplete, as he had intended to complete a series of twenty-four drawings, but lived to make but a cover design, a frontispiece, and vignettes to the argument, and to each of the five acts. The volume is in large quarto (London, Leonard Smithers & Co., 1898), and contains a critical essay by Vincent O'Sullivan on Ben Jonson, and a eulogy of Beardsley by Robert Ross.

It is handsomely bound in blue cloth and gold, and seems to have been issued for the sake of the illustrations, which are characteristic of the artist. The text is, doubtless, taken from the folio, as it preserves the dedication to "The Two Famous Universities", the epistle of Jonson, written "From my house in the Black Friars this II. of February, 1607", the preliminary verses, and the old spelling. Professor Schelling's Bibliography is voluminous and excellent.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. VOL. XII. First Half.

Pp. 1-10. E. Wölfflin, *Der Pabst Gelasius als Latinist*. His authorship of the *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* is denied on lexical grounds. G. was a reader of the pagan classics, for he quotes Lucan and Juvenal and shows familiarity with Cicero. Moreover, contrary to the custom of his time, he used Livy in the original instead of an epitome. His Latin is good, for the end of the fifth century. With one exception he uses the positive with *quisque*, instead of the superlative, and he introduces innovations in vocabulary, some of which became general usage. He has *praesul* = Pope, several times; *complex* for *consortes*, of the adherents of a sect; *sequax* for *sectatores*; and he is fond of the tropical use of *salire* and its compounds.

11-20. H. Stadler, *Die Vorrede des lateinischen Dioskorides*. Text with apparatus criticus.

20. E. Wölfflin, *Rutilus*. This word, which is applied by Tacitus to the hair of the Germans, and by Calpurnius Flaccus to their complexion, does not mean "red" but blonde (cf. *flavus*) and fair (cf. *candidus*).

E. Wölfflin, *Maniculus*. This form, also written *manuculus*, for *manipulus*, should be read in Sen. Dial. 7. 25. 2, on the authority of the best MSS.

20-25. H. Stadler, *Epistola Pseudohippocratis*. Text and critical notes.

26. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Psychologie der Völker des Altertums*. This subject, discussed by W. in ALL. VII. pp. 133 ff and 333 ff., was first scientifically treated in ancient times by the geographer Ptolemaeus (see Serv. on Aen. 6. 724).

Signum, Glocke. *Signum* is parallel in meaning with *campana*, *tintinnabulum* and *vasculum* in the prayer used at the "Glockenweihe", and is the origin of Romance *sen*, *sein* (cf. *tocsin*).

27-93. W. Heraeus, *Beiträge zu den Tironischen Noten*. Discusses first the arrangement, which is by subjects, influenced however by the juxtaposition of words etymologically connected or having an external resemblance to one another. The nouns and the verbs are then examined.

93. W. Heraeus, Tutarchus. In Hygin. Fab. 14 (p. 49 Schm.) the reading of this word seems certain. Its meaning, however, is not clear; possibly it was an abnormal compound of tutari (tueri) and arca.

94. A. Klotz, Angulus. Connected with angustus, ango, etc. (cf. Varro, LL. 6. 41). The earlier meaning of the word is *μυχός*, not *γούλα*.

95-101. Fr. Leo, Lexicalische Bemerkungen zu Apuleius. Would read *deasceato* for *deascento* in Met. 2. 15; *diutine superfleto* for *diutine usu perfleto*, 2. 24; *suggereret* for *succederet*, 11, 18; *flexanimo* for *infexa anima*, Flor. 3; *narratus lucide explicator* for *adgnatos lucide explicatos*, Fl. 16; *adque cognomen* for *idque adcognomen*, Fl. 6. In 8. 21 *miserinum* now has inscriptional authority (Carm. Epig. Lat., 1826, line 2). There follows a discussion of *multo tanta* and *bis tanta*; cf. ALL. XI. 579.

102-113. W. Otto, Die archaische Inschrift vom Forum Romanum. An examination and criticism of the attempts at interpretation.

114-124. E. Wölfflin, Die Nachahmung in der lateinischen Prosa. A criticism of Leo's view (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1898, pp. 172 ff.), that Tacitus imitated the style of Seneca in the Germania and that of Sallust in the Agricola.

124. E. Wölfflin, Vicatim. Condecibilis. The citation made by Pokrowskij from Placidus in ALL. XI. 356 should probably read: Vicatim] per vicos; vicissim] per vices aut per singulos. Condecibilis (see ALL. XI. 358) is found in Greg. Tur., p. 231. 19 Kr.

124. L. Havet, Proventare. This word should be read in Naev. ap. Cic., Cat. Mai. 20.

125-133. Miscellen. A. Sonny, Zum Thesaurus Glossarum. Corrections and additions.

B. Dombart, Campania, die Ebene. In Plin. N. H. 18. 360 for *in campis* read *in campaniis*, a word found in the Gromatici 1. 332. 22 and 1. 331. 19 Lach. The word may be regarded as an adj., sc. *locis*, or as a noun; cf. Corp. Gloss. II. 96 Campania: *πεδιάς*.

R. Föster, Zum Genetivus qualitatis. Two corrections of Edwards (ALL. XI. 489).

W. Heraeus, Simo = delphinus. This word for dolphin occurs in Plin., N. H. 9. 23, and has reference to the creature's flat snout. Pliny is the source of Isid., Or. 12. 6. 11 and of the scholium on Stat., Achill. 1. 56. From Simo is derived the name Simon, applied by Hyginus, Fab. 134 to one of the Tyrrhenian sailors who were changed into dolphins.

A. Klotz, Thyrsa, Neutr. plur. Would read this form in Stat., Achill. 1. 950 (2. 216), with cod. Puteanus, on account of the

occurrence of the heteroclitic plural in Greek (Anth. Pal. VI. 158, not later than the time of Tiberius).

E. Wölfflin, *Göttweiger Italafragmente*. These fragments of a translation of the Bible, in the monastery at Göttweig, are based on a codex of the Itala, corrected from the Vulgate. They give 29 readings independent of the existing MSS of the Vulgate.

A. Zimmermann, *Zur lateinischen Wortbildung*. The subst. *concreresco* is found in C. I. L. VI. 29063 and a subst. *cresco* is to be assumed from the name *Cresconius* in C. I. L. VIII. 2403 (1, 21). The feminine of the former, *Cresconia*, is read in C. I. L. VI. 30467. A subst. *obulcus*, shepherd, is assumed from the personal name *Obulcius* (C. I. L. I. 1428) beside *bubulcus* and *subulcus*, which are also used as personal names. It may be a vulgar form of *aubulcus*.

E. Lattes, *Materi mater(e)*. These vulgar Latin, or Etruscan-Latin, forms are overlooked by Lindsay, Stolz, and others.

134-146. Review of the Literature for 1899-1900.

147-148. Necrology. Karl Schenkl, by E. Hauler.

149-158. G. Landgraf, *Das Defektivum "odi" und sein Ersatz*. The verb *odire* came to be pronounced like *audire* (*audit* = *odit*, Corp. Gloss. V. 89. 7 and 125. 26) and hence was dropped from the classical speech. It was, however, retained in vulgar Latin (*odivit*, *Antonius* ap. Cic. Phil. 13. 42). A change to the second conjugation would have given rise to confusion with *audere*, and one to the first, with some forms of *audire*. *Odiare*, however, is found in late Latin (see ALL. IX. 241), and passed into It. and Span. A change to the third conjugation, after the type *fodio*, *fodi*, would have failed to differentiate the verb from *audire* in the greater part of the present stem. As a result the present stem was dropped and *odi* was given a present meaning, after the analogy of *memini* and *novi*. Traces of its original perfect force are found, for example, in Serv. on Aen. 5. 687 and *Cledonius*, p. 58. 41 K. The Latin writers as a whole use *odi* exclusively as a present, for *odistis* in Bell. Hisp. 42. 5 is probably for the vulgar *odivistis*. To replace the perfect, *osus sum* was formed after the analogy of the semi-deponent *ausus sum*, but as it was soon confused with the latter through similar pronunciation, it was short-lived, and it very seldom occurs with active force. The confusion with *ausus sum* was avoided by the use of compounds, *exosus*, *perosus*; and in Eccl. Latin we have *exosum habere*. The meaning of the verb in both tenses and in both voices was commonly expressed by circumlocution: *odio habere*, in *odium venire*, in *odium adducere*, and the like.

159-171. E. Wölfflin, *Sprachliches zum Bellum Hispaniense*. In the cod. *Ashburnhamensis* this work has the superscription *incipit lib. xiii de bello hispanico*, showing that the writer

regarded the various books of the *Corpus Caesarianum* as a connected whole. In order to count this book as the thirteenth, it is necessary to divide the *Bell. Civ.* into two books instead of three, and in fact books I and II treat of but one year (49) and are not much greater in compass than III. The form *bellum hispanicum*, although *hispaniense* is as early as Suetonius (see *Jul.* 56), is not impossible for the original title, considering the degree of education of the writer. This discussion of the title is followed by critical and explanatory notes on a dozen passages.

171-172. E. Wölfflin, *Paricida*. A discussion of the various etymologies which have been proposed for this word, none of which is wholly acceptable. That of Luňák, from *parare caedem*, is satisfactory on semasiological grounds (a deliberate murderer; cf. *Paul. Fest.* *si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit, paricidas esto*), but has the same difficulty as to the quantity of the first *a* as that from *pater*. Moreover, compounds of a transitive verb and a noun are rare.

173-186. G. Helmreich, *Zu Caelius Aurelianus*. Amman's edition, which is commonly cited, is based on the Leyden edition of 1567. Helmreich shows that the *editio princeps* of 1529 (Sichard, Basel) furnishes a purer text.

186. J. Cornu, *Pullus "Hahn"*. In the *Perigrinatio ad loca sancta*, *pullus* is invariably used for *gallus*. This usage survives in Languedoc, Gascony, and French Switzerland, in the forms *poul*, *pout*, *pu*.

187-196. E. Wölfflin, *Die neue Epitoma Alexandri*. Comments on the language and style of the *Epitome*, recently edited by O. Wagner from a codex of the tenth century at Metz.

197-214. F. Skutsch, *Grammatisch-lexikalische Notizen*. Accepts Brugmann's derivation of *necessus* from *ne cessus est*. He differs from Brugmann, however, in his explanation of *necessum* and *necesse*, regarding the former as a petrified accusative of *cessus*, rather than as an adj., and the latter as for *necessis*, an abstract in *-ti*, beside one in *-tu*. The *-is* became *-e*, at first before a consonant (*sit*, *foret*, *fuit*, etc.), and then generally. *Caepetum*. Would read this word for *caepe tum* in *Gell.* 20. 8. 7. *Iubatus*. This word should be read, with Vollmer, in *Stat. Silv.* 5. 1. 83, but should be given the meaning "maned"; i. e., manly, strong; cf. *Juv.* 14. 192. Ein *Platocitat*? In *Apul. De Dogm. Plat.* 2. 15, *hunc talem Plato lucricupidinem atque accipitrem*, *Plautus* should be read instead of *Plato*; cf. *Trin.* 100 and *Pers.* 109. *Accipetrina*. This is the proper spelling in *Plaut.*, *Bacch.* 274. *Alienus laniena* noch einmal. Defends his derivations *ali-inus*, *lani-inus* against Brugmann. *Meridie*. Supports Usener's derivation of *meridies* from *meridie* by citing *Cato, de Agr.* 31. 2 where he would read *post meridie sine vento austro*, instead of *post meridies in vento austro*. He would also

read *meridie* in 40. 1; 1. 2 and 89. Emere "nehmen". An example of this use is found in Brun, *Fontes*⁴, p. 292 = C. I. L. IV. Suppl. No. CLV. Die Monatsnamen Septembribis Decembri-. These were formed by the suffix -ris. Where this gave *mr*, it was regularly changed to *br* (Septembris, Novembris). After the analogy of these, Octobris was formed, and through the influence of Octobris the suffix -bris was added to the cardinals, giving Septembris, Novembris, etc. *Magnanimus*. The history of this word suggests that it was coined by an archaic poet, perhaps Ennius, from the Greek *μεγάθυμος*. It was taken up by Cicero in the sense of *μεγαλόφρων*, and again by Vergil in the original sense of *μεγάθυμος*. The -io-Präsentia. The quantitative differences between *fugio*, *capio*, *sodio*, and *farcio*, *fulcio*, *ferio* in the present stem are explained as due to the law of the shortening of the last syllable of iambic words, aided by analogy. *Apprimus* und *Verwandtes*. Adjectives of this type are derived from the corresponding adverbs *ad-prime*, *ad-simile*, etc., which are much more common than the adjectives in the earlier literature.

215-238. J. E. Church, *Zur Phraseologie der lateinischen Grabinschriften*. A review of the chapters from Church's *Beiträge zur Sprache der lateinischen Grabinschriften* which were presented as a dissertation for the degree of Ph. D. at Munich. These discuss the *Situs*- and the *Quiesco*-formulas, and the designations of place (*hic*, *tumulo*, *in tumulo*, etc.).

239-254. Meader-Wölfflin, *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa*. A continuation of the article in ALL. XI. 369 ff.

255-280. W. Heraeus, *Die römische Soldatensprache*. A very full notice, with comments, of Kempf's *Romanorum sermonis castrensis reliquiae collectae et illustratae*, published in *Jahrb. für klass. Phil.*, Suppl. XXVI. 340-400.

280. E. Wölfflin, *Fufidius*. Would read this name for the corrupt *Itfivius* in Cic., *Epist. (ad Fam.)* 7. 5. 2.

O. Hey, Ampla. This word, in the sense of *ansa* (see ALL. I. 534), occurs again in Rufinus' introduction to his translation of the *Dialogues of Adamantius*. Caspari, in his *Kirchenhistorischen Anecdota*, 1883 (see ALL. I. 255) misunderstood the word in Rufinus, taking it for the adjective (*sc. partem*) and the most recent editor of Adamantius, van de Sande Backhuizen, Leipzig, 1901, who publishes the introductory letter of Rufinus, also failed to recognize *ampla* as a noun.

281-300. *Miscellen*. E. Wölfflin, *Conquinisco, conquexi*. *Conquexi* is cited by Priscian, 10. 3. 17, from Pomponius. This form should be read in Wagner's *Epitome Alexandri*, § 101, instead of the editor's *conquievit*.

A. Zimmermann, *Die Endung -por in Gaipor, Lucipor, etc.* This does not come from archaic Lat. *pover* = *puer*, but *Marci*

puer became Marcipor through the influence of Greek slave names in -por from an original -πορος or -φορος, such as Bospor, Eupor, etc.

L. Havet, *Hibus dans Térence*. Would read this form, instead of illis, in Phorm. 332, where codd. A⁹ D and G have his.

J. Cornu, *Cathedra*. In Juv. 6. 90 f. cathedras = feminas, an example of the use of a part for the whole. Cf. Span. cadera, "seat" of the human body.

W. Christ, *Die Captivi des Plautus*. Conjectures that Plautus' model for this, one of his later comedies, was a play composed by Poseidippos for the opening of the theatre in the newly founded city of Pleuron in Aetolia, about 235 B. C.

P. Wessner, *Zu den Donatscholien*. Deturpo, infructifer, similitudinariae, and specifico, cited from the Scholia of Donatus, lack MSS authority.

G. Landgraf, *Causator*. This word, in the sense of accusator, is found in the so-called Scholia Gronoviana on Cic., Rosc. Amer. 51, and doubtless occurs elsewhere as well.

285-299. Review of the Literature for 1900 and 1901.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXVI (1907).

Janvier.

Paul Meyer. *Deux nouveaux manuscrits de l'Evangile des Femmes*. 11 pages. This article is of the general nature of an appendix to the Johns Hopkins dissertation published in Baltimore by George C. Keidel in 1895. The Old French poem in question had previously been investigated by Jubinal, Constans and Mall, while Meyer now adds two more variant texts to the nine hitherto known, but confesses himself unable to satisfactorily determine their place in the general manuscript schemes previously proposed.

Paul Meyer. *Fragment d'une Vie de Saint Eustache en alexandrins monorimes*. 17 pages. The fragment of two leaves which contains the text here published is found at the end of an Egerton manuscript in the British Museum, and was written in England about the year 1300. The legend is of Oriental origin and was brought to the West in the tenth century in all probability. It is preserved in innumerable Latin manuscripts, and was translated into French very frequently. The peculiarity of the present version is that it is composed in the form of an epic poem by a certain Benoît, who was possibly a native of Lorraine but who is otherwise unknown.

Artur Långfors. *Li Confrere d'Amours*, poème avec refrains (Bibl. nat. fr. 837). 7 pages. This short poem has never before been published, although it occurs in a well-known manuscript. Its chief interest lies in its peculiar form of versification and in the unique character of many of the refrains.

Bernard Heller. *L'Épée symbole et gardienne de chasteté*. 14 pages. This strange custom is traced through a number of variant forms both in the Occident and the Orient, and many theories as to its origin are discussed.

G. Huet. *Sur un épisode du Tristan d'Eilhart d'Oberg*. 8 pages. The origin of this sickle episode is traced back to the Dolopathos, and variant versions in other literatures are cited.

Antoine Thomas. *Maître Henri Baude devant la Cour des Aides*. 20 pages. Henri Baude was an official in the reign of Charles VII, who from time to time dabbled in poetry and who has thus come to occupy an intermediate position between François Villon and Clément Marot. M. Thomas has in recent years discovered a number of legal documents which throw additional light on the poet's life.

Pierre Champion. *Maître Henri Baude devant le Parlement de Paris*. 9 pages. In this article an account is given of the trial of the poet upon the charge of having composed a "briefve moralité" which was performed on the marble table in the large hall of the Palais at Paris in 1486. After five years of legal wrangling the affair was finally settled no doubt, although the records do not distinctly state the fact.

Mélanges. J. A. Herbert, Two newly-found Portions of the Edwardes MS.: I. *Histoire de Charlemagne*; II. *Vie de Sainte Catherine*. A. Thomas, *Franch. dard, nom de poisson*. A. Thomas, *Franch. seme; prov. se(p)te*. A. Thomas, *L'article anouillante de Godefroy*. A. Thomas, *Anc. prov. fos*. A. Thomas, *Franch. scieur de long*. Paul Fournier, *Anc. franch. domel*. Eugène Vey, *Forézien madinâ*. Dr. A. Bos, *Deux recettes en Catalan*. P. Meyer, *Franch. peler*. P. Meyer, *Sur la pièce strophique Dieu omnipotent*.

Comptes rendus. C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur* (A. Jeanroy). N. Zingarelli, *Ricerche sulla vita e le rime di Bernart de Ventadorn* (A. Jeanroy). Ramiro Ortiz, *Amanieu des Escas c'om apela Dieu d'amors* (P. M.). A. Bayot, *Fragments de manuscrits trouvés aux Archives du Royaume* (P. M.). Eugène Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France, tome VII: Les mammifères sauvages* (A. Th.). Roque Chabas, *Spill o Libre de les dones per Mestre Jacme Roig* (A. M.-F.).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXX, 4 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Bulletin de la*

société des anciens textes français, 1905. Romanische Forschungen, XVI (Mario Roques, with long note on a lapidary). Bulletin d'histoire linguistique et littéraire française des Pays-Bas, 1902-1903 (P. M.). Annales du Midi, XVIII (A. Thomas). Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris, XIII (A. Thomas). Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XIX-XX (P. M., especially full for old French articles). Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1904-1905 (P. M.).

Chronique. Discussion of spelling reform by A. Thomas and P. Meyer. Obituary notices of Alexandre Wesselofsky, Julien Klaczko and F. W. Maitland.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 28 titles. J. Geddes, Jr., *La Chanson de Roland: a Modern French Translation*. J. Geddes, Jr., and Adjutor Rivard, *Bibliographie du parler français au Canada*. Dr. J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *O livro d'Esopo: Fabulario português medieval*. F. W. Bourdillon, *The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose*. W. P. Ker, *Essays on Medieval Literature*.

Avril.

Joseph Bédier. *Les Chansons de Geste et les routes d'Italie*. 23 pages. It has long been known that French pilgrims and jongleurs carried with them their chansons de geste when they journeyed to Italy. The present article endeavors to show that the reverse was also the case on their return journey, and that they brought back to France various epic tales from Italy and the Orient.

Paul Meyer. *Notice et Extraits d'un fragment de poème biblique composé en Angleterre*. 19 pages. This fragment is contained on ten leaves of a factitious Harley manuscript in the British Museum. The fragment was copied about the middle of the fourteenth century, and comprises 2200 verses, although the entire poem must have been originally of considerable extent. The usual features in late Anglo-Norman poems are markedly present, while an interesting *exemplum* from the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus has been bodily introduced into the Biblical narrative.

Am. Pagès. *Étude sur la Chronologie des poésies d'Auzias March*. 21 pages. The numerous manuscripts and editions of this Catalan author vary widely in the order of his many poems. The discussion hinges on many interesting points of biographical detail.

C. Salvioni. *Etimologie varie*. 28 pages. Etymologies are suggested here for a large number of Italian dialectic words.

A. Thomas. *Mots obscurs et rares de l'ancienne Langue française: Table alphabétique générale et notes complémentaires*.

50 pages. This article is intended to serve as an appendix to the series of articles on the same subject published by A. Delboulle in the last years of his life.

Melanges. P. Meyer, Sur deux chansons françaises citées dans une lettre latine. A. Thomas, Encore Alain Chartier. A. Thomas, Encore Pierre de Nesson. A. Thomas, Franç. cormoran.

Comptes rendus. A. Fichtner. Studien über die Prise d'Orange und Prüfung von Weeks Origin of the Covenant Vivien (Raymond Weeks). Jessie L. Weston, The Legend of Sir Perceval, Vol. I: Chrétien de Troyes and Wauchier de Denain (M.-J. Minckwitz). Festschrift Adolf Tobler zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht von der Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXX, 5 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Revue des langues romanes, XLIX (P. M.). Buletinul Societății filologice, 1905 (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Alexandre Beljame, Gr. Ascoli, Victor Henry, Giosuè Carducci, Adolphe Neubauer and A.-G. Van Hamel.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 9 titles. F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900, Tome I. Robert Huntington Fletcher, The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France.

Juillet.

Joseph Bédier. Les Chansons de Geste et les Routes d'Italie (suite). 24 pages. Further discussion of a number of epic stories brought back to France from Italy by pilgrims.

A. Jeanroy. La Passion Nostre Dame et le "Pèlerinage de l'âme" de Guillaume de Digulleville. 8 pages. It is here shown that the former poem has been extracted by the scribe of a Parma manuscript from the latter work, and not *vice versa*.

H. O. Sommer. The Queste of the Holy Grail forming the Third Part of the Trilogy indicated in the Suite du Merlin, Huth MS.: I. "La Demanda del sancto Grial, con los maravillosos fechos de lançarote y de Galaz su hijo"; II. The Contents of "La Demanda"; III. Robert de Borron's Merlin; IV. The "Suite du Merlin"; V. "Le conte del brait". 34 pages. The author of this article has given the public a few of the results of his long-continued studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail, especially the later developments in Spanish literature.

A. Thomas. Deux Quatrains en patois de la Haute Marche imprimés à Paris en 1586. 17 pages. These two interesting little dialect poems were found hidden away among a number of

others in better-known languages. They throw considerable light on the early linguistic history of the eastern Marche region.

Max Léopold Wagner. *Le Développement du latin Ego en Sarde.* 9 pages, with a chart. The relative age of the Sardinian in comparison with the other Romance languages as descended from the Latin has been the subject of much discussion among scholars, and we have here another contribution of the same sort.

Mélanges. Mario Roques, *L'évangéliste roumain de Coresi (1561)*. A. Thomas, *Une représentation d'Orson de Beauvais à Tournai en 1478*. A. Thomas, *Henri Baude à Tulle en 1455*. A. Thomas, *Franç. guède*. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. vegen, vigean, place publique*. A. Thomas, *Prov. nogalh*. A. Thomas, *Mots obscurs et rares de l'ancienne langue française (supplément)*. J. W. Bourdillon, *Le Jaloux qui bat sa femme* (Extract from the *Roman de la Rose*).

Comptes rendus. Mayer Lambert et Louis Brandin, *Glossaire hébreu-français du XIII^e siècle* (A. Thomas). W. E. Delp, *Étude sur la langue de Guillaume de Palerne, suivie d'un glossaire* (A. Thomas). *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens, tome II* (P. Meyer). Herman Vander Linden en Willem de Vreese, *Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae (1248-1316), op nieuw uitgegeven* (G. Huet). Albert Stimming, *Die altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift* (Gaston Raynaud). Alfred Dressler, *Der Einfluss des altfranzösischen Eneas-Romanes auf die altfranzösische Litteratur* (J.-J. Salverda De Grave et P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXX, 6 (Mario Roques). *Zwoelfter Jahresbericht des Instituts fuer rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig* (Mario Roques). *Revista lusitana*, VIII (P. M.) *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1906. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 1905-1906 (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notice of the Comte Nigra. Prof. J. Matzke announces the preparation of an edition of the *Châtelain de Couci*.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 16 titles. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. XXXIII, with a biographical notice of Gaston Paris by Paul Meyer. *Chrestomathia archaica portuguesa*, por José Joaquim Nunes. Eugène Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France: II. La Comédie, moyen âge et renaissance*. Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto leonés*. Alfred Morel-Fatio, *El libro de Alisandre*.

Octobre.

Paul Meyer. *Les Manuscrits français de Cambridge: IV. Gonville et Caius College*. 62 pages. A number of Latin manuscripts with French glosses are described. A translation of

Vegetius is ascribed to Jehan de Vignay, although the date of the manuscript is to be placed near the year 1300, which would go to prove that the translator began his literary career considerably earlier than has been generally supposed. This hypothesis would agree very well, it may be remarked, with the facts in Jehan de Vignay's life ascertained by Dr. Guy E. Snavely in preparing his dissertation entitled *The Aesopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay*, Baltimore, 1908.

H. Oskar Sommer. *The Queste of the Holy Grail forming the Third Part of the Trilogy indicated in the Suite du Merlin*, Huth MS.: VI. *La queste del Saint Graal et la Mort Artus*. 48 pages. In this portion the author gives in a condensed form the results of eleven years of study devoted to the French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish versions of the Quest of the Holy Grail and the death of Arthur. A large number of parallel passages are cited in support of some of the statements made.

Albert Pauphilet. *La Queste du Saint Graal du ms. bibl. nat. fr. 343*. 19 pages. G. Paris as far back as 1887 had attributed to Robert de Borron a *Queste du Saint Graal* differing from the vulgate text, but it was not until twenty years later that this romance was discovered in the manuscript mentioned above. Its relation to the rest of the Grail material is fully discussed.

Mélanges. S. Stronski, *Le nom du troubadour Dalfin d'Alvernhe*. A. Thomas, Franç. argousin. A. Thomas, Franç. escarole, etc.

Comptes rendu. A. Chr. Thorn, *Étude sur les verbes denominatifs en français* (E. Walberg).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXI, 1-3 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Bulletin historique et philologique*, 1905 (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Sophus Bugge, Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu and Alphonse Chassant. Account of a memoir by G. Paris entitled: *Le conte du trésor du roi Rhampsinite*.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 7 titles. W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*. Walter Morris Hart, *Ballad and Epic: A Study in the Development of the Narrative Art*. C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

Among my favorite themes of meditation is the exegesis of the ancient classics as an index of personal and national character. The labor of collecting and sorting the material would be out of all proportion to the possible result, but, as that is true of every line of research in which I have engaged, I ought not to have been deterred from taking the subject seriously in hand. It belongs to the same sphere as the favorite verses of Scripture, the favorite proverbs of individuals and peoples. And there would be more to comfort one on the way than is to be found in the dreary tabulation of figures, which may issue in nothing or, what is little better than nothing, the proof of something that everybody knew before, a new method of the duplicature of the cube. The influence of a sojourn in France or in America on a scholar of German nationality, the gradual resumption of the native hue of resolution on the part of an American who had been thoroughly permeated with the German atmosphere would be a subject not utterly devoid of profit, certainly replete with amusement, an important element of τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως καὶ καλῶς. I have had at my elbow for months two rival editions of a Greek play; one by an eminent German Gelehrter, one by an eminent English scholar, which would yield some interesting results to the analyst; and the commentaries of BLASS and VERRALL on the *Choephoroi* of *Aischylos* would furnish ordinates enough to show the difference between an island kingdom and a continental empire. The trouble is that the English scholar's personality would dominate everything else. Those who are looking out for subjects that would serve as doctoral theses might be better employed in counting the number of lines commented on, the respective length of the notes, the range of the comments, the proportion of emendations and the character of the same, than in tabulating the prepositions and their uses in Joseph Rhakendytes.

Another branch of the inquiry would reach into the choice of the authors selected for interpretation. Of course, the mercantile element enters into that consideration somewhat, but the varying proportions of the commercial feature would yield food for thought. Everybody knows why we have so many Caesar's Gallic Wars, so many editions of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, each new one with some special excellence duly advertised. These be the inexpugnable standards. I remember reading years ago the statistics of the sales of one German edition of Sallust. Few

modern works of fiction could compare with the results; and it comforted me to think how much capital had been invested in the works of those pagans, as I must call them every now and then in deference to Professor SIHLER—lest we forget that we are Christians. But what is Sallust against Caesar? Better is a slice of Caesar than a monopoly of Sallust. The *magister artis ingenique largitor*, who figures in Rabelais as Gaster, is ultimately responsible for much of our work. My Persius was a job mediated for me by Professor Drisler, and my Justin Martyr was a job for which I was grateful to Professor March; and whenever an out of the way author is published there is usually some such motive power at work. The woe that rests upon scholars nowadays to write something, if promotion is to ensue, proceeds at least in part from Pindar's ἱππῶν Μοῖσα; and if by chance there is a real preference, the master of a large public school can work off an edition of his favorite piece in a reasonable time. At least, such is the only explanation I can find for a number of editions from which the Hellenist or Latinist with the best will in the world can extract nothing. Now the extent of the domination of this mercantile element, as compared with the influence of scientific enthusiasm or the goading of personal ambition, cannot be expressed in decimals; and it is possible that the motives of authorship are too hopelessly mixed to be successfully analysed. It may therefore be as well to pass over the question, as some commentators pass over the question how Antigone conveyed her triple libation to the corpse of Polyneikes. Somehow it goes against the grain to assume that the three ingredients were mixed; and perhaps it was not necessary to mix them. Indeed, if Antigone had been content with a simple vessel of clay, she could have found one ready to her hand; for the conveyance of the triple libation has seemed to me for many years the true explanation of the tripartite jar first found, I believe, by Schliemann. But until we discover an εὐκρότης χαλκία πρόχους of the same pattern I am going to hold back my commentary on the Antigone, though the new explanation, even if doubtful, would suffice as a warrant for a new edition. At least, whole grammars have been constructed about one emptiness. But the vessels we are dealing with here are earthen vessels, and we may allow ourselves to peer into their human partitions for the χαλὰ τρισπονδαί—money and fame and love.

The book that set me off on this train of thought is not one of the manufactures of which I have written so slightly. In fact, M. DALMEYDA's edition of the *Bacchae of Euripides* (Paris, Hachette) follows the admirable pattern set by the venerable dean of French Hellenists so closely that I welcomed it and studied it with interest, and I hope with profit, as soon as it appeared; and I regret that the notice of it—necessarily brief—

has been so long delayed. The pupil is worthy of the master and that is saying a great deal. He who writes a commentary in order to elucidate his author and not to glorify himself or to air his fancies can have no better model than Weil. But the special point I am making lies in the fact, emphasized by M. DALMEYDA, that his edition of the *Bacchae* is the very first French edition of the play, a striking contrast to the state of things elsewhere. The *Bacchae* seems to have had a peculiar fascination for English scholars and has enlisted the services of men who are recognized as leaders of classical studies in the British Empire. It was not always thus: and in one of his *Short Studies* Mr. FROUDE tells of his discovery of the *Bacchae* for which he made the public pay as he made them pay for his discovery of Lucian's Alexander.

I am not going to discuss M. DALMEYDA's Introduction. That would carry me too far afield and might force me to take up a recent study by a young English scholar, Mr. G. NORWOOD, who thinks that he has solved *The Riddle of the Bacchae* (Manchester University Publications). Of previous interpreters the conclusion of Wilamowitz has impressed M. DALMEYDA most profoundly, the curious parallel he has drawn with the process by which Goethe got rid of the wild spirits that haunted him, the process which consisted in giving them corporeal existence. A penetrating interpretation, says M. DALMEYDA, but vague and subjective, and an interpretation that can be supported only by impressions, not by proofs. There is an undoubted longing for peace in the *Bacchae*, he continues, there is a personal accent in the words Euripides lends the chorus. The faith of these simple souls accepts legends that are absurd or repugnant to the moral sense of the poet, but the belief in the force of a divine principle has its roots in a long succession of ages and its foundation in nature. 'C'est ainsi qu' Euripide va vers une calme sagesse, non pas en acceptant la foi des humbles et en renonçant à l'esprit d'examen, mais en faisant effort vers une intelligence plus approfondie des choses. On sent qu'il veut rendre sa pensée plus compréhensive et plus sereine, et c'est le seul indice qui puisse nous rappeler l'âge du poète, dans cette pièce où il a mis à la fois tant de fraîcheur d'imagination et de force tragique qu'elle donne l'impression d'une œuvre de jeunesse.'

In his grammatical notes M. DALMEYDA cultivates the same conciseness that characterizes his great exemplar. Here too we have a refreshing contrast to the amplitude with which some writers treat the simplest propositions. Why, whole articles are written nowadays about matters that seem to be self-evident, and we are

called upon to admire the dexterity with which some eager critic gets a strangle-hold on a great scholar. For my part I blushed crimson when a commentator on Pindar said that I had 'refuted' Boeckh—'redarguere' was the word used—in some small matter of interpretation. To me it was a mere *κροκύδα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου ἀφελεῖν*, not as a bit of toadying like the man in Theophrastos, but merely as an act of neighborly kindness; and while I have brushed off a number of little things from the raiment of better men and *Brief Mention* sometimes presents the appearance of a lint-box (A. J. P. XXVIII 111), I have little patience with those who rush into print with their interpretations of passages when those interpretations have long been common property. An instructive example forced itself upon me the other day. By some freak, Jebb, the least freakish of Hellenists, by some oversight, Jebb, the most circumspect of translators, rendered: *ἤκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος* (So. Ai. 186) 'must come'. The *must* part is cited (S. C. G. 442) in vindication of my translation of Pind. O. 2, 20 against Fennell (A. J. P. XIV 499), but, of course, the normal translation is 'must have come' as *οὐκ ἂν ἤκοι* means 'can't have come' (S. C. G. 435 footn.). The error may have been the printer's. Such mistakes propagate themselves for aeons. The perfect sense of *ἤκοι* is recognized by Campbell, Blaydes, Wolff among the commentators as it is recognized in the Didot Latin translation and in Donner's and Hartung's German renderings. I have not troubled myself to look farther. Richards pointed out the mistake in C. R. XI (1897), p. 424 a. (A. J. P. XXVIII 485), where he has the grace to say that Jebb did not make the mistake twice. Jebb may have seen the correction and declined to accept it. He had a spice of obstinacy in his make up. But the *θεία νόσος* was destined to return again and again. It is paraded in the C. R. XIX (1905), p. 150, and again in XXIII (1909), p. 40, until everybody is ill of it. All that Wolff deigns to say about *ἤκοι* is 'Perfectbedeutung'.

Similar brevity is characteristic of M. DALMEYDA and, though I can not agree with him always, I have found more than once occasion to admire his neat touch in the presentation of familiar things. 'Temps d'arrêt' is an admirable way of putting the phenomenon of the so-called *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν*. Positively ungrammatical, however, is the reading he proposes for *πρὶν ἐξίστης φρενῶν* (v. 369: *μίμνηας ἤδη καὶ π. ἐ. φ.*). *πρὶν ἐξω στῆς φρενῶν* = *πρὶν ἐκστῆναι φρενῶν* is Greek that belongs to a much later sphere. It may be prehistoric but it does not rest on any satisfactory proof (A. J. P. I 458). As to the quarrel about which is stronger than which, *μίμνηας* is a positive, *ἐκστῆναι φρενῶν*, a negative equivalent for the same thing. A curious confirmation of this is furnished by the Authorized Version, which with its wonted mania for *ποικιλία* translates *μαίω* by 'Thou art beside thyself' and *οὐ μαίνομαι* 'I am not mad'. Acts XXVI 24, 25.

The quotation from Theophrastos, the mention of Jebb may well be followed by a *Brief Mention* of the new edition of JEBB'S *Theophrastus* (Macmillan Co.), long yearned for and now happily accomplished, thanks to the author of the *History of Classical Scholarship*, who seems to know no halt in his activity. The book is one of the firstlings of Jebb's authorship, and as I reread the introduction, I am lost in admiration of the early maturity, the faultless taste of the young scholar. And it is not a case of *nihil peccat nisi quod nihil peccat*. There are ripples in the stream and the ripples are touched with sunlight. The notes—to which Dr. SANDYS has made some welcome additions—do more to bring Greek social life before the student than many dictionaries of antiquities and so-called stories of this period and that period in the history of Greece; and he whose delight is in the private speeches of the Attic orators will welcome the many illustrations drawn from that source, once too much neglected, of late years made duly prominent by the labors of Professor SANDYS himself. George Eliot's *Theophrastus Such* (1879) was doubtless suggested by the work of the younger scholar but, of course, George Eliot went to the sources and the title of her book was for some time a puzzle to a community, few of whom read Theophrastos in the original. And I remember with amusement that the explanation of the strange word 'Such' was tardily supplied to *Notes and Queries* by some one who was familiar with the recurrent formulae τοιοῦτος ἔστι, τοιοῦτος οἷος, which do not appear in Jebb's idiomatic version (A. J. P. X 124).

How changed the attitude of the student of Attic Greek towards Hellenistic Greek has been I have reason to know from my own experience. How otherwise I should treat now the problems that arise in the study of my unwashed Christian friend Justin Martyr than I did thirty years ago! Then I availed myself of the opportunity to make a *cache* of the notes for my syntactical formulae. Then Justin's deviations from classical usage were to me deviations and they were nothing more. Then the Greek of Aesop had no charm for me and I had no kind word for Timayenis (A. J. P. I 242). But that was long before the days of Wilamowitz and his *Lesebuch*. Now it seems strange that the men who yearned above all things for the living voice of Greek should have failed to recognize the accents that come to us from the upper chambers of the New Testament. Now the study of the Greek language has entered upon a new stage which the most hidebound Atticist can neglect only at his peril; and I have more than once tried to make atonement for my hardness of heart and blindness of mind. All this quite apart from the vital importance (A. J. P. XXX 106) at the present juncture of an alliance with Biblical scholars for the maintenance

of Greek studies. But Biblical scholars must not abuse their privileges and send unequipped men into the field. As I have had occasion to say more than once, the Biblical scholar must add his Hellenistic lore to a sound knowledge of Attic Greek (A. J. P. VII 543; XV 117; XIX 347; XX 109) just as your Latinist must be as good a Grecian as the best; and a stern rebuke should be administered to those who undertake to teach others without an elementary knowledge of the classical tongue, if there be a classical tongue.

It is a poor business, this preachment about small matters, for a periodical that bears the title of an American Journal of Philology. All the contributors and all the readers are supposed to be finished scholars; and the chief penitent is the editor, who cries Unclean! Unclean! in almost every number by reason of the typographical and other errors that escape his notice. But to the true scholar no blunder is small. He insists on immaculate cleanliness. If *ex pede* is a good motto, why not *ex pediculo*? To him any and every mistake is a sin. Of course, we must consider the progress of doctrine. There were times within the memory of man, when everybody wrote ὄρεν. It is only a few years since an old-fashioned critic in the *Nation* protested against the typographical error of θνήσκειν; and λειτουργία and οἰκτεῖρε are still rampant in respectable quarters. One becomes tolerant with age. The omission of the syllabic augment in the pluperfect active of an Attic text would not extort from me a groan as it did the other day from a young scholar. Yes, one becomes tolerant; but as one of my German landladies said to me sixty years ago save one: Welche Herrn sind gar zu schmutzig. We have each one of us his pet abomination. In a certain German novel an aristocrat, who had come down in the world, morally and financially, drew the line at detachable cuffs. I used to draw the line at βαντιζο. That μία κεφαία, that dot over the ι, has always been too much for my nerves, and all the letters, thus adorned, that I have received in the last fifty odd years, have found their way into the waste-basket. Of course, one loses much by scholarly fastidiousness. If I had known of Cesareo's false perspective of literary chronology (A. J. P. XXIII 446) I should not have read a book from which I have extracted a good deal of amusement and instruction; and I came near throwing aside the other day a doctoral dissertation on a subject which is of great interest to a syntactical specialist, because the author had not learned the difference between εἶμι and εἶμι and took Ludwig Dindorf for an Italian. Think of Lodovico Dindorfio as a compatriot of Lodovico Ariosto! But I resumed my task with a doubtful heart, only to find unfortunately that in this case ignorance was paired with what would be called in business circles dishonesty. The literature cited on the subject had not been read or when read had not been

understood. All the statistics of Sahara cannot redeem such work as this, and there is too much of it in the same range. I name no names. I have lived to see men who set out as poorly equipped with Greek as our εἰμι-εἰμί friend mount to the chief seats in the synagogue, and so I simply add another *I nunc* to the long list made out by Jahn (Pers. 4, 19) and augmented by the diligence of Lease (A. J. P. XIX 59-69).

In the presentation of the results of literary research the French are unequalled masters and though German scholars desiderate this and that in the writings of their French colleagues, they are forced to surrender to the grace that is French as it was Greek. So Herr KÖRTE in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, Oct. 24, 1908, commenting on M. MAURICE CROISSET'S *Aristophane* (A. J. P. XXVII 354) says: Ich möchte dem Buche wünschen dass ihm das Schicksal ins Deutsche übersetzt zu werden erspart bleibt, das neuerdings so manche französische und englische philologische Bücher ereilt. Zieht man dem Buche die geschmackvolle Pariser Toilette aus, so bleibt zu wenig Körperlichkeit um Liebhaber anzuziehen. Herr KÖRTE is as German as M. CROISSET is French. Und eine Magd im Putz, das ist ja mein Geschmack. That is a German figure and it is precisely in the sphere of metaphor that the national genius manifests itself; it is precisely in this sphere that the aesthetic judgments of antique critics are hardest to follow with full sympathy. We echo Aristophanes, we echo Aristotle, but the echo sounds hollow. We have to translate χρόνου πόδα 'The Jackboots of Time' or the 'Seven League Boots of Time' in order to get the ghost of a smile out of the Aristophanic gird at Euripides. There is nothing risky, nothing παρακεκινδυνευμένον, about Hon. William Spencer's 'Noiseless falls the foot of Time'. It does not belong for us to the domain of ψυχρότης, that frigid zone in which the παρακεκινδυνευμένα most do flourish. 'Frigidity'—oh yes!—we translate ψυχρότης 'frigidity'. We speak of 'frigid conceits', but, like other technical terms of Greek aesthetics, ψυχρότης and ψυχρόν defy translation. In a recent lecture I called my passion for identifying modern life with ancient a ψυχρόν παραγκάλισμα, an expression worthy of the Lord Will-be-will who utters it:

μή νύν ποτ' ὁ παῖ φρένας ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δαμείε
 γυναικὸς οὐνεκ' ἐκβάλης εἰδὼς ὅτι
 ψυχρόν παραγκάλισμα τοῦτο γίνεται
 γυνή κακὴ ξύνευνος ἐν δόμοις.

I knew it was impossible to give it an adequate rendering, but I had to produce some rough equivalent. It was a case of ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' ὅμως, and so I translated it 'frigid hugging-piece'.

One of my girl hearers, a partisan of Antigone and herself a Grecian, remonstrated with me on the coarseness of the version; and I grant that the translators of Sophokles have furnished me with an array of elegances of which I ought to have availed myself. 'A joy that soon grows cold in clasp of arm', 'small comfort' and 'poor consolation', 'cold comfort' and 'small consolation'. But such adulteries of art would have spoiled my figure, itself doubtless a ψυχρόν τι; and, besides, the bitterness of Sophokles is as the bitterness of the little book in Revelation or—shall we say?—the γλυκύπικρον of Sappho. In our estimate of Sophokles we must not forget the sting of the bee, the Μουσῶν εὐκόλων ἀνθρώπιον, quoted by Philostratos. And I must frankly confess that when I used ψυχρόν παραγκάλισμα I had in mind the unpoetic old commentator who actually took ψυχρόν in the transferred sense, the aesthetic sense, which ξύρευτος will not suffer. And yet what is chillier, what frostier than a wife who is always trying to be clever? Gomperz compares Sokrates with his warm heart and his cool head to an ice machine that is actuated by steam. Much nearer to daily life are the clammy hands and the cold feet that go with the superheated brain. But it is all in vain that we have imported into our aesthetic jargon 'frigid' and 'frosty'. We do not feel them as did Dikaiopolis. ψυχρόν was to the Greek the deathly chill that heralds nausea. It is well for some of us that there is no Dikaiopolis to pronounce on the frostiness of some of our modern conceits.

I cannot say with Pindar πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλάν, but I have in my time ventured here and there upon a new interpretation of a Pindaric passage, never upon a new emendation of my own, and when I compare SCHROEDER's edition of the *Olympians and Pythians* with the one for which I am responsible, there is little but regret that I have adopted as many of Bergk's suggestions as I have done. σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἀνεμὸν ἔμαθον. Only the τριταῖος ἀνεμὸς is to be interpreted as the third decennium. It will be seen from my quotations that I have been reading the Nemeans and the First Nemean is the cause of my first lapse from my conservative attitude. In studying Pindar I follow the synthetic method I have recommended to others. It is a modification of the paraphrastic method of the scholiasts, exemplified by Wilamowitz in his edition of Timotheos and sanctioned by his authority in his paper on the Seventh Nemean. The difficulty of Pindar lies in the transitions and the effort to follow the poet's thought rather than his words sometimes helps one to swim in his wake and possibly κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποπίν, even if the feet are not so nimble as his. The second strophe of the First Nemean begins with a memorable picture that always recalls to my mind Goethe's 'Sänger'. 'Was hör' ich draussen vor dem

Thor?' In fact, Goethe's opening may have been suggested by this famous passage:

ἴσταν ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
 ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος
 ἔνθα μοι ἀρμόδιον
 δείπνον κεκόσμηται, θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν
 οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι
 ἐντί.

Those who have detected a warm personal tone in this poem on Chromios are ready to believe that Pindar is recording a personal experience, although, as I have said, 'we must not suppose that Pindar went whithersoever his song went' (I. E. xii). But as so often in Pindar, the image is blurred or seems to be blurred by a cloud of words or a cloud of interpreters and the eight words that follow have each almost as many renderings as there are words:

λείλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις ἰσλοῦς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φέρειν
 ἀντίον.

The Doric *ἰσλός* = *ἰσλούς* and looks at first like a nominative, and this apparent nominative is at the bottom of the whole devilry, is at the bottom of the change from *λείλογχα*, the sympathetic first person to *λείλογχε*, the cold perfect of historical experience. *ἰσλούς* is the plural of delicacy and reserve and means *Χρόμιον*. It is sad to think that the error is older than Aristarchos, whose exegesis of the passage I cannot discuss here. The situation seems to be clear. The poet has taken his stand, for *ἴσταν* represents the perfect as so often in verbs in which the present perfect is dominant (S. C. G. 249). He is making melody and looking into the 'Saal voll Pracht und Herrlichkeit', where the banquet meet for a poet has been furnished forth. Note the perfects. He himself is one of the *ἄλλοδαποί*, and as he thinks over his errand he says 'I have received the commission. It hath fallen to my lot. I am the one that has been called to—do what? No noble man without enemies, no perfection can escape fault-finding'. On the free participial dative *μεμφομένοις* see I. E. xciii, Verrall, Aeschyl. S. 217; Heikel, De participiorum ap. Herodotum usu, p. 35. The more abundant the hospitality, the more sullied the fire of the hearth, the thicker the smoke, which according to an old interpretation means *ψόγος*, as well it may. Cf. N. 7, 60: *ξείνός εἰμι. σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον | ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἀνδρ' ἄγων | κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω*. The roof-tree, the walls are filled with the traces of smoke as are the hospitable abodes of Baltimore and Pittsburg: and the poet's office is to wash away the traces by the *ῥοαὶ Μοισᾶν* (N. 7, 10). Such a champion is Pindar *μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἰσλοῖς | τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος* (N. 4, 95). And this master-archer Pindar, who unlike Horace's Apollo always stretches his bow (I. E. xliii) recalls

another master of the bow, recalls the passage in the *Odyssey* T 7: 'ἐκ καπνοῦ κατέθηκ', ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τοῖσιν ἔφκει | οἷά ποτε Τροίηνδε κίων κατέλειπεν Ὀδυσσεύς, | ἀλλὰ κατήκισται δσσον πυρὸς ἔκετ' ἀντμή.

The number three possesses a strange fascination for everyone. According to one theory the number two represents the pillars of Herakles, the primal dual. All that lies beyond is the mystic three. At least such is my summary of the views of Usener, one of the latest expounders of the significance of the triad (A. J. P. XXV 97). The Pythagorean τετρακτὺς has also its charm as has the τετράγωνος ἀνὴρ, the square man and the square meal; and after fighting the temptation for years, Professor LUDWICH has succumbed to the enticements of the Pythagorean system, the same four and the same three that dominate the same sphere, the sphere of poetry, the sphere of the sonnet with its quatrains and its tiercets, zwei Vierling' und zwei Dreiling', as Voss puts it contemptuously. It is almost pathetic to read Professor LUDWICH's account of his long struggle against the μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόρον. But in the end the evidence became too strong for him and so we have in his *Homerischer Hymnenbau* (Leipzig, Hirzel) the irrefragable proof that the strophic structure of fours and threes pervades a large range of Hellenic poetry. Begin to study ears, you can see nothing but ears; noses, nothing but noses. To Payne Knight the heavens were hung not with fiddles, as the Germans have it, but with phalli, and the earth was a chamber of unspeakable imagery. And so one is prejudiced to begin with as one opens a book which forms a strange contrast to the other volume published two years ago by the renowned Homeric scholar, *Ilias, Volumen Alterum* (Teubner), with its dense array of the MS apparatus for his text of the *Iliad*. But the eminent author demands a serious study, something better at any rate than this non-committal paragraph, and it is to be hoped that the thesis will not be denied the careful consideration which the Königsberg scholar has earned by a lifetime of study; and quite apart from the theory, every reader will be the gainer by the contact with the work of such a master.

Many years ago (1877) I called attention to the predominance of the aorist imperative in Biblical Greek (Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I 16, 6) if Professor Moulton will allow me to use the expression 'Biblical Greek' (*Prolegomena*, p. 4). Quite apart from the general tendency in this sphere to drastic syntax (A. J. P. XVIII 460) 'the aorist', I said, 'is the true tense for instant prayer'. In the Sermon on the Mount, where the imperative is not precatory,

the variation between present and aorist imperative is interesting and instructive. Sometimes we are reminded of Isokrates' paraenetic discourse (S. C. G. 403), sometimes of the trend to the drastic to which I have already referred. At all events the imperatives there do not show the absolute indifference that some scholars have considered to be characteristic of Hellenistic Greek. Compare A. J. P. XXIII 241, XXIV 481, 2. In a recent article of the I. G. F. XXIV 1, 2, p. 10 (1909), Mr. MOZLEY, whose paper, dated 1903, I have never seen, is credited with the observation that the aorist imperative is regularly used in Biblical Greek when the deity is addressed; and following out this generalization Herr KRIECKERS, a pupil of THUMB'S, has made a statistical study of the occurrences of the two tenses in Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Aristophanes with the result that in prayers addressed by men to men both present and aorist are often used, whereas in prayers addressed by men to gods, the aorist largely preponderates. KRIECKERS sees in this a subtlety of the Greek language. 'Tis not the durative present but the perfective aorist (A. J. P. XXIX 398), in which finite man may allow himself to address the infinite deity—barring metrical accidents (A. J. P. XXIII 241). 'The relation in which ἀκύμοροι ἄνδρες stand to the θεοὶ αἰὲν ἰόοντες could hardly find a more vivid syntactical illustration'. The investigation clearly proceeds along the same lines as those laid down in Professor SCOTT'S article on the vocative with and without &, in which he has shown that this burr of a prefix is not allowed to attach itself to the θεοὶ πεῖρα ζώοντες (A. J. P. XXIV 192). Oddly enough, Pindar is a lamentable exception in both syntactical domains. Professor SCOTT evidently resents Pindar's & Μοῖσα (A. J. P. XXVI 32), and if Pindar did not call the Muse 'our mother' (N. 3, 1) one might have supposed he were treating her as what Heinrich Heine called a 'déesse entretenue' (*Essays and Studies*, p. 165) or as if he were manifesting the same irreverent spirit as did Coleridge when he said that 'Apollo kept all nine'. But the man who sings & Ζεῦ (A. J. P. XXIV 197) would hardly balk at & Μοῖσα. According to KRIECKERS, Pindar in addressing the gods uses the present imperative twelve and the aorist seventeen times. For this falling away from the Homeric practice KRIECKERS has no explanation to offer, as he is unacquainted with Pindar's cryptic recalcitrancy against Homer, but he does make the suggestion that, as Pindar has a way of begetting special deities—commonly called personifications—he cannot have had the same reverence for the children of his poetic brain, whom he could see through, as for the fine old opaque deities (A. J. P. XVII 364). But I am afraid that most of my readers will think that this is analysis run mad. The Muse has to put up with a present in the first line of the Iliad and in the first line of the Odyssey. Are we to suppose that a certain access of awe came over the poet αἰο: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν?

In the autumn of this year there is to be held a Congress of German Philologists and Teachers at Graz in Steiermark. It is a Jubilee Congress and it is proposed to celebrate this fiftieth anniversary by the establishment of a foundation in the interest of classical scholarship. All friends of classical antiquity, all friends of the range of studies known by the fine old name of the humanities are urged to contribute to this laudable undertaking; and as classical philology in America has long borne the impress of the great German teachers, to whom all our leading classical scholars owe their training, directly or indirectly, the appeal comes with especial propriety and cogency to the large body of American instructors in the classics. Without derogation to the traditions of the mother country and to the precious inheritance we Americans have received from the long succession of English writers and scholars, for the scientific side of our work we are debtors in the first line to the Germans; and it is not strange that German scholars should look to us first of all non-German peoples for a response to this call for help. Contributions of any amount may be sent before Sept. 1 to the Wechselstube der Steiermärkischen Escomptebank, Graz, Konto, Philologenversammlung; before Aug. 15 to Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill of the University of Chicago.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 37th St., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH.

Aristophanes. The Acharnians; with introd., critical notes and commentary by W. Rennie. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 6+279 pp. 12°, cl., \$1.70 net.

Aristotle. Works; tr. into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. V. 8, *Metaphysica*. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1908 [1909], various paging. 8°, cl., \$2.50.

Buddha. Sayings of Buddha; the Iti Vuttaka; tr. with introd. and notes by Justin Hartly Moore. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 18+142 pp. 8° (Columbia University Indo-Iranian ser.), cl., \$1.50 net.

Butler (H. E.) Post-Augustan poetry from Seneca to Juvenal. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 8+328 pp. 8°, cl., \$2.90.

Bywater (Ingram). Erasmian pronunciation of Greek and its precursors; a lecture. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. Pap., 35 cts.

Catulli carmina; ed. by C. Stuttaford, with introd. and notes. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 27+281 pp. 16°, cl., \$1.50 net.

Cicero. Six orations; rev. by Ja. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge, with a special vocabulary by Ja. B. Greenough. Boston, *Ginn*, 1909. 269+226 pp. 12°, hf. leath., \$1.

Dhalla, Maneckji Nusservanji. The Nyaishes or Zoroastrian litanies; ed. and tr., with notes; Khordah Avesta, pt. 1. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 22+285 pp. 8° (Columbia University Indo-Iranian ser.), cl., \$2 net.

English-Arabic conversation dictionary. New York, *Lemcke & Buechner*, 1909. 12+371 pp. 32°, cl., \$1.50.

Herodotus. *Herodoti historiae*; recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit C. Hude. V. 2. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909, no paging. 12°, limp cl., \$1.10.

Hinke (W. J.) A new boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I. from Nippur, with a concordance; 16 half-tonell. and 35 drawings. Philadelphia, *University of Pennsylvania*, 1907 [1909]. 27+323 pp. 4°, cl., \$3.50.

Hollis (A. C.) The Nandi; their language and folk-lore; with introd. by Sir C. Elliot. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 40+328 pp. 8°, pls. fold. map, cl., \$5.25.

Menardos (Simos). The value of Byzantine and modern Greek in Hellenic studies; an inaugural lecture. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 24 pp. 8°, pap., 35 cts.

Merry (W. Walter). *Orationes tum Crewelianae tum gratulatoriae in Theatro Sheldoniano plerumque habitae*. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 102 pp. 8°, cl., \$2.

Mitchell (G. W.) *Latin composition based on Caesar*. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 190 pp. 12°, cl., 60 cts. net.

Murray (Gilbert). *The interpretation of ancient Greek literature: an inaugural lecture*. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 23 pp. 8°, pap., 35 cts.

Oldest (The) English epic: *Beowulf, Finnsburg, etc.*; tr. into the original metres with introd. and notes by Francis B. Gummere. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 9+203 pp. 12°, cl., \$1.10 net.

Plato. *The Euthyphro of Plato*; with introd. and notes by St. George Stock. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909; various paging. 16°, cl., 60 cts.

Prince (J. D.) *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon, with grammatical introduction*. London, 1909. 8°. 450 pp. 3£ 5s.

Redhouse (J. W.) *The Turkish Vade-Mecum of Ottoman colloquial Language*. London, 1909. 32°. 6s.

Shaw (G. C.) *The Chinook jargon*. Seattle, Wash., *Rainier Printing Co., Inc.*, 116 Third Ave., So., 1909. 16+65 pp. 8°, pap.

Tacitus. *The Agricola*; with introd. and notes by D. R. Stuart. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 27+111 pp. 12°, cl., 40 cts. net.

Taylor (H. D.) *Latin and English idiom: an object lesson from Livy's preface*. New York, *Putnam*, 1909. 8+73 pp. 8°, cl., 60 cts. net.

Terence. *The "Famulus", as it is performed at the Royal College of St. Peter, Westminster*; ed. by J. Sargeant and the Rev. A. G. S. Raynor. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1908 [1909]. 72 pp. 16°, cl., 60 cts.

Watson (J. M.) *Aristotle's criticisms of Plato*. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 88 pp. 8°, pap., \$1.

FRENCH.

Ernout (A.) *Recherches sur l'emploi du passif latin à l'époque républicaine*, in 8°. 1 vol. *H. Champion*. 4 fr.

Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes. Vol. XXX, in 4°. *H. Champion*. 30 fr.

GERMAN.

Amitagati's Subhāsitasamdoha. Sanskrit u. deutsch, hrg. v. Rich. Schmidt- (II u. S. 265-908.) 8°. Leipzig, *F. A. Brockhaus' Sort*, 1908. m. 9.40.

Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrg. v. Frdr. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt. VI. Bd. Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. O. Hinrichs' Verl.* 4. Heft. Ružička (Rud.) *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen*. (Iv, 268 S.) 1909. m. 21.20.

Bibliothek, assyriologische, hrg. v. Frdr. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt. XX. Bd. Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. O. Hinrichs' Verl.* 7. Lfg. Meissner (Bruno).

Seltene assyrische Ideogramme. 7. Lfg. (S. 481–560 in Autogr.) 1909. m. 10.

Boeckh (A.) u. Mueller (K. O.) Briefwechsel üb. e. attische Inschrift aus dem J. 1835. Mitgeteilt von A. Frhr. Hiller v. Gaertringen. (vi, 44 S. m. 22 Abbildgn.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1908. m. 3.

Burchardt (Max). Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte u. Eigennamen im Aegyptischen. 1. Tl. Die krit. Analyse der Schreibg. (viii S. u. 60 S. in Autogr.) 34.5×27.5 cm. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs' Verl., 1909. m. 8.50.

Cauer (Paul). Grundfragen der Homerkritik. 2. stark erweit. u. zum Tl. umgearb. Aufl. (viii, 552 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1909. m. 12.

Cicero's, M. Tulli, oratio pro M. Caelio. Recensuit atque interpretatus est Iacobus van Wageningen. (xxxiv, 119 S.) gr. 8°. Groningen, P. Noordhoff, 1908. m. 3.

Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae berolinensis editum. 40×28.5 cm. Berlin, G. Reimer. Vol. IV supplementum. Inscriptionum parietariarum Pompeianarum supplementum. Edd. Aug. Mau et Carol. Zangemeister. (vi u. S. 455–790), 1909. m. 37.

Galen's de usu partium libri XVII ad codicum fidem recensuit Geo. Helmreich. Vol. II, libros IX–XVII continens. (v, 486 S. m. 4 Fig.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. m. 8.

Gardiner (A. H.) The admonitions of an Egyptian sage from a Hieratic papyrus in Leiden (pap. Leiden 844 recto). With 18 plates in autography and 1 in collotype. (vii, 116 S.) 34.5×27.5 cm. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs' Verl., 1909. m. 80.

Gerhard (Gust. Adf.) Phoenix v. Kolophon. Texte u. Untersuchgn. Mit 1 Taf. in Lichtdr. u. 1 Skizze. (viii, 302 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. 12; m. 15.

Heinichen's lateinisches Schulwörterbuch. 1. Tl. 8. Aufl. Neub. Heinr. Blase u. Wilh. Reeb. (lxvi, 921 S.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. geb. 8 m.

Hoffmann-Kutschke (A.) Die altpersischen Keilschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajawansch I. bei Behistun. (35 S.) Lex. 8°. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1909. m. 1.80.

Immsch (Otto). Wie studiert man klassische Philologie? (iv, 192 S.) gr. 8°. Stuttgart, W. Violet, 1909. m. 2.50.

Kauffmann (Frdr.) Zur Textgeschichte des Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum. II. (49 S.) gr. 8°. Kiel, Lipsius & Tischer, 1909. m. 60.

Langdon (Stephen). Sumerian and Babylonian psalms. (xxvi, 351 S.) gr. 8°. Paris, 1909. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs' Verl. m. 16.

Mar Isaacus Ninivita: De perfectione religiosa, quam ed. Paul. Bedjan. (xviii, 646 S.) 8°. Paris, 1909. Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz. m. 28.

May (J.) Rhythmische Formen, nachgewiesen durch Beispiele aus Cicero u. Demosthenes. (60 S.) 8°. Leipzig, Buchh. G. Fock, 1909. m. 150.

Möller (Geo.) Hieratische Paläographie. 1. Bd. Bis zum Beginn der 18. Dynastie. Mit 9 Taf. Schriftproben. (viii S. u. 20 S. u. 76 Bl. in Autogr.) 35.5×27 cm. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs' Verl., 1909. geb. m. 80.

Morris (John). *Organic history of English words. Part I: Old English.* (viii, 128 S.) gr. 8°. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. m. 3.60.

Mutschauer (Carl). *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre u. der homerische Tempusgebrauch.* 2. Bd. (xiv, 324 S.) gr. 8°. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. m. 9.

Némethy (Geyza). *De Ovidio elegiae in Messallam auctore.* (28 S.) gr. 8°. Budapest, *Verlagsbureau der ungar. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1909. m. 60.

Octavia praetexta. Cum prolegomenis, annotatione critica, notis exegeticis ed. I. Vürthelm. (76 S.) gr. 8°. Leiden, *A. W. Sythoff*, 1909. m. 2.

Procli Diadochi hypotyposis astronomicarum positionum. Ed., germanica interpretatione et commentariis instruxit Carol. Manitius. (xiviii, 378 S. m. Fig.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 8.

Ritter (Const.) *Platons Dialoge. Inhaltsdarstellungen II. der Schriften des reifen Mannesalters. I. Tl. Der Staat.* (216 S.) 8°. Stuttgart, *W. Kohlhammer*, 1909. m. 4.50.

Schaer (Alfr.) *Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Pyramus-Thisbe-Sage in Deutschland im 16. u. 17. Jahrh.* (128 S.) gr. 8°. Schkonditz, *W. Schäfer*, 1909. m. 2.40.

Schmidt (Max C. P.) *Altphilologische Beiträge. 3. Heft: Musikalische Studien.* (94 S. m. Abbildgn.) 8°. Leipzig, *Dörr'sche Buchh.*, 1909. m. 1.60.

Teletis reliquiae. Recognovit, prolegomena scripsit Otto Hense. Ed. II. (cxxiv, 107 S.) gr. 8°. Tübingen, *J. C. B. Mohr*, 1909. m. 7.

Thesaurus linguae latinae. Suppl. Nomina propria latina. Fasc. 1. (Sp. 1-192.) 33.5 x 26 cm. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 7.20.

ITALIAN.

Aristofane. *Commedie tradotte in versi italiani da E. Romagnoli, con introduzione e note.* 2 volumi. Torino, 16° fig., pp. 596, 644. L. 20.

Zuccante (G). *Socrate. Fonti, ambiente, vita, dottrina.* Torino, 1909. 8°. 420 pp. L. 12.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*. Book six. With Essays, Notes and Translation by L. H. G. Greenwood. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1909.

— The Rhetoric of, A Translation of. By Sir R. C. Jebb. Ed. with an Introduction and with Supplementary Notes. By J. E. Sandys. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1909.

Bennett (Charles E.) *An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present Day Teachers*. President's Address at Toronto Meeting. Dec., 1908. Reprinted from *Classical Journal* Feb., 1909.

Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. Theologiae et Christianarum literarum cultoribus accommodata. Series VI. Scriptores Saec. V et VI. Vol. II. Aureli Augustini Confessiones. Pars I. Curante Prof. Felici Ramorino. Romae, MCCCCIX.

Bithell (Jethro). *The Minnesingers*. London and New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909.

Bowen (Edwin W.) *Questions at Issue in Our English Speech*. New York, *Broadway Publishing Co.* \$1.

Chinook Jargon (The) and How to Use it. By Geo. C. Shaw. Seattle, *Rainier Printing Co.*, 1909.

Church (J. E.) 1. Adolf Furtwängler. 2. The Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio*. 3. On Virgil's *Aeneid* I 249. 4. A Defence of Propertius IV 3, 47-8. *University of Nevada Studies*. Vol. I, No. 2. 1908.

Cicero, Six Orations of. Allen and Greenough Edition. Revised by J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittridge. With a Special Vocabulary by J. B. Greenough. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1909. \$1.

Coillitz (Klara Hechtenberg). *Das Wort boom in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Englische Studien. Sonderabdruck aus 40 band, 2. Heft. Leipzig, *O. R. Reisland*.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterariae Vindobonensis. Vol. LII. S. Aureli Augustini Opera. Sect. VII. Pars II. Scriptorum contra Donatistas. Pars II. Ed. M. Petschenig. Vindobonae, *F. Tempsky*. Lipsiae, *G. Freytag*, MDCCCIX. 30 m.

Dihigo (Juan M.) *La fonetica experimental en el laboratorio de Rousselot*. Informe presentado al Rector de la Universidad de la Habana por el representante oficial de la misma en las fiestas de Oviedo, Tercer Centenario de la Universidad de Oviedo. Habana, 1909.

Diogenes von Apollonia. Zweiter Teil. Ernst Krause. Mit e. Zeichnung. Beilage zu dem Jahresberichte des königl. Gymn. zu Gnesen, Ostern 1909. Posen, *Merzbachsche Buchdruckerei*.

Dunn (Joseph). *La vie de Saint Patrice. Mystère breton en trois actes. Texte et traduction.* Paris, *Honoré Champion*, 1909.

Elliott (Richard T.) *Some Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristophanes and Aeschylus.* Oxford, *R. H. Blackwell*. London, *Simpkin, Marshall & Co.*, 1908. 1s.

English Dictionary (Oxford). Ed. by Sir James A. H. Murray. *RINALD-DRIO-ROMANITE.* (Vol. VIII) by W. A. Craigie. Oxford, *At the Clarendon Press*. New York, *Henry Frowde*. \$1.25.

Fletcher (Giles and Phineas). *Poetical Works.* Ed. by Frederick S. Boas. Cambridge, *At the University Press*. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1909. \$1.50.

Français (Le) *Phonétique.* 1^{re} Livr. Janvier, 1909. Paris, 1909. @ 50c.

Grasserie (Raoul De la). *Essai de Sémantique Intégrale T. I et II.* Paris, *Ernest Leroux*, 1908. 10 fr.

Gummere (Francis B.) *The Oldest English Epic. Beowulf, Finnsburg, Waldere, Deor, Widsith, and the German Hildebrand.* Translated in the original metres with introductions and notes. New York, *The Macmillan Co.*, 1909. \$1.10.

Hellenic Herald (The). Vol. III. No. 28. Feb'y, 1909. 10s. per annum.

Hermes. *Zeitschrift für classische Philologie.* Herausg. v. Friedrich Leo u. Carl Robert. XLIV Bd. 2. Heft. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909.

Josselyn and Talbot. *Elementary Reader of French History.* *Ginn & Co.*, 1909. 30 c.

Kluge (Friedrich). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* 7te. verb. u. verm. Aufl. 1. Liefg. A—Fohlen. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909.

Manassewitsch's *Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht, völlig umgearb. von Bernhard Templar.* Wien u. Leipzig, *Hortleber*. 1 kr.

Martin (Henry). *Notes on the Syntax of the Latin Inscriptions found in Spain (J. H. U. Dias).* Baltimore, 1909.

Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne:

I. G. Bloch: *M. Aemilius Scaurus.*

II. J. Carcopino: *Histoire de l'ostracisme Athénien.*

III. L. Garnet: *L'approvisionnement d'Athènes en blé au V^e et au V^e siècles.* Université de Paris. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres. Paris, *Félix Alcan*, 1909. 12 fr. 50 c.

Μελέτη ('H). *Μηνιαῖον δημοσίονμα.* 'Ιαν., Φεβ., Μαρ. ἐν 'Αθήναις. Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων. 1909. @ 1 δρ.

Morris (John). *Organic History of English Words. Part I. Old English.* Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909.

Münchener Archäologische Studien. Dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet. München, *C. H. Beck*, 1909. 25 m.

Mutzbauer (Carl). *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre u. der homerische Sprachgebrauch. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Band.* Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. 9 m.

Naylor (H. Darnley). *Latin and English Idiom. An Object Lesson from Livy's Preface.* Cambridge, *At the University Press.* New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1909. 60 c.

Neue Jahrbücher für d. klassische Altertum, Geschichte u. deutsche Literatur u. für Pädagogik. Herausg. v. J. Ilberg u. B. Gerth. Zwölfter Jahrg. 1909. XXIII. u. XXIV. Bandes 2. u. 3. Heft. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909.

Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. 1909. Nr. ½. Helsingfors, 1909.

Occult Review (The). Oct., 1908. London, *William Rider & Son, Ltd.* *United States International News Co.* \$1.75 per ann.

Octavia Praetexta cum prolegomenis, annotatione critica, notis exegeticis. Ed. I. Vürthelm, *Lugduni Batavorum*, MDCCCXCIX. 2 m.

Ὀπικιανῶν κωνηγετικά. Édition critique. Par Pierre Bourdreaux. Paris, *Honoré Champion*, 1908.

Pallis (Alex.) *The Twenty-Second Book of the Iliad. With Critical Notes.* London, *David Nutt*, 1909.

Plessis (Frédéric). *La Poésie Latine de Livius Andronicus à Rutillius Namatianus.* Paris, *O. Künckelsack*, 1909. 12 fr.

Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τοῦ ἔτους, 1907. Ἀθήνησιν, 1908.

Putnam (Emily J.) *Lucian, the Sophist.* *Classical Philology.* Vol. IV, No. 2, April, 1909.

Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias. Universidad de la Habana. Enero de 1909.

Rolron (F. X. M. J.) *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile.* Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Paris, *E. Leroux*, 1908.

— *Κριτικά καὶ ἐξηγητικά περὶ τριῶν Οὐεργίλλου στίχων κατὰ καινὴν μέθοδον.* ἐν Παρισίοις, *E. Leroux*, 1908.

Robinson (D. M.) *An Oenophorus belonging to the Johns Hopkins University.* *American Journal of Archaeology* XIII (1909), No. 1.

Schanz (Martin). *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zu dem Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian.* Erster Teil. 2. Hälfte: Vom Ausgang des Bundesgenossenkriegs bis zum Ende der Republik. 3. ganz umgearb. u. stark verm. Aufl. Handbuch des klass. Altertumswissenschaft herausg. v. Dr. Iw. v. Müller. Achter Band. München, *Beck*, 1905. geb. 10 m.

Schoonover (Draper T.) *A Study of Cn. Domitius Corbulo, as found in the 'Annals' of Tacitus.* Chicago Dr. Diss. Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1909. 53 c.

Shorey (Paul). *Hippias Pädagogos.* Reprinted from the *School Review*. Vol. XVII, No. 1. Jan., 1909.

— *The Spirit of the University of Chicago.* *University of Chicago Magazine.* April, 1909.

Stangl (Thomas). *Pseudoasconiana. Textgestaltung u. Sprache.* Studien zur Geschichte u. Kultur des Altertums herausg. v. E. Drerup, H. Grimme u. J. P. Kirsch. II. Band. 4/5 Heft. Paderborn, *F. Schöningh*, 1909.

Strachan (John). *An Introduction to Early Welsh*. Publications of the University of Manchester. Celtic Series. No. 1. Manchester, At the University Press, 1909. 7s. 6d.

Ullmann (B. L.) *Additions and Corrections to OIL*. Classical Philology. Vol. IV. No. 2, April, 1909.

Vollgraff (Wilhelm). *Nikander u. Ovid*. Erster Teil. Groningen, J. B. Wolters, 1909. 5 m.

Well (H.) *Papyrus récemment découverte*. *Revue des Études Grecques* T. XXII, No. 96. Janv., Febr., 1909.

Williams (C. B.) *The Participle in the Books of Acts*. (Chicago Diss.) Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1909.

Zeitschrift für französischen u. englischen Unterricht. Herausg. v. M. Kalusa u. G. Thureau. VIII Band. 2. Heft. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1909.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXX, 3.

WHOLE No. 119.

I.—LATER ECHOES OF THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS.

The influence of Theocritus upon the later classical poets is well set forth in Fritzsche's Latin commentary, Leipsic, 1870. The same great commentary cites also a number of parallels from modern literature, but these have been less carefully collected and much has been left for the gleaners. As for the influence of Bion and Moschus upon modern poetry, the field seems hardly to have been reaped at all.

THEOCRITUS.

Idyl I. The first Idyl is imitated in the first of Luigi Alamanni's Italian Eclogues,¹ a lament for Cosmo Rucellai who died in 1514. Alamanni follows his Greek model very closely, though he makes one or two changes. His "wooden bowl" is carved with a different set of scenes, and Fortuna takes the place of Cypris in her visit to the dying hero. His method may be illustrated by his treatment of lines 25-63:

Et lo in cambio di cio t'assegnio in dono
Vna candida capra che due figli
Simiglianti nutrice, e ciascun giorno

¹Opere toscane di Luigi Alamanni, Lyons, 1532, p. 108. Alamanni's Eclogues are not mentioned in Cipollini's bibliography of Theocritus, Milan, 1887. This one is earlier, and perhaps better, than the other Italian imitations of Idyl I which he cites from Trissino, Benedetto Varchi and Annibal Caro (pp. 31-40). Varchi's note on his own 'imitation of the Thyrsis' indicates that the adaptation of this Greek dirge had already become a regular literary fashion: "Secondo il costume moderno, è introdotto sotto il nome di Menalca l'amico Luca Martini a piangere sotto quello di Dafni l'acerba et immatura morte dell' amico Filippo Martini", etc.

Di latte quasi due uasetti colma.
 Seruotì appresso un ricco uaso ornato
 D'odorato ginepro; il qual di fuore
 Hedera intorno cinge e'l verde achantho,
 Dentro¹ per dotta man con arte sculte
 Son primauera, estate, autunno, e verno . . .
 Questo adunque sia tuo s'hor ne concedi
 Quel soaue cantar, del quale auaro
 Esser non si deuria, perciò ch'n breue
 Vien poscia morte e noi fa muti e sordi.

The first eleven lines are imitated in the first twenty-four lines of Clément Marot's 'Complainte de Madame Loyse de Savoye' (1531). Thus one singer is called a match for Pan, the other for the Muses:

S'il gaigne en prix un beau fourmage tendre,
 Tu gaigneras un pot de laict caillé;
 Ou si le laict il ayme plus cher prendre,
 A toy sera le fourmage baillé, etc.

With lines 12-14, τὰς δ' αἴγας ἐγὼν ἐν τῷδε νομευσῶ, compare Marot,

Or je te pry, tandis que mon mastin
 Fera bon guet, et que je feray paistre
 Noz deux troupeaux, chante un peu, etc.

With lines 23-25, αἱ δὲ κ' ἀείοντες, and 57-61, τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ πορθμῆϊ, compare

Et si tes vers sont d'aussi bonne mise
 Que les derniers que tu feis d'Ysabeau,
 Tu n'auras pas la chose qu'ay promise,
 Ains beaucoup plus, et meilleur et plus beau, etc.

And, through Marot, this passage is echoed again in the November eclogue of Spenser's 'Shepherds Calender', 43-46:

And, if thy rymes as rownde and rufull bene
 As those that did thy Rosalind complayne,
 Much greater gyfts for guerdon thou shalt gayne
 Then Kidde or Cosset, which I thee bynempt.

¹ Compare Spenser, 'Shepherds Calender', viii. 26, "A maser ywrought of the Maple warre, | *Wher*in is enchased many a fair sight", etc. Sannazaro's imitation of Theocritus, 'Arcadia', Prosa iv, has "tiene nel suo mezzo dipento"—compare Virgil's "in medio", Ecl. iii. 40—and Ronsard's paraphrase of Sannazaro (Ecl. i.) has "Presque tout au milieu du gobelet est peint", etc.

Lines 1-11 are imitated also in the first eclogue of J. C. Scaliger's 'Nymphae Indigenae':¹

Semicaper tenerum si ludit arundine carmen,
Obiectu nemorum lento secretus ab aestu,
Cur tacitae sedeant Musae vocalibus antris?
Ille caprum tantae capiet si praemia laudis,
Ipsae agnum accipient. Illi si cesserit agnus,
His caper ad sacras haerebit cornibus aras, etc.

And the same passage, *ἄδιον, ὃ ποιμήν, κ. τ. λ.*, may have influenced Tennyson's "small sweet Idyl", at the close of 'The Princess':

and sweet is every sound,
Sweeter thy voice, but every sound is sweet; etc.

Lines 16-18. For Pan's noonday rest, and the wrath on his nostrils, *χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται*, compare Sannazaro's 'Arcadia', Egl. ix. 146-7,

Che torna all' ombra pien d'orgoglio et d'ira
Col naso aduncho afflando amaro tosco;

Baif, Ecl. xix,²

reuenant de la chasse
Dessus le chaud du jour (lors que tout il menasse
De courroux, qui le fait renifler des naseaux);

Milton, 'Epitaphium Damonis', 51-2,

Aut aestate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,
Cum Pan aesculea somnum capit abditus umbra;

Leconte de Lisle, 'Pan',

Le Dieu fuit de midi les ardeurs radienses;
Il s'endort; etc.

Lines 27-60. The wooden cup, *ἔτε γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον*, is borrowed in Ronsard, Ecl. v, "encores elle sent La cire et le burin". The pictures of the coquettish maiden and the old fisherman are imitated in detail. The picture (49-54) of the boy plaiting a locust-cage while a fox³ steals his dinner is repeated on Guisin's crook, Ronsard, Ecl. i. So on Sannazaro's cup, 'Arcadia',

¹ Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri viri clarissimi Poemata. Anno 1574, p. 273.

² Euvres en Rime de Ian Antoine de Baif, edited by Ch. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1886, vol. iii, p. 106.

³ Tennyson's phrase "foxlike in the vine", toward the close of 'The Princess', is probably due to a memory of Theocritus, rather than to any observation of English vineyards.

Prosa iv (p. 65, Scherillo), there is a boy "intento ad fare una sua picciola gabia di paglia et di giunchi, forse per rinchiudervi y cantanti grilli". With lines 57-60 compare Sannazaro (p. 66), "Et giuroti per le deytà de' sacri fonti che giamai le mie labra nol toccharono, ma sempre lo ho guardato nectissimo ne la mia tasca da l'hora che una capra et due grandi fiscelle di premuto lacte il comparay da uno navigante, che nei nostri boschy venne da lontani paesi". Compare also Antonio Ferreira's new bowl of ivy-wood, Egl. vii, "hũ tarro d'Hera . . . trazido D'estranhas terras". Lines 27 ff. are translated by Leconte de Lisle, 'Le Vase'.¹

Lines 66-9, $\pi\eta\ \pi\alpha\kappa'\ \delta\rho'\ \eta\sigma\theta'$, are imitated by Luigi Alamanni, Egl. i,²

Que uol Muse allhor che la chiara alma
Del diuin Cosmo al sommo ciel salio?
Non gia non gia lungo le fresche riue
Del suo chiaro Arno, etc.;

and by Antonio Ferreira, Egl. vii,

Versos a Daphnis, doces versos demos.
Voz de Lcidas he, que Marília ama.
Que fontes, ou que bosques lá forçadas
Vos tinham, de Apollo irmãs fermosas,
Quando a Daphnis as cores demudadas
Vos não tornavam delle piadosas? . . .
Tinha-vos por ventura o vosso monte?
O as alturas lá do fresco Pindo?
Porque eu não creio que em sua branda fonte
Vos estivesse o Mondego encobrindo. . .
Daphnis choráram na montanha as feras.
Choráram os Lobos, os Lioes choráram.

With line 71, $\tau\eta\nu\sigma\nu\ \mu\alpha\nu\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\sigma\nu\ \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$, compare the second Eclogue of Pietro Angelio Bargeo, "et Lycidam flebunt thoësque lupique."³

¹ It is not the purpose of this paper to record actual translations of Theocritus, though noteworthy versions of single Idyls are sometimes mentioned. Lists of translations are given in Fritzsche's commentary, Leipsic, 1870, and in the 'Studio critico-bibliografico' prefixed to Cipollini's translation, Milan, 1887.

² Milton's 'Lycidas', 50-55, "Where were ye, Nymphs", etc., has been claimed for Virgil, Ecl. x. 9-12. And either Theocritus or Virgil might account for Shelley's 'Adonais', 10, "Where wert thou, mighty Mother, when he lay", etc.

³ Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 1719, vol. i, p. 206.

With lines 77-78, ἡμεῖς ἑρμᾶς πρῶτος, compare Baif, Ecl. ii (p. 12): "Mercure point ne tarde, Mais tout premier y volle, . . . Doù te vient ce meschef? (Dit-il)", etc. And the same passage is imitated in Milton's 'Epitaphium Damonis', 75 ff., in the coming of Mopsus and the Nymphs.¹

Lines 95-101 are imitated by Antonio Ferreira, Egl. xi,

Veo Venus, sorrindo-se comsigo,
O riso he falso, esconde a dor no peito.
Androgeo, diz, consola-te comigo.

With lines 115-121 compare Sannazaro, 'Arcadia', Prosa viii (p. 150 Sch.): "O lupi, o orsi et qualunche animali per le orrende spelunche vi nascondete, rimanetevi, addio; eccho che più non viderete quel vostro bifolcho che per li monti et per li boschi solea cantare. Addio, rive; addio, piaggie verdissime et fiumi: vivete senza me lungo tempo; et mentre murmurando per le petrose valle currerete nel' alto mare, abbiate sempre nela memoria il vostro Charino. Il quale cqui le sue vacche pasceva, il quale cqui y suo tori coronava, il quale qui con la sampogna gli armenti, mentre beveano, solea dilectare".² And all this, and much more, is translated from Sannazaro in Garcilaso de la Vega, Egl. ii,

O lobos, o osos, que por los rincones
De estas fieras cavernas escondidos
Estais oyendo agora mis razones,
Quedaos á Dios, etc.

¹ Milton's invocation of the "Himerides Nymphae" indicates that he has Theocritus in mind, not Virgil.

² Professor Mahaffy thinks that the 'Arcadia' cannot contain many direct imitations of Theocritus, "for that poet was not adequately printed till 1495, which must have been very near the date of the actual composition of the Arcadia" ('Rambles in Greece', chap. xii). But the imitation here is direct enough, and so are the cases which I have quoted on Id. i. 16-18, 49-60; v. 61-65, 72-75, 84-85, 106; vii. 132-146; viii. 18-19; xviii. 48. And Sannazaro knew Theocritus at first-hand (Scherillo, Introd., pp. 79-80). Moreover, the 'Arcadia' in its original form (comprising the first ten 'Prose' and 'Egloghe') was written earlier than 1495. Summonte, the editor of the edition of 1504, says that it was composed "nela prima adolescentia del poeta"—and Sannazaro was born in 1458. It is found in a Naples MS of the year 1489. And it even seems to have been imitated before 1486, by Pietro Jacobo Gianuario (E. Percopo, La prima imitazione dell' 'Arcadia', Naples, 1894). It is perhaps worth observing that all the Theocritus which I have found in the 'Arcadia' comes from the first eighteen Idyls, the eighteen Idyls which were printed in the 'editio princeps' (Milan, c. 1481).

Lines 139-141 are imitated in Francesco Berni's eclogue 'Amyntas',

Olli tergeminae nerant iam stamina Parcae,
Iam medium Stygiis Proserpina meraserat undis
Dilectum Musis caput et pastoribus aequè.¹

With lines 146-9, *πλήρεις τοι μέλιτος*, compare Ronsard, Ecl. iii (Michau's verdict),

De manne à tout jamais vos deux bouches soient pleines,
and Ecl. v (Lansac's verdict),

Vos bouches à jamais se remplissent de miel . . .
Puis que vos deux chansons surmontent les cigales.

Compare also Tenot's words in Baïf, Ecl. iii,

Tousiours pleine de miel,
Pleine ta bouche soit, puis que d'un si doux son
Tu sçais, mon cher Toinet, attremper ta chanson
. Et vrayment ie te donne
Vn beau Rebec que i'ay, etc.

With lines 148-9 compare Leconte de Lisle, *Hélène*, i,

Vieillard, ta voix est douce ; aucun son ne l'égale.
Telle chante au soleil la divine cigale ;
Prends cette coupe d'or par Héphestos forgée.

The last two lines of this Idyl are used to point a curious moral by Pierre de Lancre: "Je diray donc volontiers et sur tout aux ieunes fillettes qui se laissent debaucher et en sorceler à ce vieux Bouc de Satan, ce que tres à propos souloit dire Theocrite en quelque part :

Vos vero capellae, nolite saltare,
Ne forte in vos hircus incurrat—

Ne sautez point, ieunes fillettes, et ne vous agitez, afin que ce malheureux Bouc ne coure après vous. Le Diable qui se représenté en bouc au sabbat, faict tous exercices soubz la figure et forme de cet animal", etc.²

Idyl II. The second Idyl is closely imitated in Luigi Alamanni's seventh Eclogue, with one passage added from Virgil (Ecl. viii. 74-79). Alamanni's whole poem might be called a

¹ *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, Florence, 1719, vol. ii. p. 150.

² *Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, Paris, 1612, p. 205. The same author (p. 50) translates the *πομπάν* of Idyl ii. 72 by "magicam pompam", and naïvely adds, "qui est le Sabbat."

translation of Theocritus, were it not that the love-story of Simaetha (63-166) is adapted—much as it is in the second part of Baïf's Eclogue xvi. Compare, for instance, lines 38-41, *ἤνιδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος*, with

Hor l'aria tace e'l uento, hor tace il mare,
Ma non gia tace amor dentro al mio petto;
Che quel chiamo ad ognihor che gia di Donna
M'ha fatta (lassa) una notturna fera.

The first part of this Idyl is paraphrased by Baïf, Ecl. v, 'Les Sorcieres' (with some details added from Virgil, Ecl. viii).¹ With lines 12-13, *τῇ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἐκάρῃ*, compare

Mesmes les chiens te craignent et redoutent
Quand des enfers sus la terre tu sors
Te pourmenant par les tumbes des mors—

also Ben Jonson's 'Sad Shepherd', ii. 1,

when our Dame Hecate
Made it her gaing-night over the kirkyard,
With all the barkand parish tikes set at her.

With lines 38-40, *ἤνιδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος*, compare Baïf,

Tout se taist ore, ores les eaux se taisent,
Le bois se taist, les Zefires s'apaisent,
Tout s'assoupit sous la muette nuit:
Mais mon ennuy qui sans repos me suit,
Ne se taist pas au dedans de mon ame, etc.

With line 58, *κακὸν ποτὶν αἵριον ὀσῶ*, compare Sannazaro's fifth Latin Eclogue, 'Herpylis Pharmaceutria',

Tunde iecur, spumamque simul torpedinis atrae.
Haec ego cras illi lethalia pocula mittam;

and Gay's 'Shepherd's Week', v (Thursday),

These golden flies into his mug I'll throw.

With lines 103-9, *ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ὥς ἐνόησα*, compare Racine, Phèdre, i. 3,

Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue;
Un trouble s'éleva dans mon âme éperdue;
Mes yeux ne voyaient plus, je ne pouvais parler,
Je sentis tout mon corps et transir et brûler.

¹ Baïf's poem begins, "Suyuans, Du Faur, d'une gentile audace Des vieux Gregeois la mieux eslite trace, Et des Romains, maugré les ignorans, De vers hardis nos Muses honorans": etc.

Lines 82-90 and 133-4 are quoted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, among the Symptoms of Love.¹

Idyl III, *Κωμάσθω ποτὶ τὰν Ἀμαρυλλίδα*. The first seventeen lines are paraphrased in Luigi Alamanni's ninth Eclogue, with a passage added from Virgil (Ecl. ii. 8-13):

Io uo ratto à trouar la bella Phylli,
Et senza il Tyrsi suo le mie caprette
Stien con Tytiro qui d'intorno al monte, etc.

The whole Idyl is paraphrased in Benedetto Varchi's 'Amarilli',²

Io vo cantando a trovare Amarilli, etc.

It is imitated in Ronsard's 'Voyage de Tours', where lines 12-33 are borrowed in Thoinet's song. Compare, for example, lines 20-23 with

Souvent un vain baiser quelque plaisir apporte.
Je meurs! tu me feras despecer ce bouquet,
Que j'ay cueilly pour toi, de thym et de muguet,
Et de la rouge fleur qu'on nomme cassandrette, etc.

It is translated, line for line, by Hugo Grotius, *Farraginis lib. i*, 'Comastes, ex Theocrito', and imitated in Grotius' 'Myrtilus, sive Idyllium Nauticum, ad Danielelem Heinsium'. Compare, for example, lines 6-7 with

Cochli, quid exspectas? quin, ut prius ipsa solebas,
Prospicis intonsi specula de montis in undas,
Meque procul reducem longo clamore salutas?

Other passages imitated in 'Myrtilus' are lines 21-23, 25-27, 37-39. And Grotius' 'Myrtilus' is itself paraphrased in Sarasin's eclogue 'Myrtil, ou le Nautonnier'.³ Fritzsche quotes an amusing imitation by Fr. Dörr (1858):

Zu Amaryllis will ich nun mit meiner Flöte eilen,
Derweil die lieben Ziegen ruhn und an den Bergen weilen.
Ach, Tityrus, indess ich fern, hat meine Herde keinen Herrn:
Sei du so gut und hüte.

¹ Burton quotes a dozen other passages from Theocritus: Id. xv. 77, iv. 41-2, ix. 31, xviii. 35, viii. 82-3, xxvii. 59, vi. 17, x. 40, xiii. 70-1, i. 151-2, xii. 15-6, xviii. 49-56.

² *Poesie Pastorali e Rusticali*, ed. G. Ferrario, Milan, 1808, p. 250. Cipollini failed to notice Varchi's poem in this volume, and cites it, as still unprinted, from a Florence MS of the year 1539.

³ *Poésies de François Sarasin*, publ. Octave Uzanne, Paris, 1877, pp. 193-201.

Line 20 (repeated in Id. xxvii. 4),

ἔστι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἄδεια τέρψις,

is translated among Poliziano's Latin epigrams,¹

Et vanis in basiolis iucunda voluptas,

and in M. Antonio Renieri's 'Egloga Phillide'² (written before 1539),

Ché ne li vani baci piacer non lieve si gusta.

Line 34, *διδυματόκον αἶγα φυλάσσω* is echoed in the same poem of Renieri,

*Né la colomba solo, ma quella mia capra darotti
Che li due figli nutre, etc.*

Idyl IV. The names Battus and Corydon are borrowed for the two herdsmen in Luigi Alamanni's fifth Eclogue.

On lines 41-43 Fritzsche quotes Io. Stigelius, 'Phryxus et Menalcas' (1553),

*Est quoque, Phryxe, decus dubiis confidere rebus.
Crastina forte dies meliore fulserit aura . . .
Nonne vides coelum vultu nunc ire sereno,
Quod prius obductis condebant nubila nimbis?*

And the same passage is echoed in Baif, Ecl. xiii,

*Espere : L'espoir est des vivans le confort :
On ne peut esperer depuis que l'on est mort.*

It is imitated also in Marcantonio Flaminio's eclogue 'Thyrsis'³ (printed in 1515),

*Non semper gelidis effundit nubibus imbres
Iuppiter, aut vasti feriunt cava littora fluctus
Semper, et iratis strident Aquilonibus aerae.
Tu quoque vesano finem sperare dolori
Aude, hospes. Forsan miserum meliora sequentur.*

Line 42, *ἀπίδες ἐν ζωῷσιν*, is quoted in the 'Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum', vii: "quum vel Theocrito teste vivis duntaxat sperandum sit."

¹ Aldine ed., Venice, 1498, fol. hh, iii.

² Carducci, *La Poesia Barbara nei Secoli xv e xvi*, Bologna, 1881, p. 82.

³ Quoted in Volpi's edition of the *Opere Volgari e Latine del Conte Baldessar Castiglione*, Padua, 1733, pp. 368-69.

Idyl V. The fifth Idyl is imitated in Sannazaro's 'Arcadia', Egl. ix. Compare lines 61-65 with Sann. 29-33, where one herdsman rejects the umpire proposed by the other, and suggests a second. With lines 72-75, *ἀδὲ τοι ἄ ποιμένα*, compare Sann. 43-48,

Montan, costui che meco ad cantar provasi
Guarda le capre d'un pastor erratico, etc.;

and with lines 84-85 compare Sann. 61-63,

Quando talhora alla stagion novella
Mugno le capre mie, mi scherme et ride
La mia suave et dolce pastorella.

The first eighty-four lines are closely imitated by Luigi Alamanni, Egl. v. Compare, for instance, lines 45-49, *οὐχ ἐρψῶ τηρεί*, with

Qui m'intend' io restar ch'ho d'ogni parte
Herbe odorate, onde sen uanno à schiera
L'api di fior in fior sonando intorno.
Qui son due riui, e ne i frondosi rami
Dolce i dipinti augei cantan d'amore,
Qui l'ombra è fresca; oue superbo il pino
Fia sibilando de miei uersi aita.

With lines 55-58, *αἰ δέ κε καὶ τὸ μόλῃς*, compare M. Antonio Renieri, 'Egloga Phillide',

Vien, ché la terra sia con molte mie pelli caprine,
Che piú molli sono del molle agnello, coperta ;
E tu su quelle (che non t'offenda l'odore)
Sette di latte puro vasi colmi sparsi vedrai.

With line 106, *κύων φιλοποιμήνιος, ὃς λύκος ἄγχει*, compare Sannazaro, 'Arcadia', Prosa ii (p. 22 Sch.), "un cane animoso, strangulatore de lupi."

With lines 132-3, *οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας*, compare Ronsard, Ecl. iv,

Je portay l'autre jour deux tourtres à Cassandre,
Et mon present et moy beaucoup elle prisa :
De sa blanchette main l'aureille me vint prendre,
Et plus de mille fois doucement me baisa,

and Baif, Ecl., xiii,

O là combien de fois me prenant par l'oreille
Elle m'a rebaisé de sa bouche vermeille !

Idyl VI. The two songs of Daphnis and Damoetas are paraphrased at the close of Baif's Eclogue xix. With the first compare the song of Pineau,

Polypheme Berger, Galatee la belle
Iettant à ton bestail force pommes, t'appelle
Bel amoureux transi: etc.;

with the other, the song of Robin,

Ie l'ay fort bien ouye: ainsi comme elle ruë
Des pomes à mon chien, de cet oeil ie l'ay vuë,
Cet oeil qui m'est tant cher: etc.

The whole Idyl is freely imitated in an Idilio of Villegas,¹

Viniéronse á juntar Dafne y Dametas, etc.

Compare, for example, line 6, Βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, with

¿ No ves, o Polifemo, como tira
La blanca Galatea á tu ganado?

Lines 44-45 are imitated in Daniel Heinsius' 'Ecloga Bucolica Nordowicum',

Sic pueri cecinere: leues in fronde capellae
Cumque suis blandae salierunt matribus agnae.

Idyl VII. The opening lines are imitated at the beginning of Tennyson's 'Gardener's Daughter',

This morning is the morning of the day,
When I and Eustace from the city went
To see the Gardener's Daughter.

Then, just as in the Greek poem, we have an account of two of the speaker's friends.

The name Phrasidamus, line 3, is borrowed in Sannazaro's fourth Latin Eclogue, line 24.

With line 22,

άνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐν αἰμασιαῖσι καθεύδει,

compare Tennyson's 'Oenone', 26-27,

The lizard, with his shadow on the stone,
Rests like a shadow.

¹ Tesoro del Parnaso español, ed. M. J. Quintana, Paris, 1838, pp. 164-166.

matureo peso, parecia che spezzare si volesseno".¹ And, through Sannazaro, the passage is repeated in Valbuena, 'Siglo de Oro', Prosa x: "Aquí el ronco faisán sonaba, allí las suaves calandrias se oían, acullá cantaban los zorzales, las mirlos y las abubillas, y hasta las industriosas abejas á nuestras espaldas con blando susurrar de una florecilla en otra iban saltando: todo olía á verano, todo prometía un año fértil y abundoso", etc.

Line 35, *ἔνθα γὰρ ὁδοί, ἔνθα δὲ καὶ δῶε*, seems to be reflected in Milton's 'Lycidas', 25-27 (See A. J. P. XXI 235):

Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
Under the opening eyelids of the Morn,
We drove afield.

Lines 138-143 are imitated in Tennyson's 'Gardener's Daughter',

All the land in flowery squares,
Beneath a broad and equal-blowing wind,
Smelt of the coming summer
. . . . From the woods
Came voices of the well-contented doves.
The lark could scarce get out his notes for joy,
. . . . To left and right
The cuckoo told his name to all the hills;
The mellow ouzel fluted in the elm;
The redcap whistled; and the nightingale
Sang loud, as tho' he were the bird of day.

And the orchard feast of lines 144-147 seems to have suggested the orchard feast of Tennyson's 'Audley Court'—an 'English Idyl' which contains two "isometric" songs, to match the songs of Lycidas and Simichidas.

The whole of the seventh Idyl is translated by Leigh Hunt, in 'Foliage', London, 1818: 'The Rural Journey.'

Idyl VIII.² Paraphrased by Luigi Alamanni, Egl. viii, 'Daphni et Menalca', with the omission of lines 53-56 and 61-80. Com-

¹ This passage has been rather unfortunately quoted as an example of Sannazaro's imitation of Virgil and Theocritus when he is "moins esclave de ses souvenirs": "Ce sont leurs paysages rapidement esquissés, avec quelque chose d'ailleurs qu'ils n'ont pas connu et qui demeure bien italien" (J. Marsan, 'La pastorale dramatique en France', Paris, 1905, p. 24).

² It may be noted that Professor Wilamowitz rejects this universal favorite as unworthy of Theocritus: "und wer das nicht empfindet, mit dem soll man nicht über Poesie reden", *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, Berlin, 1906, p. 122.

pare, for example, lines 57-60, δένδρεσι μὲν χειμῶν φοβερόν κακόν, with

Nuoce à gli arbori il uento, all'onde il luglio,
 À gli augelletti il uisco, à cerui il laccio,
 À giouinetti amor, deh Giove e Phebo,
 Son' io solo ad amar, uoi pure amaste ?

The greater part of the Idyl (lines 25-80) is repeated in Ronsard's fifth Eclogue (ed. Blanchemain, vol. iv. pp. 96-103). Compare, for example, lines 63-70, φείδεν τῶν ἐρίφων, φείδεν, λύκε, with

Loups, amis de ces bois, qui de jour et de nuict
 Aguettez le troupeau qui par l'herbe me suit,
 Pardonnez à mes boeufs, pardonnez à mes chèvres,
 Et à mes boucs cornus qui portent barbe aux lèvres.
 Et quoy, mon chien Harpaut, te faut il sommeiller,
 Estant près d'un enfant quand tu deusses veiller ?
 Brebis, ne vous feignez de brouter cet herbage ;
 Tant plus il est brouté il revient d'avantage.
 Paissez-vous de bonne herbe et vous enflez le pis, etc.

The eighth Idyl is imitated also in the third of Sannazaro's Latin Eclogues. Fritzsche compares line 33, ἄγκρα καὶ ποταμοὶ, θεῖον γένος, with Sann. iii. 46, "Nereides, pelagi sacrum genus"; and lines 52, ὁ Πρωτεύς φάκας καὶ θεὸς ὃν ἐνεμεν, and 59, ὁ πάτερ, ὁ Ζεῦ, with lines 62-65,

O Proteu, pastor liquidi maris, o pater, o rex . . .
 Dic Hyalae, falsum te pascere monstra per aequor ;

also lines 43-44, αἱ δ' ἂν ἀφίρπη | χῶ ποιμὴν ξηρὸς τηρόθι χαί βοτάναι, with line 82, "Nulla mihi sine te virent¹ loca." It is imitated again by Leconte de Lisle, 'Les Bucoliastes'. Compare, for instance, lines 72-80, Κἤμ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀντροῦ, with

Souvent, au seuil de l'ancre où la rouge verveine
 Croît auprès d'un lentisque et d'un vieil olivier,
 La fille au noir sourcil parut me convier.
 Par la rude Artémis ! son attente était vaine ;
 Car les boeufs sont la joie et l'honneur du bouvier.

With lines 18-19, σύμγγ' ὃν ἐπόησα, compare Sannazaro, 'Arcadia', Prosa x, "una grande et bella sampogna . . . egualmente di sotto et di sopra congiunta con biancha cera". Compare, too, Ronsard, Ecl. iii,

En voulant l'attenuir le doigt je me coupé
 Avecque ma serpette ; encores de la playe
 Je me deuls, etc.

¹ Broukhusius' text of Sannazaro, Amsterdam, 1728, has *ridens*.

With lines 33-41, *ἄγρια καὶ ποταμοί*, compare Baif, Ecl. xi,

Bel. O fleuves et pastis, si quelque chanson belle
Belin vous dit jamais, que vous ayez chérie,
Fournissez son troupeau de verdure nouvelle:
Pour Guillemot autant faites-en, je vous prie.

Guil. O fontaines, ô prez, si Guillemot surpasse,
A gringoter sa voix, le rossignol ramage,
Engraissez son bestail: et si Belin y passe,
Faites à son bestail tout le mesme auantage.

With lines 41-48, *παντᾷ ἔαρ, παντᾷ δὲ νομοί*, compare Luigi Alamanni, Elegie, i. 5,

Questa ouunque il bel pie leggiadro muoue
Empie di frondi e fior la terra intorno,
Che primauera è seco e uerno altroue.

With lines 53-56, *μή μοι γὰρ Πέλοπος*, compare Andrea Navagero's 'Iolas',¹

Non ego opes mihi, non cursu praevertere ventos
Optarim magis, aut pecoris quodcumque per orbem est,
Quam te, Amarylli, meis vinctam retinere lacertis
Et tecum has inter vitam deducere silvas,

and Baif (who is following Navagero here), Ecl. vi,

Je ne souhette paistre en vne large plaine
Mille troupeaux de boeufs et de bestes à laine:
Mais si je te tenoy, Francine, entre mes bras,
Pour tous les biens de Rois ie ne ferois vn pas.

And the same passage is translated in Carducci's 'Primavere Elleniche' (II. Dorica),

Oh di Pèlope re tenere il suolo
Oh non m'avvenga, o d'aurei talenti
Gran copia, e non de l'agil piede a volo
Vincere i venti!
Io vo' da questa rupe erma cantare,
Te fra le braccia avendo e via lontano
Calar vedendo l'agne bianche al mare
Siciliano.

Lines 57-60, *δένδρεσι μὲν χειμὼν φοβερόν κακόν*, (and Virgil, Ecl. iii. 80-81) are imitated by Ronsard, Ecl. ii,

L'orage est dangereux aux herbes et aux fleurs,
La froideur de l'automne aux raisins qui sont meurs,
Les vents aux bleds d'avril; mais l'absence amoureuse
A l'amant qui soupire est tousjours dangereuse;

¹ Andreae Navagerii opera omnia, Volpi ed., Padua, 1718, p. 205.

by Baïf, Ecl. vii,

Hé, les vignes en fleur craignent la gresle dure,
Les arbrisseaux feuillus de l'yuer la froidure,
Et la gueule des loups est la mort des moutons :
Mais le cruel amour est la mort des garçons ;

by Guarini, 'Pastor Fido', i. 5,

Come il gelo alle piante, ai fior l'arsura,
La grandine alle spiche, ai semi il verme,
Le reti ai cervi, ed agli augelli il visco ;
Così nemico all' uom fu sempre Amore ;

and by William Becan, *Idyllia Sacra*, vi,

CH. Accipiter nidis, stabulis lupo, improba vulpes
Cortibus infesta est ; pueris amor atque puellis . . .
LY. Alitibus laquei, mendaces piscibus hami,
Retia caeca feris ; homini metuenda voluptas.¹

Lines 65-70 are imitated at the beginning of Navagero's
'Iolas':

Pascite, oves, teneras herbas per pabula laeta,
Pascite, nec plenis ignavae parcite campis :
Quantum vos tota minuetis luce, refectum
Fecundo tantum per noctem rore resurget.²
Hinc dulci distenta tumescent ubera lacte,
Sufficientque simul fuscellae et mollibus agnis.
Tu vero vigil, atque canum fortissime, Teucon,
Dum pascent illae late per prata, luporum
Incursus subitos saevasque averte rapinas.
Interea hic ego muscoso prostratus in antro
Ipse meos solus mecum meditabor amores.

And, through Navagero, the passage is echoed again at the
beginning of Ronsard's second Eclogue :³

Paissez, douces brebis, paissez ceste herbe tendre,
Ne pardonnez aux fleurs : vous n'en sçauriez tant prendre
Par l'espace d'un jour qu'en peu d'heures la nuit
Humide de rosée autant en ait produit.
De là vous deviendrez plus grasses et plus belles,
L'abondance de lait enflera vos mammelles,

¹ Antwerp ed., 1667, p. 312.

² Compare Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 201-202,

Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

³ There is a direct imitation at the end of Ronsard's fifth Eclogue (quoted above, p. 258).

Et suffirez assez pour nourrir vos aigneaux
 Et pour faire en tout temps des fromages nouveaux.
 Et toy, mon chien Harpaut, seure et fidelle garde
 De mon troupeau camus, leve l'oeil et pren garde
 Que je ne sois pillé par les loups d'alentour,
 Ce- pendant qu'en ce bois je me plaindray d'Amour.¹

Compare also the opening lines of Baïf's sixth Eclogue :

Paissez douces brebis ces herbeux pasturages,
 Paissez et n'espargnez de ces chams les herbages :
 Autant que tout le jour d'icy vous leuerez,
 Le lendemain autant vous y retrouuerez,
 Qui reuiendra la nuit : vos pis en abondance
 S'empliront de doux lait : de lait à suffisance
 Pour charger les paniers de fourmages nouveaux,
 Et donner à teter à vos petits agneaux.
 Robin, en cependant qu'elles broutent l'herbette,
 Mon bergerot, tes yeux hors du troupeau ne jette.
 Mais garde le moy bien, . .
 Tandis me reposant dessous cette aubespine,
 Sur ce tertre bossu, de ma chere Francine
 Les amours à par moy seul ie recorderay, etc.

With line 72, *σύνοφρος κόρα*, compare Tennyson's phrase in 'Oenone', "the charm of married brows."

With lines 82-84, *ἀδύ τι τὸ στόμα τοῖς*, compare Baïf, Ecl. xix (the umpire's verdict),

Pineau, j'aimeroiy mieux ouïr tes chansonnettes
 Que de sucer du miel : Tu auras ces Musettes :
 Car elles sont à toy de bonne et juste gain ;

Baïf, Ecl. x,

Le sucre est doux, l'ouvrage de l'abeille
 Est doux aussi : mais douce est à merveille
 Ta douce voix ;

Antonio Ferreira, Egloga vii, 'Daphnis',

Mel puro da tua doce boca mana,
 Meu Licidas, teus versos favos são ;

Gessner, Idylle vi, 'Lycas und Milon' (which is an imitation of Theocritus, viii), "Eure Lieder sind süß wie Honig"; and J. P. Hebel, 'Die Feldhüter',

'Friederli', seit der Heiner, 'gern issi Eyerer-Anke,
 Ziebele-Weihe so gern. Doch chönnti alles vergesse,
 hörî di liehligi Stimm und dini chünstlige Wise.'

¹ The whole of Ronsard's second Eclogue is a close imitation of Navagero's 'Iolas'. And the same thing may be said of Baïf's sixth.

With lines 88-89, οὐτως ἐπὶ ματέρα νεβροῦς δλοιτο, compare Gessner, Idylle xvi, 'Menalkas und Aeschines', "und der junge Hirt hüpfte vor Freuden, wie ein junges Lamm hüpfst."

Idyl IX. Lines 7-21 and 31-35 are paraphrased by Ronsard, Ecl. ii (ed. Blanchemain, vol. iv. pp. 52-54),

Douce est du rossignol la rustique chanson, etc.

With lines 15-21 compare Baïf, Ecl. xi,

Bel. I'ay pour tout mon yuer chez moy force chauffage,
Et quoy qu'il face froid ie n'en ay non plus cure
Qu' vn édenté du pain, quand il a du potage.

Guil. I'ay vne belle caue, où tant que l'esté dure
Mon bestail ie retire : et, bien que tout se sente
Du chaud qui grille tout, rien du chaud ie n'endure.

With lines 31-32, τρίτιξ μὲν τρίτιγι φίλος, compare Tennyson, 'Princess', iii. 88,

'The crane', I said, 'may chatter of the crane,
The dove may murmur of the dove, but I
An eagle clang an eagle to the sphere'.

With lines 33-35, τόσσον ἴμιν Μοῖσαι φίλαι, compare Ronsard, Ecl. i (p. 20),

Ny le printemps n'est point si plaisant aux fleurettes,
Ny la rosée aux prez, ny les blondes avettes
N'aiment tant à baiser les roses et le thin,
Que j'aime à celebrer les honneurs de Catin.

With lines 34-35, οὕτε μελίσσαις ἄνθεα, compare Gessner, Idylle xi (Daphnis und Chloe), "ich liebe dich, mehr als die Bienen die Blüten". Compare also the first of Nicholas Grimoald's 'Songes',

What sweet releef the showers to thirstie plants we see :
What dere delite, the blooms to beez : my trueloue is to mee,

a passage which seems to come from Navagero's 'Iolas',

Dulce apibus flores, rivi sitientibus herbis,
Gramen ovi, caprae cytissus, Amaryllis Iolae.

Idyl X. Paraphrased by Baïf, Ecl. xiv, 'Les Moissonneurs de Theocrite'.

With line 15, ἡ Πολυβώτα (and Id. xv. 1, ἔνδοι Πραξινοῖα), compare Sannazaro's second Latin Eclogue, line 18,

At non Praxinoë me quondam, non Polybotae
Filia despexit.

With lines 24-25, *ὅν γάρ χ' ἀψήσθε, θεαί, καλὰ πάντα ποιεῖτε*, compare Baif, Ecl. ii,

Pucelles, commencez: où vous touchez, pucelles,
Où vous mettez la main toutes choses sont belles.

Lines 24-37 are imitated in Leconte de Lisle's 'Péristèris,

Kastalides ! chantez l'enfant aux brunes tresses,
Dont la peau lisse et ferme a la couleur du miel,
Car vous embellissez la louange, ô Déesses ! . . .
Et ses pieds sont luisants comme des osselets . . .
Il faut aimer. Le thon aime les flots salés,
L'air plaît à l'hirondelle, et le cytise aux chèvres,
Et l'abeille camuse aime la fleur des blés.
Pour moi, rien n'est meilleur qu'un baiser de ses lèvres,

Lines 26-27 are imitated by Daniel Heinsius, 'Ecloga Bucolica Nordowicum',

Te tenuem nigramque et multo sole perustam
Improbis affirmat Lycidas: mihi pulchra videris, etc.

With lines 30-31, *ἀ αἶξ τὰν κύτισον*, compare Ronsard, Ecl. iii (p. 66),

La chevre suit le thym, le loup la chevre suit,
. et l'estrangere grue
Suit au printemps nouveau le train de la charrue.

Lines 32-35, *αἶθε μοι ἥς δόσσα Κροῖσον*, are imitated by Ronsard, 'Elegie à Marie',

Si j'estois un grand roy, pour eternal exemple
De fidele amitié, je bastirois un temple . . .
De marbre parien seroit vostre effigie,
Vostre robe seroit à plein fond eslargie
De plis recamez d'or, etc.

Idyl XI. Paraphrased by Luigi Alamanni, Egloga vi. An interesting turn is given to lines 67-68, *ἀ μάτηρ ἀδικεῖ με μόνα*,

l'impia tua madre auara
Del tuo male e del mio uol pur ch'io mora:
Ella mi biasma ogni hor, etc.

Paraphrased also by Ronsard, 'Le Cyclope amoureux', and Baif, Ecl. viii, 'Le Cyclope, ou Polyfeme amoureux' (in each case with details added from Ovid), by Mrs. E. B. Browning, 'The Cyclops', and Leconte de Lisle, 'Les Plaintes du Cyclope'. Translated by Leigh Hunt, 'The Cyclops.'

Lines 1-8 are imitated by Ronsard, 'Amours', ii. 58,

A Phebus, mon Grevin, tu es du tout semblable
De face et de cheveux, et d'art et de sçavoir, etc.

Lines 19-21 and 31-48 seem to be the model of Lorel's wooing in Ben Jonson's 'Sad Shepherd', ii. 1: "Deft mistress! whiter than the cheese new prest, Smoother than cream, and softer than the curds! Why start ye from me . . . And though my nose be camused . . . An hundred udders for the pail I have, That give me milk and curds, that make me cheese, To cloy the markets! . . . An aged oak . . . there grows afore my dur . . . Under whose shade I solace in the heat; . . . Twa trilland brooks . . . Before I pipe; for therein I have skill 'Bove other swineherds . . . Twa tyny urshins, and this ferret gay", etc.

Lines 42-49, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑνὸς ποθ' ἀμέ, are adapted and developed in Tennyson's "small sweet Idyl", toward the close of 'The Princess': "Come down, O maid, from yonder mountain height: What pleasure lives in height . . . For Love is of the valley, come thou down And find him; . . . and leave The monstrous ledges there to slope . . . but come; for all the vales Await thee; azure pillars of the hearth Arise to thee; the children call, and I Thy shepherd pipe", etc. Compare also line 38,

συρίσθεν δ' ὥς οὔτις ἐπίσταμαι ὧδε Κυκλώπων.

Lines 44-48. The cavern with the shaded entrance and the neighboring stream reappear in Navagero's 'Iolas',

Est mihi praeruptis ingens sub rupibus antrum,
Quod croceis hederæ circum sparsere corymbis,¹
Vestibulumque ipsum silvestris obumbrat oliva:
Hanc prope fons, lapide effusus qui desilit alto,
Defertur rauco per levia saxa susurro, etc.

And Navagero is imitated in his turn by Ronsard, Ecl. ii,

J'ay pour maison un antre en un rocher ouvert,
De lambrunche sauvage et d'hierre couvert, . . .
Un meslier nouailleux ombrage le portail, . . .
Du pied naist un ruisseau dont le bruit delectable
S'enrouë, entre-cassé de cailloux et du sable, etc.,

and Baïf, Ecl. vi, 'Les Amoureux',

I'ay vn bel antre creux entaillé dans la pierre,
De qui la belle entree est toute de lierre

¹ Compare Virgil, Ecl. v. 7.

Conuerte çà et là : trois sourceons de belle eau
Sourdans d'un roc percé font chacun son ruisseau,
Qui d'un bruit enroué sur le gramois murmure, etc.

Idyl XII. The first nine lines are imitated in Marcantonio Flaminio's 'Ianthis',¹

Venisti tandem, tandem mea sola voluptas
Venisti, et lucem miseræ vitamque tulisti.
Quantum vere nouo gaudet lasciuia capella,
Aestiuis quantum sitientes imbribus horti;
Tantum, Mopse, tuo reditu lætatur Ianthis. . .
Iam didici, quid sit iuuenem expectare morantem,
Expectans vna vel nocte puella senescit.

Lines 3-9 are imitated in Navagero's 'Iolas',

Quantum ver formosum hieme est iucundius atra,
Quantum mite pirum sorbis est dulcius ipsis,
Quantum hirsuta capella suo setosior hædo,
Quantum nocturnis obscuri vesperis umbris
Puniceo exurgens Aurora nitentior ortu est;
Tantum, Amarylli, aliis mihi carior ipsa puellis.²

And, through Navagero, the passage is reechoed in Nicholas Grimoald's song 'A trueloue',

As fresh and lusty vere foule winter doth exceed :
As morning bright, with scarlet sky, doth passe the euening's weed :
As melow pearres aboue the crabs esteemed be :
So doth my lone surmount them all, whom yet I hap to se ;

in Baïf's sixth Eclogue,

D'autant que du Printemps qui en May renouvelle
La joyeuse verdure plus que l'yuer est belle :
D'autant que du beau jour la lumière qui luit
Est plus claire que n'est l'obscurté de la nuit :
D'autant Francine aussi tu me sembles plus belle
Et plus chere tu m'es que nulle autre pucelle ;

and in Ronsard's second Eclogue,

D'autant que du printemps la plaisante verdure
Est plus douce aux troupeaux que la triste froidure,
D'autant qu'un arbre enté rend un jardin plus beau
Que le tige espineux d'un rude sauvageau . . .
Et d'autant qu'au matin la belle aube qui luit
Surmonte de clarté les ombres de la nuit ;
D'autant, ma Janeton, dessus toute pucelle
Tu sembles à mes yeux plus gentille et plus belle.

¹Carmina quinque illustrium Poetarum, Florentiae, 1552, p. 239.

²Compare Theocritus, Id. xviii. 26-28.

It is imitated also by George Buchanan, '*Desiderium Lutetiae*',

Quantum ver hyemem, vietum puer integer aevi,
Ter viduam thalamis virgo matura parentem,
Quam superat Durium Rhodanus,
Tantum omnes vincit Nymphas Amaryllis Iberas;

and by Daniel Heinsius, '*Thyrsis*,'

tanto reliquis dilectior Aegon
quanto pulchra suo capra est villosior agno.

Lines 11-33 are imitated by Ronsard, '*Elegie à Marie*' (vol. i. pp. 230-31),

D'âge en âge suivant, au retour de l'année.
Nous aurions près le temple une feste ordonnée, etc.

With lines 30-33 compare also Guarini's '*Pastor Fido*', ii. 1, where a girl from Megara proposes a contest in kissing, with a garland for a prize.

The twelfth Idyl is translated by Leigh Hunt, '*The Lover*'. For an early German version see Martin Opitz, '*Theocriti und Heinsii Aites*' (Poet. Wälder, Bk. v).

Idyl XIII. Paraphrased by Marcantonio Flaminio, '*De Hercule et Hyla*',

Quid mirare, tuo si regnat corde Lycinna,
Nec cessat tantis te cruciare malis?
Crede mihi, non solus amas, etc.

The opening lines, *ὅχι ἀμὴν τὸν Ἐρῶτα μόνους ἔτεχ'*, are paraphrased in Ronsard's '*Elegie à Muret*',

Non, Muret, non, ce n'est pas du jourd'huy
Que l'Archerot qui cause nostre ennuy
Cause l'erreur qui retrompe les hommes.
Non, Muret, non, les premiers nous ne sommes,
A qui son arc, d'un petit trait vainqueur,
Si grande playe a caché sous le coeur . . .
Hé qu'est-il rien que ce garçon ne brule?
Ce porte-ciel, ce tû-geans Hercule
Le sentit bien
Tousjours d'Iole il aimoit les beaux yeux,
Fust que le char qui donne jour aux cieux
Sortist de l'eau, ou fust que devalée
Tournast sa roue en la plaine salée, etc.

And they are imitated at the beginning of Tennyson's 'Godiva',

Not only we, the latest seed of Time,
New men, that in the flying of a wheel
Cry down the past, not only we, that prate
Of rights and wrongs, have loved the people well,
And loathed to see them overtax'd; but she
Did more, and underwent, and overcame,
The woman of a thousand summers back,
Godiva, wife to that grim Earl, who ruled
In Coventry.

The third line,

οὐχ ἄμιν τὰ καλὰ πρῶτοις καλὰ φαίνεται ἡμεν,

is translated among Poliziano's Latin epigrams,

Pulchra quidem nobis haud primis pulchra videntur.

Lines 16-60 are imitated in André Chénier's 'Hylas', and (very freely) in Leconte de Lisle's 'Hylas'.

With lines 34-35, *λειμὼν γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο*, compare Tennyson's afternoon picture, in 'The Lotos-Eaters', of a land with

many a winding vale
And meadow, set with slender galingale.

With lines 41-42 Fritzsche compares Io. Stigelius, 'Phryxus et Menalcas' (1553),

*pingue chelidonium molli cum gramine mentae:
hoc oculis praesens, haec vocis idonea nervis:
atque eadem variis morbis medicina selinon.¹*

Lines 58-60, *τρεῖς μὲν ὕλαν ἔδυσεν*, are alluded to in the first eclogue of J. C. Scaliger's 'Nymphae Indigenae',

*Ille ter inuisas pulsant nomine sylvas;
Hic mentita illi ter reddita vocis imago est,
Ter miser hic animum falsa spe lusit inanem.*

Idyl XIV. Lines 5-6, *Πυθαγορικτῆς, ὠχρὸς κένυπόδητος*, are imitated by André Chénier, 'La Jeune Locrienne',

un sage d'Italie,
Maigre, pâle, pensif, qui n'avait point parlé,
Pieds nus, la barbe noire, un sectateur zélé
Du muet de Samos qu'admire Métaponte.

¹ I have not yet seen the Eclogues of Stigelius. This passage suggests, and Fritzsche definitely says, that they owe a good deal to Theocritus.

Idyl XV. Translated by Leigh Hunt, 'The Syracusan Gossips; or, The Feast of Adonis'. Lines 100ff. are paraphrased by Leconte de Lisle, 'Le Retour d'Adonis'.

With lines 104-5, *βάρδισαι μακάρων Ὀραι φίλαι*, compare Tennyson, 'Love and Duty', 56,

The slow sweet hours that bring us all things good,

and the first of Mrs. Browning's 'Sonnets from the Portuguese',

I thought once how Theocritus had sung
Of the sweet years, the dear and wished for years,
Who each one in a gracious hand appears
To bear a gift for mortals, old or young.

With lines 120-22 compare Ronsard, Ecl. iii (Bellot's song),

Mille petits Amours ayant petites ailes
Voleront sur le lit comme és branches nouvelles
Des arbres au printemps revolent les oiseaux
Qui se vont esgayant de rameaux en rameaux.

Idyl XVI. 'E.K.' says of the October eclogue in Spenser's 'Shepherds Calender': "This Aeglogue is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi. Idilion . . . And the lyke also is in Mantuane". But Spenser's debt to Theocritus is exceedingly slight, while his debt to Mantuan is very large—that is, to Mantuan's fifth Eclogue, 'De Consuetudine Diuitum erga Poetas.'

With line 32,

ὥσεί τις μακίλα τετυλωμένος ἐνδοθεὶ χεῖρας,

H. Kynaston compares Tennyson, 'Maud', I. xviii. 4, "labour and the mattock-harden'd hand."

With lines 96-97, *ἀράχνια δ' εἰς δπλ' ἀράχνας | λεπτὰ διαστήσαντο*, compare the 'Chant de la Paix' in Remy Belleau's 'Bergerie',

et que l'araigne ourdisse
Sa fine trame és vuides morions.

Idyl XVII. With *ἔκλαγε . . . αἰετός*, line 71, compare Tennyson, 'The Princess', iii. 90,

but I
An eagle clang an eagle to the sphere.

Idyl XVIII. Imitated in Ronsard's 'Epithalame', Odes, iv. 2,

Quand mon prince espousa
Jeanne, divine race, etc.

Translated, line for line, by Hugo Grotius, 'Silvae', Bk. iii.

With line 8, ποσὶ περιπλέκεις, compare Tennyson's charm of "woven paces", 'Merlin and Vivien', 328.

Lines 26-37 are imitated by Ronsard, Ecl. iii (Perrot's song),

Comme une belle rose est l'honneur du jardin,
Qui aux rais du soleil est éclos au matin,
Ainsy Claudine l'est de toutes les bergeres,
Et les passe d'autant qu'un pin fait les fougères.
Nulle ne l'a gagnée à savoir façonner
Un chapelet de fleurs pour son chef couronner ;
Nulle ne sait mieux joindre au lys la fraîche rose,
Nulle mieux sur la gaze un dessein ne compose
De fil d'or et de soye, et nulle ne sçait mieux
Conduire de Pallas les arts ingénieux.

Lines 43-48 are imitated by Ronsard, 'Le Voyage de Tours' (Perrot's song),

Je veux soigneusement ce coudrier arroser
Et des chapeaux de fleurs sur ses feuilles poser ;
Et avecq' un poinçon je veux dessus l'escorce
Engraver de ton nom les six lettres à force,
A fin que les passans, en lisant : Marion,
Facent honneur à l'arbre entaillé de ton nom.

With line 48, σίβου μ' ἑλένας φυτόν εἰμί, Fritzsche compares Sannazaro, 'Arcadia', Egl. xii. 45,

Arbor di Phylli io son ; pastore, inclinati.

Lines 49-56 are quoted, and translated, in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, III. ii. 5. 5. And in an earlier section, on Artificial Allurements, there is an allusion to Helen's "sweet voice and musick", line 35.¹

Idyl XIX. Two early imitations of this little poem are quoted by A. Delboulle, 'Anacréon et les poèmes anacréontiques', Havre, 1891, pp. 128-29. One is by Colin Bucher, "poète angevin, mort en 1545, et qui, par conséquent, ne pouvait connaître le recueil de Henri Estienne" ; the other is by Jacques Bereau. It is translated by J. C. Scaliger, under the title 'Ex Moscho κηριοκλέπτης',

Dum cellas vexat digitis, furtimque pusilla
Surripit argutus mella Cupido manu, etc.

¹ Here Burton quotes two lines about the sweet voice of Daphnis (Id. viii. 82-3), and refers them to this same Idyl.

There is another early version (c. 1547) by Fabio Benvoglianti,¹

Mentre da dolci favi fura del mel dolce Cupido,
Volta al ladro un'ape punge la bella mano, etc.;

and Cipollini cites a paraphrase by Luigi Alamanni, 'Amore punto dalle Api'. The poem is borrowed in Alciati's *Emblemata*, 101,

Alveolis dum mella legit, percussit Amorem
Furacem mala apes, etc.;²

and translated by Andrea Dazzi, who died in 1548,

Nactus apes furax populat dum mella Cupido,
Praedantis digitos aspera punxit apis.
Indoluit, perflansque manum tellure repulsa
Matris Acidaliae constitit ante pedes, etc.³

It is imitated in Thomas Watson's *Ἑκατομπαθία*, 53, and the "annotation" mentions a Latin translation "by C. Vrcinus Velius in his *Epigrammes*:"

Nuper apis furem pupugit violenter Amorem, etc.

It is paraphrased also by Jacobus Micyllus, 'In furem Cupidinem.'⁴

Idyl XX. Translated by Baif, *Ecl. xii*, 'Le Pastoureau de Theocrite'. Imitated in the fifth eclogue of J. C. Scaliger's 'Nymphae Indigenae':

"Irrisit tumido Macare mea basia vultu,
Sordidaque increpuit: nec spem fugitiva reliquit.
Pastor amas? ego pastoris labia horrida tangam?
Tangam ego? non faciam. quid enim cum sordibus urbi?
Abstineas atque manum, setosaeque menta,
Me miseram: ut metuo, manus haec ne me inquinet atra. . .
Heu quam terribili feriunt tua lumina pulsu.
Rusticus es. teneras temerasti vocibus aures. . .
Sic ait, atque abiens gremium ter conspuat imum.
Ter spuit, et tacito secum ter murmurat ore. . .
Ergo alius videor nunc iam mihi. . .
Pastores ovium, teneraeque propaginis agnum,
Nonne ego sum magni Theramedae filius Alcon?
Quem vos formosum, quem Dii dixere beatum", etc.

¹ Quoted by Carducci, *La Poesia Barbara nei Secoli xv e xvi*, Bologna, 1881, p. 299.

² Lyons edition, 1564, p. 128.

³ *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italicorum*, Florence, 1719, vol. iv. p. 1.

⁴ *Anthologia poematum Latinorum aevi recentioris*, cur. A. Pauly, Tübingen, 1818, p. 174.

Imitated also in Hugo de Groot's 'Myrtilus': compare lines 19-32 with "Heu! quis mutavit mihi te Deus? . . . ne fallite nautae, Sumne alius quam nuper eram . . . Heu placeo Nymphis: ~~et non~~ tibi: sola marinos Despicias amplexus crudelis, et oscula vitas."

Lines 34-39 are imitated by Baldessar Castiglione, 'Stanze Pastorali', xii,

Vener ne' boschi accompagnar solea
Il suo amante, e là spesso s'addormia,
La Luna, ch'è su'n ciel sì bella dea,
Un pastorello per amor seguia, etc.;

and lines 31-36 by Pietro Angelio Bargeo, Ecl. ii,

Quin etiam ingenti fastu nos despicias, omnem
Quod vitam in silvis inter spelaea ferarum,
Noctis et insomnes sub dio ducimus horas.
At non cultorem nemorum Venus aurea Adonim
Sprevit, et amplexus setosaeque brachia fugit.¹

Idyl XXI. With lines 1-2, 'Α περιία, Διόφαντε, compare the beginning of Remy Belleau's eclogue 'Le Pescheur',

Gentille Pauvreté, secours de nostre vie,
Nourrice des vertus, mere de l'industrie, etc.

The singer of 'Le Pescheur' explains "qu'vn vieil Marinier Sicilien luy auoit appris le suget de ceste complainte avec vne infinité d'autres"; and then he is persuaded to repeat another poem, 'Les Pescheurs'. But these two piscatory eclogues owe much more to Sannazaro than to Theocritus.²

With lines 8-12 Fritzsche compares Sannazaro's third Latin Eclogue,

Raraque per longos pendebant retia remos:
Ante pedes cistaeque leues hamique iacebant,
Et calami nassaeque et viminei labyrinthi.

And the same passage is imitated in Hugo Grotius' 'Myrtilus',

Est mihi namque domi non inuidiosa supellex,
Fiscellae virides, nodosaeque texta plagarum:
Filaque, et haerentes maculis humentibus algae,
Cum labyrintho plexis errore sagenis, etc.

¹ Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italicorum, Florence, 1719, vol. i. p. 206.

² F. Torraca, *Gl' Imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*, Rome, 1882, pp. 54-58. Torraca smiles at one of Belleau's editors for calling the 'Arcadia' a poem. But even the Fritzsche-Hiller edition of Theocritus can speak of "das Gedicht Arcadia" (Leipsic, 1881, p. 25).

Idyl XXII. Freely used by Ronsard, Hymnes, i. 3, 'De Pollux et de Castor.'

Lines 20-22 were quoted in the 'Mantice' of Pontus de Tyard:

Deçà, delà, par l'air toute Nuée fuit:
Et derechef au Ciel l'une et l'autre Ourse luit:
Mesmes les deux Asnons, avec leur creche obscure
Se descourans à clair, de bonace future
Font signe aux Mariniers.¹

Lines 48-50, *ἐν δὲ μύες στερεοῖσι βραχίονι*, have been compared with Tennyson's simile, 'Marriage of Geraint', 76,

And arms on which the standing muscle sloped,
As slopes a wild brook o'er a little stone,
Running too vehemently to break upon it.

Tennyson, however, resented this comparison, and maintained that his simile is different (Eversley ed., 1908, iii. 469).

Idyl XXIII. Paraphrased by Baïf, 'Amour Vangeur'; imitated by La Fontaine, Fables, xii. 24, 'Daphnis et Alcimadure.'

Lines 28-34, *καὶ τὸ ῥόδον καλὸν ἐστὶ*, are imitated by Pietro Angelio Bargeo, Ecl. ii,

Et rosa, purpureo quae se commendat honore
Mane virens, multo languescit pallida Sole.
Languescunt violae, languescunt lilia, cum se
Extulerunt primum et canas liquere pruinas.
Sic etiam, forma quae nunc anteire Napaeis
Diceris, amisso flebis mox flore iuventae.
Et veniet (mihi crede) dies, cum te quoque saevus
Uret amor, cum te dolor ulciscetur amantem.

Idyl XXIV. Lines 1-33 are paraphrased by Leconte de Lisle, 'L'Enfance d'Héraklès'.

With lines 38-40 compare Joannes Auratus, 'De mirabili Reginae matris Viso',

Visa columna micans flammis de nocte parenti
Regis, materno cor micuitque metu,
Quale quod Alcmenae turbanit pectora visum,
Cum tener elisit monstra gemella puer.²

¹Quoted in the Appendix of Marty-Laveaux's edition of Pontus de Tyard, Paris, 1875, p. 232.

²Ioannis Aurati Lemouicis Poetae et Interpretis Regii Poëmatis, Lutetiae Parisior., 1586, p. 214. This is Jean Dorat, or Daurat, the first name in the French Pleiad. He wrote also a French version of this poem, which may be seen in Marty-Laveaux's edition, Paris, 1875, p. 20.

Idyl XXV. Lines 85 ff. are paraphrased by Leconte de Lisle, 'Hèraklès au Taureau'.

Idyl XXVI. With line 1, ἡ μαλοπάραυος Ἀγαία, compare Tennyson, 'The Islet', "a bevy of Eroses apple-cheek'd".

Lines 1-25 are paraphrased by Leconte de Lisle, 'La Mort de Penthée'.

Idyl XXVII. Translated by Baif, Ecl. xviii, 'Le Satyreau', by Hugo Grotius, *Silvae*, iii, by André Chénier, 'Oaristys', by Le Brun, 'L'Oaristys, ou Dialogue amoureux entre Daphnis et une Bergère'.

With line 63,

Ἄρτεμι, μὴ νεμέσα σέο ῥήμασιν οὐκέτι πιστῇ,

compare Tasso, 'Aminta', i. 1,

e dissi sospirando:

Eccoti, Cintia, il corno, eccoti l'arco;

Ch'io rinunzio i tuoi studj e la tua vita.

Idyl XXVIII. Imitated by Ronsard, 'La Quenouille' (in the second book of his *Amours*).

With line 8, ἐλέφαντος πολυμόχθω, compare Tennyson's "laborious orient ivory", in the Prologue to 'The Princess'.

The name Theugenis, line 13, is borrowed by Leconte de Lisle, 'Les Bucoliastes'.

Epigram I, τὰ ῥόδα τὰ δροσόεντα. Translated by Hugo Grotius, Epigram. i, and by Leigh Hunt, 'Dedication of a Rural Spot and Altar'.¹

With line 6,

τερμίνθου τρώγων ἑσχατον ἀκρέμονα,

compare Spenser, 'Shepheards Calender', vii. 86, "and Teribinth, good for Gotes". Here 'E. K.' remarks that Theocritus speaks of terebinth, and then he misquotes this Epigram:

τερμίνθου τράγων εἰκατον ἀκρέμονα.

Epigram V, Ἀῆς ποτὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν. Translated by Leigh Hunt, 'The Rural Concert', and prettily turned in Leconte de Lisle's 'Symphonie',

Au nom des Muses! viens sous l'ombre fraîche et noire!

Voici ta double flûte et mon pektis d'ivoire.

Daphnis fera sonner sa voix claire, et tous trois,

¹ Grotius translated also Epigrams III, IV and XX. His four versions are borrowed in Daniel Heinsius' edition of Theocritus, 1604, Heinsius himself translating the remaining Epigrams. Leigh Hunt translated also Epigrams IV and V.

Près du roc dont la mousse a verdi les parois,
D'où Naïs nous écoute, un doigt blanc sur la lèvre,
Empêchons de dormir Pan aux deux pieds de chèvre.

ΕΙΣ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ ΑΔΩΝΙΝ. This poem of doubtful authorship is paraphrased by Antonio Minturno, 'De Adonide ab apro interempto'.¹ And Cipollini cites a translation by Benedetto Varchi (c. 1539).

BION.

Idyl I. 'Αδώνιδος 'Επιτάφιος. The first Idyl is paraphrased by Luigi Alamanni, Egloga, x, in the songs of Dafni and Dameta—with acknowledgments to the "Sicilian Poeta" from whom these songs were learned:

O fortunato vecchio, almo pastore
Per cui Sicilia eternamente ha vita,²
Et Syracuse tua perpetua lode, etc.

Compare, for example, lines 63-74 with the beginning of Dameta's song.

O santa Madre il bello Adone è morto.
O Vener bella ch'altrettanto pianto
Versi da gli occhi ch'ei dal fianco sangue,
Et ciascun nel cader la terra adorna,
Che quel fa bianchi fior, quest' altro rose.
Piangiamo Adon che'l bello Adone è morto.
Lascia ó bella Cyprignia il bosco homai
Ch'assai pianto & honor porta il tuo sposo.
Vedi hor composto Adon per nostre mani
Sopra il purpureo letto, il letto antico
Che gia fu di uoi due sostegno spesso.
Vedi ch'è morto, e morto è bello anchora
Tal che non morto anzi dormir ne sembra, etc.

Lines 42-53 and 64-66 are translated in Baif's ninth Eclogue:

Demeure, Adon, demeure, à fin que ie t'acole
Ceste derniere fois, et que ie me console
De ce dernier baiser: repren coeur mon Adon:
Que ie reçoive au moins de toy ce dernier don: . . .
Venus de ses doux yeux autant de pleurs larmoye

¹ Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 1719, vol. vi. p. 319.

² Compare Lowell's fine sentence, 'Harvard Anniversary', "The garners of Sicily are empty now, but the bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden-plot of Theocritus". Alamanni doubtless regarded the 'Αδώνιδος 'Επιτάφιος as the work of Theocritus. It was printed ('sine nomine') in the Aldine edition of the Idyls, 1495, and definitely ascribed to Theocritus in the Juntine edition, 1515.

Qu' Adon perd de son sang, qui de sa playe ondoie,
 Et tout degoutte en terre, où du sang et des pleurs
 A coup (miracle grand !) naissent de belles fleurs, etc.

Lines 64-66 and 79-85 are imitated in the second Eclogue of Remy Belleau's 'Bergerie':

Puis on voit sur le flanc dans le creux d'une oualle,
 Sur un tapis de fleurs de couleur iaune et palle
 Le pitoyable Adon estendu de son long,
 Venus assise aupres, qui en larmes se fond,
 Versant d'un oeil terni plus de pluye nouvelle,
 Que ne coule de sang par la playe cruelle,
 Et ne s'espand en vain: car de luy et des pleurs
 Se naist une moisson de roses et de fleurs . . .
 On voit autour du corps mille et mille Amoureux . . .
 Les autres vont versant de cruches azurees
 De l'eau pour le lauer, et de leurs doigts marbrins
 Nettoient à l'enui les membres yuoirins . . .
 Un autre est si bien mis sur le corps endormi . . .
 Tant doucement et bien il esuente ce corps,
 Qu'on voit presque mouuoir les membres desia morts.

This first Idyl of Bion is the chief model of Shelley's 'Adonais': "I weep for Adonais—he is dead! . . . For he is gone where all things wise and fair Descend. . . . He lies as if in dewy sleep he lay. . . . The quick Dreams, . . . mourn their lot . . . And one . . . fans him with her moonlight wings, . . . One from a lucid urn of starry dew Washed his light limbs, . . . Another clipt her profuse locks, . . . Another in her wilful grief would break Her bow and wingèd reeds, . . . 'Wake thou', cried Misery, 'childless Mother, rise Out of thy sleep, and slake in thy heart's core A wound more fierce than his, with tears and sighs'. . . . Out of her secret Paradise she sped, . . . Whose sacred blood, like the young tears of May, Paved with eternal flowers that undeserving way. . . . 'Stay yet awhile! speak to me once again! Kiss me, so long but as a kiss may live! And in my heartless breast and burning brain That word, that kiss, shall all thoughts else survive, With food of saddest memory kept alive . . . O gentle child, beautiful as thou wert, Why didst thou leave the trodden paths of men Too soon, and with weak hands though mighty heart Dare the unpastured dragon in his den?' "1

¹Shelley made actual translations (both incomplete) of the Lament for Adonis and the Lament for Bion. These are printed in H. B. Forman's edition, vol. iv. p. 232 and p. 235.

The poem is imitated by John Oldham, 'The Lamentation for Adonis', and paraphrased by Mrs. E. B. Browning, 'A Lament for Adonis'.

Idyl IV, Ἰξενρὰς ἔτι κῶρος. Imitated by Ronsard, 'L'Amour Oyseau', and by Baïf, 'Amour oyseau'. It seems to be imitated also in Spenser's 'Shepherds Calender', iii. 61 ff., as 'E. K.' observed: "This Aeglogue seemeth somewhat to resemble that same of [Theocritus] wherein the boy likewise telling the old man, that he had shot at a winged boy in a tree, was by hym warned to beware of mischief to come."

Idyl V, Ἀ μεγάλα μοι Κύπρις. Paraphrased by Ronsard, Odes, v. 22; imitated by André Chénier, Idylles, vii, 'L'Amour et le Berger'; translated by Leigh Hunt, 'The Teacher Taught'. Ronsard's paraphrase is itself translated by Martin Opitz, Ode ix, 'Auss Ronsardts Erfindung'.

Idyl VI, Ταὶ Μοῖσαι τὸν Ἔρωτα. Translated by Ronsard, Odes, ii. 23,

Escoute, du Bellay, ou¹ les Muses ont peur
De l'enfant de Venus, ou l'aiment de bon coeur,
Et tousjours pas à pas accompagnent sa trace, etc.,

by Baïf, 'De l'amitié d'Amour et des Muses',

Les Muses Soeurs Amour ne craignant pas
Bien que cruel, le suivent pas à pas,
Et de coeur franc le cherissent, etc.,

and by André Chénier, Elégies, i. 6,

Mais non, le dieu d'amour n'est point l'effroi des Muses;
Elles cherchent ses pas, elles aiment ses ruses, etc.

Idyl XI, Ἐσπερε, τὰς ἀπαρὰς. Translated by Ronsard, Odes, iv. 17, and by Baïf, 'Diverses Amours',

De l'aimable Cypris ô lumière doree, etc.

Borrowed by Baïf, 'Le premier des Meteores',

La Lune ne luit point, montre toy clair et beau.
Si par l'obscur nuit ie me suis mis en voye,
Ce n'est pour dérober, ce n'est que j'eusse joye
D'outrager le passant, c'est que suis amoureux, etc.

¹ Ronsard and Baïf are here following different texts. The former translates ἡ φοβέονται | ἡκ θυμῷ φιλέοντι, the latter οὐ φοβέονται.

Borrowed also by Io. Bapt. Amaltheus, 'Daphnis',

Non ego Amazonia munitus colla bipenni,
Qua nocturnus iter per devia lustra viator
Implicit, incursus meditor
Nec mea furtivos vertam ad praesepia tauros . . .
Sed me, dum prono cogis vaga sidera coelo,
Iussit Amor dulci subducere lumina somno,
Atque Hyalen media furtim praevertere silva.¹

Translated by Antonio Mario (contemporary of Fracastoro), 'Ad Vesperam',

O sidus almae Cypridis,
O noctis aureum decus, etc.²

Imitated by André Chénier, 'Poésies antiques', ix, "Bel astre de Vénus", etc., and translated by Leigh Hunt, 'To the Evening Star'. The closing lines are imitated by Carducci, 'A Diana Trivia',

Non tra quest' ombre io la vendetta affretto
Già meditata; il casto raggio odiando,
Non io prorompo a invadere co'l brando
Cognato petto.
Io amo, etc.

MOSCHUS.

Idyl I, *Ἔρως ἀπαίρητος*. Translated into Latin verse by Poliziano, 'Amor fugitivus, ex Graeco Moschi,' and, through Poliziano, into Italian by Hieronymo Benivieni³ and into English by Spenser, though Spenser's translation is lost. Translated also by Baïf, 'A Mademoiselle Victoire' (Poèmes, v.), and by Barnabe Barnes (c. 1593), 'The first Eidillion of Moschus describing Love'. Closely imitated by Girolamo Angeriano, 'De seipso

¹ Published in Broukhusius' edition of the Latin works of Sannazaro, Amsterdam, 1728, pp. 390-92.

² Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 1720, vol. vi. p. 250.

³ 'Amore fugitivo di Mosco poeta graeco tradotto in lingua latina per M. Agnolo Politiano e di latina in toscana per Hyeronymo Beniuieni', Opere di Hieronymo Beniuieni, Firenze, 1519, p. 121.

⁴ "But who liste more at large to behold Cupids colours and furniture, let him reade ether Propertius, or Moschus his Idyllion of *winged love*, being now most excellently translated into Latine, by the singuler learned man Angelus Politianus: whych worke I have seene, amongst other of thys Poets doings, very wel translated also into English Rymes", 'E. K'., on the 'Shepheards Calender', iii. 79.

et Venere',¹ and Antonio Ferreira, 'Amor fugido. De Moscho'; less closely by Sannazaro, 'De Amore fugitivo', Gil Vicente, 'Fragoa d'Amor', Clément Marot, 'D'Amour fugitiv, Invention de Marot', T. Tasso, 'Amore fuggitivo', Ben Jonson, 'Hue and Cry after Cupid', Gio. Battista Giraldi, 'Ad Venerem', and Benedetto Lampridio, 'De Venere et Cupidine fugitivo'.² And there is a translation by George Turberville (1567), "What time the ladie Venus lost hir little sonne", etc.

Sannazaro's imitation, which is very slight, is found in a ten-line Latin epigram (ii. 59). This is itself translated by Desportes, 'Les Amours d'Hippolyte', iii, and by an anonymous Italian writer (before 1539) quoted by Carducci, 'La Poesia Barbara nei Secoli xv e xvi', p. 256.

Idyl II, Εὐρώπη ποτὶ Κίπρις. Paraphrased by Baif, 'Le Rauissement d'Europe' (Poèmes, ix).

The opening lines are imitated by George Buchanan, 'Fratres Fraterrimi', xxxiv:

Mane sub auroram nitidae vicinia lucis
Pallida venturo cum facit astra die,
Arctior irriguos somnus complectitur artus,
Demulcens placido languida membra sinu, etc.

The fancy of the strife between the two Continents, lines 8 ff., is borrowed by Ronsard, Odes, iii. 15,

La nuit que ce prince nouveau
De nos dieux augmenta la trope,
On vid autour de son berceau
Se battre l'Afrique et l'Europe, etc.

The description of Europa's basket, lines 44-62, is borrowed by Ronsard, Ecl. iii,

Tout ce gentil panier est portrait par-dessus
De Mercure et d'Io, et des cent yeux d'Argus.
Io est peinte en vache et Argus en vacher . . .
De son sang naist un paon, etc.,

and imitated by Ronsard, Odes, iii. 20, 'De la Défloration de Lede',

Et, studieuse des fleurs,
En sa main un panier porte
Peint de diverses couleurs,
Et peint de diverse sorte, etc.

¹ Poetae tres elegantissimi, Parisiis, 1582, pt. 2, pp. 17-18.

² Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 1719, v. 385 and vi. 29.

Lines 72-166 are translated by André Chénier (éd. Jouaust, 1884, pp. 291-93); and the whole poem is imitated by Le Brun, 'Europe', and Leconte de Lisle, 'L'Enlèvement d'Européia'.

Idyl III, Βίωνος Ἐπιτάφιος. The third Idyl is imitated in the eleventh Eclogue of Sannazaro's 'Arcadia'. The opening lines of the Italian poem are closely copied from the Greek, and the refrain is borrowed—"Ricominciate, o Muse, il vostro pianto". Compare (with line 3) "Piangi, colle sacrato, opaco, e fosco, . . . Piangete Faggi, e Quercie alpestri, . . . Lacrimate voi fiumi ignudi, . . . (6-7) Piangi, Hyacintho, le tue belle spoglie, E raddoppiando le querele antiche Descrivi i miei dolor nelle tue foglie . . . (99) Ai, ai, seccan le spine, e poi ch'un poco Son state a ricovrar l'antica forza, Ciascuna torna, e nasce al proprio loco. Ma noi, poichè una volta il ciel ne sforza, . . . (116) Felice Orfeo, . . . (70) Ma tu, ben nato avventuroso Fiume, . . . Quel fu'l primo dolor, quest' è'l secondo. . . . (104) quel duro eterno inexcitabil sonno" (εὐδομος εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον).¹

It is paraphrased bodily by Luigi Alamanni, Egloga ii, a lament for Cosmo Rucellai—the "Tuscan Orpheus" for whom the "Tuscan river" now mourns as of old it mourned for Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio. Compare, for example, lines 99-104, αἰαῖ, τὰ μαλάχαι, with

Le liete rose, le fresche herbe e uerdi,
Le uiolette, i fior uermigli e' i persi
Bene han la vita lor caduca e frale,
Ma l'aure dolci, i sol benigni e l'acque
Rendon gli spirti lor che d'anno in anno
Tornan piu che mai belli al nuouo aprile,
Ma (lassi) non virtù, regni, o thesoro
À noi render porrian quest' alma luce.²

It is imitated in Castiglione's 'Alcon'.³ With lines 26-29 compare

Heu miserande puer! tangunt tua funera divos.
Per nemora agricolae flentes videre Napaeas,
Panaque, Silvanumque, et capripedes Satyriscos.

¹ The last two Prose and Egloghe of the 'Arcadia' seem to have been written later than the rest of the work. At any rate, they were not published till 1504. The Lament for Bion was printed (without Moschus' name) in the Aldine edition of Theocritus, Venice, 1495, fol. xx, i.

² Lines 37-44 are parodied in Alamanni's Latin eclogue 'Melampus', to describe the grief of a Nymph at the death of a favorite hound, Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 1719, vol. i. p. 451.

³ Opere Volgari e Latine del Conte Baldessar Castiglione, ed. Volpi, Padua, 1733, pp. 335-38.

With lines 31-32 compare

Arboribus cecidere comae, spoliataque honore est
Silva suo; solitasque negat pastoribus umbras.

Lines 65-66 are echoed in

Heu miserande puer! tecum solatia ruris,
Tecum Amor, et Charites periere, et gaudia nostra.

With lines 99-104, *alaî, τὰι μαλάχαι*, compare

Vomeribus succisa suis moriuntur in arvis
Gramina: deinde iterum viridi de cespite surgunt:
Rupta semel non deinde annectunt stamina Parcae.

It is imitated in Clément Marot's 'Complainte de Madame Loyse de Savoye' (1531). Compare (with line 32), "Fueilles et fructz des arbres abbatirent; . . . (37) Et les Daulphins bien jeunes y pleurerent. . . . (23-24) Bestes de proye et bestes de pasture, Tous animaulx Loyse regretterent, . . . (46-48) Sur l'arbre sec s'en complaint Philomene; L'aronde en faict cris piteux et trenchans; . . . (58) Nymphes et dieux de nuict en grand' destresse La vindrent veoir", and (with lines 99 ff.),

D'où vient cela qu'on veoit l'herbe sechante
Retourner vive alors que l'esté vient,
Et la personne au tumbeau trebuschante,
Tant grande soit, jamais plus ne revient?

And, through Marot, some of Moschus' imagery is repeated in Spenser's 'Shepheards Calender', xi. Compare lines 29-32 with

The faded lockes fall from the loftie oke,
The flouds do gaspe, for dried is theyr sourse,
And flouds of teares flowe in theyr stead perforce:¹
The mantled meadowes mourne . . .
The feeble flocks in field refuse their former foode, etc.;

and lines 99 ff. with

Whence is it, that the flouret of the field doth fade,
And lyeth buried long in Winters bale;
Yet, soone as spring his mantle hath displayde,
It floureth fresh, as it should never sayle?
But thing on earth that is of most availe,
As vertues branch and beauties budde,
Reliven not for any good.

¹ καὶ ὕδατα δάκρυα γέντο. This is not in Marot, who says only, "Plusieurs ruyseaux tous à sec demourerent."

Two passages are imitated by Antonio Ferreira, Egloga vii. Compare lines 37-44, *οὐ τόσον εἰσαλάϊσαι παρ' αἰόσι*, with

Não tanto o Delphim lá no mar chorava,
Nao tanto Philomela lamentou,
Não tanto Ariadne aos ventos se queixava,
Nem tanto Císue em morte pranteou . . .
Quanto Daphnis choráram, e nós choremos,
Versos a Daphnis, doces versos demos ;

and lines 99-104, *αἰαῖ, ταί μαλάχαι*, with

Ah, que a Malva, e a Ortiga reverdece ;
D'hum dia n'outro torna outra herva nova,
Séca-se o campo, com Abril florece,
Mayo cad'anno a pintura renova . . .
Nós pera sempre desaparecemos.

Lines 26-56 are paraphrased by Pietro Angelio Bargeo, Ecl. iv, a lament for Benedetto Varchi,

Te Satyri Panesque leves te, candide Varchi,
Suspirant Dryades, atraque in veste Napaeae.
Inque antris specubusque imis in vallibus Echo
Muta silet, queriturque tacens secum ipsa, doletque
Quod nequeat dulces audire ac reddere voces
Laeta tuas,
Quas olim numeris volucres mulcebat amatis,
Quas olim in silvis versus cantare docebat
Luscinias, nunc illae inter fruticeta sedentes
Certatim ad luctus lamentaque dura loquaces
Hortantur picas, etc.

Lines 28-32 are imitated by Baïf, 'Du trepas de Marguerite de Valoys Royne de Nauarre' (Poèmes, vii),

Qui ne veit nos forests de leur gay vestement
Adonc se denuer? qui n'ouit hautement
Redoubler les rochers en clameurs violentes
Les miserables cris de nos plaintes dolentes
D'un egal sentiment?
Quel fleuve, quel ruisseau ne veit-on ondoyer
Plus trouble, et plus enflé du piteux larmoyer
Des Nymphes se plaignans aux sources des fontaines?

The poem is imitated again in the "Doric lay" of Milton's 'Lycidas'. Compare lines 1-7 with

return Sicilian muse,
And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
Their bells and flowerets of a thousand hues . . .
To strow the laureate hearse where Lycid lies,

and lines 28-32 with "Thee, shepherd, thee the woods, and desert caves . . . And all their echoes mourn."

It is imitated also in Shelley's 'Adonais': "Most musical of mourners, weep again! . . . And others came, . . . All he had loved, . . . lamented Adonais. . . . Lost Echo sits amid the voiceless mountains, And feeds her grief with his remembered lay, . . . Grief made the young Spring wild, and she threw down Her kindling buds, . . . Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale, Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain; Not so the eagle, . . . Ah, woe is me! Winter is come and gone, But grief returns with the revolving year. The airs and streams renew their joyous tone; etc., . . . Our Adonais has drunk poison—oh What deaf and viperous murderer could crown Life's early cup with such a draught of woe?"

Lines 102-104, *ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες*, are echoed in Wordsworth's 'After-Thought (Duddon)':

While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish.

Compare, further, with lines 99 ff., the elaborate passage in Matthew Arnold's 'Thyrsis': "Soon will the high midsummer pomps come on, Soon will the musk carnations break and swell, . . . But Thyrsis never more we swains shall see". And with lines 115-126 compare Arnold's next two stanzas: "But when Sicilian shepherds lost a mate, Some good survivor with his flute would go, Piping a ditty sad for Bion's fate; . . . And flute his friend, like Orpheus, from the dead. Oh, easy access to the hearer's grace When Dorian shepherds sang to Proserpine! For she herself had trod Sicilian fields, . . . She loved the Dorian pipe, the Dorian strain", etc.

The whole poem is paraphrased by John Oldham, 'Bion. A Pastoral. In Imitation of the Greek of Moschus, bewailing the Death of the Earl of Rochester. Ann. 1680'; and translated by Leigh Hunt, 'On the Death of Bion, the Herdsman of Love'.

After all its influence upon the greater literatures of the modern world, the Lament for Bion has been pronounced "ein unbedeutendes Gedicht".¹ This is the verdict of Professor Wilamowitz, who lately edited Moschus for the Oxford Classical

¹ Bion von Smyrna, Adonis, deutsch und griechisch, Berlin, 1900, p. 9.

Texts. Surely it must cause some surprise in the land of Milton and Shelley and Arnold, for

the weeping
For Adonais by the summer sea,
The plaints for Lycidas, and Thyrsis (sleeping
Far from "the forest ground called Thessaly"),
These hold thy memory, Bion, in their keeping,
And are but echoes of the moan for thee.¹

Idyl V, τὰν θα τὰν γλαυκὰν. Translated by Leigh Hunt, 'Sea and Land', and by Shelley. Imitated by Le Brun, *Élégies*, iv. 2,

Quand à mes yeux séduits la Mer paraît sourire, etc.

Idyl VI, "Ἥρωτο Πάν 'Αχῶς τὰς γείτονας. Translated by Shelley, "Pan loved his neighbour Echo", etc. Imitated by Pietro Angelio Bargeo, 'Amores non amores',

**Pulcher Hylas Acmen, Acme pulcherrima Daphnia
Deperit, et Daphnia Chlorida, Chloris Hylan, etc.**

Quoted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III. ii. §. 5, "*Pan loved Echo, Echo Satyrus, Satyrus Lyda* :

**Quantum ipsorum aliquis amantem oderat,
Tantum ipsius amans odiosus erat.**

They love and loath of all sorts: he loves her, she hates him, and is loathed of him on whom she dotes."

Idyl VII, 'Αλφειὸς μετὰ Πίσαν. Borrowed in Baif's ninth Eclogue:

Et pres Pise se jette aux vagues de la mer
. . . et luy porte en tout temps,
En tout temps son eau douce, et des fleurs au Printemps
Pour dons de son amour : sans qu'il mesle son onde
Avec l'onde marine où elle est plus profonde.
O qu'Amour est peruers et faux petit garçon,
Qui les fleuves apprend à faire le plonjon !

Idyl VIII, Δαμπαδα θείε καὶ τόξα. Translated by Poliziano, 'In Amorem arantem', and by André Chénier, 'L'Amour laboureur.'

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

¹ Andrew Lang, 'Bion.'

II.—LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE SHĀHBĀZGARHI AND MANSEHRA REDACTIONS OF ASOKA'S FOURTEEN-EDICTS.

FIRST PART.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

In the following investigations certain facts are presupposed, to wit: that the language of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions is practically identical (see Johansson, *Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-redaktion*, i, p. 123, 9 of the reprint, and that the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original, of which the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions are translations, has left linguistic traces in these (see Johansson, *ibidem* ii, p. 26; Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 109).

As the solutions of the problems we are to take up depends upon these postulates, it is clearly our duty before proceeding to the problems themselves, to indicate to the reader the general character of the linguistic traces left by the 'Māgadhan' original, and how they are to be recognized.

It is agreed that the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts was essentially the same as the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugada, and Kālsī recensions of these edicts, the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts, etc. These are styled 'Māgadhan' because Indic *r* appears as *l*, and original final *-as* becomes *-e* in all of them, but the term 'Māgadhan' must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prākṛit grammarians: this has a number of special features not shared by the dialects called 'Māgadhan'. It should be noted, however, that although the dialect of the Kālsī redaction is essentially 'Māgadhan', yet it possesses some very marked characteristics of its own.¹

The linguistic traces left by the 'Māgadhan' original in the two versions we are studying are to be recognized in the following way: Where we have two products in the Shāhbāzgarhi and

¹ Franke also recognizes that the dialect of the Kālsī recension varies considerably from the 'Māgadhan'. In edicts i–ix the dialect is practically pure 'Māgadhan'; in edicts x–xiv the local peculiarities are prominent. The other 'Māgadhan' dialects differ from one another in a few minor points.

Mansehra redactions from one Indic sound (or two combinations of sounds corresponding to one Indic combination), and two inflectional forms corresponding to one Indic inflectional form, when we find one of these products and one of the inflectional forms—and no other phonetic product or inflectional form—in the Dhauli recension, etc., corresponding to the same Indic sound (or combinations of sounds) and inflectional form, then the phonetic product or inflectional form found in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions but also in the Dhauli version, etc. is to be considered as due to the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original. (The same principle holds good in determining the 'Māgadhisms' of the Girnār version of the Fourteen-Edicts, etc.). For example, Indic *ṛ* becomes *l* in the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kalsi recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts, the various redactions of the Pillar-Edicts, but remains *ṛ* in the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra texts in the vast majority of cases: hence the few isolated instances where we find *l* for Indic *ṛ* in these two texts, can be ascribed with certainty to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original; a case in point is Shb. and Mans. *sala-* (Sanskrit *sāra-*). Again, corresponding to Sanskrit *sarva-* we find mostly *savra-* (merely graphically for *sarva-*) in the Shb. text, though also *sava-* (graphically for *savra-*): but as soon as we see that *sava-*, and *sava-* only, is the correspondent to Sanskrit *sarva-* in the Dhauli and Jaugada recensions, we are assured that *sava-* of the Shāhbāzgarhi text is due to the 'Māgadhan' original. The fact that in the Mansehra text *savra-* is the sole correspondent to Sanskrit *sarva-* is an absolutely clinching argument for this view. Yet we would be reasonably certain without this support. Similarly the locative singular of *a-* stems in *-asi* is a 'Māgadhism', while that in *-aspi* is native to the dialect of the two texts that we are investigating. Likewise the optative *yeham* in the Mansehra redaction is a 'Māgadhism', see Franke, l. c., 114. A number of other cases could be easily cited, but for our purpose these are sufficient.

There is a point concerning these 'Māgadhisms' that is of special interest to us in our investigations, namely, it is a well recognized fact that in the Mansehra redaction certain 'Māgadhisms' have completely supplanted the native forms; thus the 'Māgadhan' gerundive termination *laviya-* has completely usurped the place of the native *lava-*; similarly *-jin-* in the weakest cases of *raja* that of native *-ñ-*; also 'Māgadhan' *-e* for

Indic *-as* is found to the exclusion of native *-o*. These cases are made certain by the testimony of the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction; without this we would be forced into believing these 'Māgadhisms' really represented the true dialectic forms of the Mansehra text. In precisely the same manner I hope to show that certain 'Māgadhisms' in the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction usually considered as representing the true dialect, have in reality either totally or very nearly ejected the true vernacular forms. The evidence for this will be found in the testimony of the Mansehra version.

Another salient feature of these 'Māgadhisms' is that sometimes only parts of a word show 'Māgadhan' influence. Examples are Shāhbāzgarhi *spagam*, *savaltra*; Mansehra *kayaṇa-pakaraṇasi*. *Spagam* is for native *spagām* (so Mans.; *gr* graphically for *rg*; Sanskrit *svarga*-) altered by 'Māgadhan' *svagam* [*g* graphically for *gg*; Jaugada and Kalsi *svagam*, cf. Dhauḷi (*svagasa*)]. *Savaltra* is for *savratra* (so Mansehra always) influenced by 'Māgadhan' *savata* (so Dhauḷi and Jaugada). Similarly *kayaṇa*- is for *kalaṇa*-, and *pakaraṇasi* is for *prakaraṇaspi*.

Allied to the feature mentioned in the preceding paragraph is the curious blend found in *dhraṁma*- which occurs a few times in both Shb. and Mans. This is a blend of *dhrama*- (that is *dharma*-; Sanskrit *dharma*-) which is the regular form native to the dialect of these texts, occurring a number of times, and 'Māgadhan' *dharmma*- (so Dhauḷi, Jaugada, Kalsi, and the different recensions of the Pillar-Edicts). In these notes I hope to show that other blends of this character occur.

Thus far I have treated only the 'Māgadhisms' which have previously been recognized as such with the exception of the loc. sing. in *-asi* as contrasted with that in *-aspi*. It will be noticed that 'Māgadhan' influence has been shown mostly in the consonantism of words; and in the vocalism of the final syllables only. Per se there is no reason why we should not find 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of syllables other than final, and Franke's language certainly implies the recognition of this principle. Yet to my knowledge, hitherto no examples of this have been pointed out,¹ and as I shall make use of this in the solution of a certain problem, it is well to give a concrete example to establish the general theory. This is most easily done by selecting an

¹ An error; two cases have been pointed out: see above; cf. also JAOS. xxx.

illustration from the Girnār redaction of the Fourteenth-Edicts. The native word corresponding to Sanskrit *bhāvati* is *bhāvati* but 'Māgadhan' *hoti* is found three times. We have accordingly 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of a syllable other than final. That *hoti* is a 'Māgadhim' is made certain by the invariable correspondent to Sanskrit *bhāvati* in the Dhāuli, Jaugada, and Kalsī recensions, namely, *hoti*. Incidentally I remark that 'Māgadhan' *hoti* replaces native *bhoti* in the *Shāhbāzgarhi* recension a couple of times, but in the Mansehra version it has practically wiped out the native form, *bhoti* occurring but once, namely, at xii. 9.¹ Another example is *guru-susūsā*, G. xiii. 3; cf. Dhāuli *susūsā* (i. e. *sussūsā*). The native word is *susrūsā*, iv. 7 (twice), x. 2, xi. 2.² The form *susrūsā* at G. iii. 4 is a blend of the *dhraṁma*-type. (*Susūsā* at G. xiii. 3 is a blunder for *susūsā*, i. e. *sussūsā*, with 'Māgadhan' -s- for -sr-.)

It remains for me to say that Buehler's editions of the Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, Girnār, and Kalsī redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, the various recensions of the Pillar-Edicts in *Epigraphia Indica* ii, his edition of the Dhāuli version of the Fourteen-Edicts in *ZDMG.* xxxix, and his edition of the Jaugada text of the same edicts in *ZDMG.* xxxvii, xl, and his edition of the Detached-Edicts of Dhāuli and Jaugada, *ibidem* xli, have been made the basis of these investigations.

1. THE HISTORY OF INDIC SIBILANTS *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*.

It is conceded by all that there exist symbols for the sibilants *s*, *ś*, and *ṣ* in the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, but there is some discussion as to whether the

¹ It is quite true that in Pāli we have the doublets *bhāvati* and *hoti*; but this is a case of dialect-mixture exactly as in the case of *attā-*, *aṭṭā-* (Skt. *artā-*): see below, p. 297. Windisch has properly emphasized the fact that Pāli is a literary language only, and does not represent any one vernacular.

² Observe also Delhi-Sivalik *susūsāyā* at vii.³ 8 (twice) as contrasted with *susūsāyā* at Delhi-Sivalik i. 4, Allahabad i. 2; *susūsāya* at Radhia i. 3, Mathia i. 3. As I have pointed out before (*IF.* xxiii, p. 248), the dialect of the seventh edict of the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts differs somewhat from the other edicts of this text. I shall try to explain the short *ṣ* of the Girnār and Delhi-Sivalik words as opposed to the long *ṣ* of the other Asokan dialects and Sanskrit on a future occasion; for our present purpose it is sufficient to establish the empirical fact that we have *ṣ* in the dialect of G. and DS. [See the next No. of *JAOS.*]

three symbols are not merely graphic representatives of merely one sound, namely dental *s*; and also if it is granted that the three sibilants are really native to the dialects of the texts under discussion there is question as to how they correspond to the Indic sibilants.

Senart, J.A. Juillet-Août, 1886, pp. 74, 75 holds that all three sibilants are used indiscriminately, and so must be considered as standing for dental *s*. Johansson, Shb., sections 14, 18, 48, also supports this view, though at the end of section 48 he queries if it may not be that only the palatal and lingual sibilants have fallen together.

Franke, GN., 1895, p. 538 made a great step in advance in declaring that the use of the three sibilants in the texts of Mans. and Shb. was as a whole in accordance with the etymology of a given word. This, however, is not saying that the dialects of the Mansehra and Shahbāzgarhi redactions actually possessed three distinct sibilants *s*, *ś*, and *ṣ*. From his language one might infer that the sibilants had indeed fallen together in one sound, i. e., *s*, but that the correct historical spelling had in general been maintained, if it were not for his well-known hostility to Senart's theory of historical and learned spelling in the inscriptions of India (see BB. xvii, p. 86 ff.; Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 53, footnote 10). Later, in his Pāli und Sanskrit, he definitely ascribed all three sibilants to the dialects of the Mansehra and Shahbāzgarhi texts, but said that in certain cases dental *s* stood for Indic *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*: see pp. 54, 55, and 93. But it will be observed that no phonetic law or laws are stated that govern the unusual correspondence in these cases, save that Mans. and Shb. *ś* correspond to Sanskrit *ṣṭh*. Why is it, for example, that we have the locative plural *yesu* at Shb. xiii. 4, but the locative plurals *am̐teṣu*, *anatheṣu*, *nagareṣu*, etc.; or why is the Indic palatal sibilant kept in *śramaṇa-*, *paśu-*, *Priyadraśi*, etc., but appears as dental *s* in *anusocan[am̐]*, Shb. xiii. 2? To such questions no answer is given. Certain other cases taken up below are also passed over in silence. That is to say that the charge of promiscuous use of the sibilants was not disproved. Very probably Franke expected to make proper explanation in his promised Pāli Grammar, but over six years have elapsed and the book has not yet appeared, and—as far as I know—there is no likelihood of this occurring in the immediate future. Under these circumstances it is permissible for another to examine the subject anew.

It must be said that Franke was on the right track. The dialects of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts do possess the three sibilants *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, and these do correspond as a whole to the Indic sibilants of the same class. There are, however, certain phonetic laws which have a modifying influence. For the most part Johansson anticipated them, but was doubtful whether we had to deal with a graphic representation or a phonetic process, and in one case, namely, the treatment of *ṣ* + *ī*, *īṣ* (ii. p. 5) was wrong as Sørensen¹ (Om Sanskrit, p. 286) and Franke (Pali und Sanskrit, p. 98) saw; but they too were not absolutely right. That the dialects of Mans. and Shb. are more archaic in this matter than the dialects of other inscriptions of Asoka need cause no concern. For in certain other respects their dialects are more archaic. Thus Indic *r* is not assimilated to an immediately preceding or following mute or sibilant, an immediately following nasal or *v*²;

¹ Sørensen apparently also held that the dialects of Shb. and Mans. possessed the three sibilants *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*; but gave away his case by admitting that they were used inconsistently. I regret exceedingly that I could only use the French résumé. [Reference unverified.]

² Such is the view of Johansson. But as *vaṣa-* is found 8 times in Shb., and 7 times in Mans. as the correspondent to Sanskrit *varṣa-*, there being no other correspondent in either Shb. or Mans., and as *kaṣati* and *kaṣathī* as the equivalent of **karṣati* and **karṣanti* respectively (cf. Skt. *kariṣyati*, *kariṣyanti*), there being no other correspondents to the prototypes cited, occur a few times in both Shb. and Mans., it would seem as if in the case of *-arṣ-* and *-arṣi-* the *r* was assimilated, and the forms cited accordingly those proper to the dialects of Mans. and Shb. If we had *vaṣa-* alone to deal with, we might attribute the lack of an *r* to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original, especially if *vraṣa*; i. e., *varṣa*, at Shb. iv. 10 were certain; cf. *paṣamḍa-* beside *praṣamḍa-* (i. e., *parṣ-*) in both Mans. and Shb. (It so happens that the anusvara is graphically omitted in Mans.). But it should be noticed that the so-called 'Māgadhan' versions have *kachati* and *kachathī* respectively as the correspondents to *kaṣati* and *kaṣathī*. There can be no question therefore of, at any rate, direct 'Māgadhan' influence in *kaṣati* and *kaṣathī*. It is, of course, possible to assume that *kaṣati* and *kaṣathī* are hyper-Māgadhisms, and unless this is done, it is difficult to escape assuming the phonetic law suggested above. If it is queried why *arṣ* is treated differently than *arś*, in reply it may be said that in the dialect of the Gīrnār recension of the Fourteen-Edicts *arṣ* and *arś* are also treated differently: see Michelson, IF. xxiv, pp. 53. 54 and JAOS. xxx.

The fact that *r* is retained before consonants, is disguised by the writing of Shb. and Mans.; e. g., *dhrama-* is merely graphical for *dharma-*, *draṣana-* for *darśana-*, *saura-* for *sarva-*, *athra-* for *artha-*, *vraṣaspi* for *varcaspi* (cf. Skt. *varcas-*), etc. There are some who deny that in these cases the *r* was really

whereas in the dialect of the Girnār version of the Fourteen-Edicts Indic *r* is kept after an immediately preceding mute or sibilant and before an immediately following *v*; but is assimilated to an immediately following mute, nasal, or sibilant; and in the dialects of the Kalsi, Dhauli, and Jaugada recensions of the

pronounced immediately before the other consonant, and affirm that the spelling indicates the true pronunciation. For the literature on this point see Johansson, *Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi redaction*, sections 4 and 17. Buehler, *El. i*, p. 17, should also be consulted. I may briefly point out why in my opinion this view is untenable. Why is *r* treated differently before dental and guttural mutes than it is before palatal and labial mutes? Observe Mans. *vadhrite* (Sanskrit *vardhita-*), *vagreva* (Sanskrit *vargena*), *vracaspi* (transfer to the *a*-declension, cf. Sanskrit *varcas-*), Shb. *grabhagaraspi*, Mans. *grabhagarasi* (Sanskrit *garbhāgāra-*). This puzzling divergence vanishes if a merely graphic caprice is assumed; i. e., that *vadhrite* stands for *vardhite*, *vracaspi* for *varcaspi*, etc. For why have we *pruva-* as the correspondent to Sanskrit *pūrva-*, but *savra-* as the equivalent of Sanskrit *sarva-*? And if the reading *srava-* at Shb. vi. 16 be accepted, how is this apparent doublet of *savra-* to be explained? It is absolutely certain that *srava-* corresponds to Skt. *sarva*. The only way out of the difficulty is to assume that *pruva-* is merely graphical for *pūrva-*, and that *savra-* and *srava-* are merely orthographic variants to express *sarva-*. Observe also Mans. *kraṭaviye* corresponds to Skt. *kṛtavya-*, and Shb. *kiṭri* to Skt. *kṛti-*; similarly Shb. *vistrīṭena* = Sanskrit *vistrīṭena*, and Shb. *kiṭraṭh* = Sanskrit *kṛtam*. These are only explicable on the theory that *kraṭaviye*, *kiṭri*, *vistrīṭena*, and *kiṭraṭh* are merely graphical for *kṛtaviye*, *kṛti*, *vistrīṭena*, and *kṛtam* respectively. Otherwise we would have a perplexing different phonetic treatment of *r* before the same sound, namely, *ṣ*. Mansehra *driḍha-* at vii. 33 is highly instructive if the true reading. It is a blunder for *driḍha-* or *diḍha-*, in either case merely graphical for *dīḍha-* (Sanskrit *dīḍha-*) as is shown by Girnār *daḍha-*. Mansehra *karṭa-* (Sanskrit *kṛta-*) at v. 24 is also very weighty in this connection. Similarly *paṭri* on the sixth edict of Shb. (for *praṭi* elsewhere) is pertinent evidence in showing that the consonant to which *r* is attached is only a matter of graphic convenience. The fact that at Mans. v. 24 we have *viyapaṭa* as the correspondent to Shb. *viyapaṭra* at v. 13 is a decisive argument in favor of this view. Their Sanskrit counterpart is *vyāpṛtās*, and they can only be explained as both being merely graphical for *viyapaṭa*.

There are some who will cite Pāli *gadṛabha-* (Sanskrit *gardabha-*) in support of the contention that Mansehra *spagraṭh*, etc., represents the real pronunciation. It is quite true that according to Pāli phonetics we should expect **gaddabha-* or **gaḍḍabha-* as the correspondent to Sanskrit *gardabha-*, and *gadṛabha-* must be a loan-word from some dialect in which metathesis of *r* preceding consonants took place. I do not deny that such dialects may have existed, but I deny that evidence of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions warrants us in assuming this phenomenon occurred in the dialects of these two texts.

Fourteen-Edicts as well as in the dialects of the six redactions of the Pillar-Edicts Indic *r* is assimilated to an immediately preceding or following mute or sibilant, an immediately following nasal or *v*. (Apparent exceptions to the above are 'Māgad-hisms'.)

The modifying phonetic laws hinted at in the above paragraph are:

- (1) Initial *ś* is dissimilated to *s* if the next syllable begins with *ś*.
- (2) Medially between vowels *s* is assimilated to a preceding *ś*.
- (3) Corresponding to Aryan *ṣ(h)* [Sanskrit *ṣ(h)*] we have *ś*.¹
- (4) *ṣi*² and *ṣiṣ* become *śś*, of course written *ś*. Franke and Sørensen are in error when they assume that *ś* (not *śś*) is the phonetic product. Māgadhi Prakrit *manuśśa-* (Sanskrit *manuṣya-*) is convincing proof of this.

Examples are: Shb., Mans. *suśruṣa* (written so several times) = Sanskrit *śuśruṣā*; Shb. *dhra[ma]n[u]śaśanaṁ*, Mans. *dhra-manu[śa]śana* = Skt. *dharma + anuśāsanam*. Shb., Mans. *manuśa-* = Skt. *manuṣya-*; Shb. *anuśaśiṣaṁti*, Mans. *anuśa-śiṣa[ṁ]ti* = Skt. *anuśāṣiṣyanti*; Mans. *hapaśati* = Skt. *hāpa-yiṣyati*; Shb. *asta-* (so probably in the thirteenth edicts) = Skt. *aṣṭa-*; Shb. *tistiti* = Sanskrit **tiṣṭhitvi*, cf. Mans. *[ti]stilu-* a *tu-gerund*.

¹ It should be noticed that in the dialect of the Gīrnār redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts that *ś* [is the correspondent to Sanskrit *ṣ* and *ṣh*. It is possible that the law that an original palatal sibilant converts a following *ś* to *ś* in the dialect of Gīrnār should be connected with law (2) stated above, and similarly Gīrnār *ś* as the correspondent to Skt. *ṣ(h)* with law (3). The law then should be stated: A palatal sibilant converts a following dental sibilant to a palatal one in the dialects of G., Shb., Mans., the combination *śś* subsequently becoming *ṣ* exactly as pre-Aryan *ṣ* became Aryan *ṣ*. Then this secondary *ṣ* had the same history in the separate dialects as Aryan *ṣ(h)*, i. e., G. *ś*, Shb., Mans. *ś*. Secondary intervocalic *ś* had the same history as original intervocalic *ś*, namely, G. *s*, Shb., Mans. *ś*. In support of combining the phenomena mentioned above, it may be recalled that the dialects of the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts otherwise share a number of points in common as opposed to the dialects of the other versions of these Edicts. For example the sounds *r*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ* (written *ṛ*) as the equivalent of Skt. *ṛ* in *kalyāṇa-*, *bh* as the correspondent to Skt. *bh* in *bhavaṁti*, *cch* (written *ch*) as the counterpart of Skt. *ṣ*, the retention of Indic *ś*, the adverb *evaṁ* (Kālsī, etc., *hevaṁ*), the pronoun *ahaṁ* (Kālsī, Dhāuli, Jangada *hakaṁ*), *ayaṁ* used as nom. sing. fem. (K., etc., *iyam*), etc.

² Except in the combination *ṣi* as Franke correctly saw. In this case the *ś* is assimilated to the preceding *ṣ*. See footnote 2, p. 289.

Cases like *Priyadrasīsa*¹ do not fall under (4) as they owe the *-sa* to the *-sa* of *a*-stems. *Śaśayike* of Mans. is purely a blunder for *saś-*, cf. Shb. *sa[m]śayike*. Shb. *pa[mca]ṣu*, Mans. *pa[m]caṣu* and *-caṣu* owe the *-ṣu* to *a*-stems as Johansson rightly saw. Similarly Shb. and Mans. *ṣaṣu*. Shb. *daśavaṣabhisito*, Mans. *daśavaṣabhisite*, etc., have *-s-* for *-ṣ-* by the analogy of the simplex, as Johansson previously saw.

There remains, however, a small number of cases in which a dental sibilant takes the place of an Indic lingual or palatal one. These have thus far remained unexplained except by the assumption that the three symbols for *s*, *ś*, *ṣ* all really represent one sound, namely, *s*. Yet a simple solution is readily to be found: they are due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original. This is certainly correct as all three Indic sibilants become dental *s* in the dialects of the Jaugada and Dhauḷi redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts and the six recensions of the Pillar-Edicts. (As I said above, p. 284, the dialect of the Kālsī version of the Fourteen-Edicts is essentially 'Māgadhan' in edicts i-ix. So in the matter of the sibilants, with a few exceptions, in these edicts the dialect of K. agrees with the dialects of J. and Dh. Later I will treat the history of the Indic sibilants in edicts x-xiv in a special paper.)

We will first take up the cases in which we find *s* for *ṣ*. These are:

a[rabh]i[yisu], Shb. i. 2, *a[ra]. su*, Mans. i. 4 (Kālsī *ālabhiyisu*. J. (*ḍ*)*labh(i)yisu*, Dh. [*ḍ*](*la*)*bhiyis(u)*);

¹ According to Johansson (Shb. i, § 20) *etisa* is for Indic **etdīsa*, the intermediate stages being **etīsa*, **etisa*, whence *etissa* (the *s* of *etisa* is merely graphical). This is not in the least probable as in that case there would be no reason why we should not have such forms as **atīsa* as gen. singulars in Shb. and Mans., cf. Sanskrit *drīḥasya*. And in point of fact such forms are unknown to these texts, even if found elsewhere. Moreover, granting that the dialects of the Shb. and Mans. texts had stress-accent (and I think that this may safely be assumed), it does not necessarily follow that a system of initial accentuation was in vogue. We should rather suppose the system be that of Classical Sanskrit. According to this system the penult of *etissa* (written *etisa*) would be accented as the *ī* is long by position. The same applies to Shb. *imisa*. One thing certain is that no matter what the origin of the *ī* in the words under discussion is, the *-sa*, i. e. *-ssa* stands for *-śīsa* (Skt. *-śīsa*), cf. *Priyadrasīsa*. Personally, from the evidence afforded by Pāli and Prākṛit, I am inclined to believe that the *ī* of *etisa* and *imisa* is due to the analogy of the corresponding feminine genitives. But to go into the matter further would require more space than is proper to a footnote.

anu[lo]cayisu, Mans. iv. 18—a well-known blunder for **alo-* (K. *alocayisu*, Dh. *alocayis(u)*, J. *alocayi-*; per contra note *loce[ṣ]u*, Shb. iv. 10);

husu, Mans. viii. 34 (Kalsi and Delhi-Sivalik *husu*; per contra observe Shb. *abhavasū*);

yesu, Shb. xiii. 4 (edicts xi–xiii are lacking in J. and Dh., and so we lack a direct check: but as the loc. pl. of *a*-stems ends in *-esu* otherwise in them as well as in K. in edicts i–ix, it is certain that *yesu* is a ‘Māgadhism’, for the loc. pl. of *a*-stems otherwise invariably ends in *-eṣu* in the Mansehra as well as Shahbazgarhi redaction).

We have next to consider the cases in which ‘Māgadhan’ *s* appears for native *ś*. The simplest example of this are *sama-cariyaṁ* and *anusocan[am]* at Shb. xiii. 8 and 2 respectively. In [*s*]ramarati, Shb. xiii. 12, [*s*]rama[rati], Mans. xiii. 13 (Sanskrit *śrama-*) we have a blend of native **śrama-* and ‘Māgadhan’ **sama-*, precisely as Shb., Mans. *dhrāma-* is a blend of native *dharma-* and ‘Māgadhan’ *dhaṁma-*. This last has long been recognized. In IF. xxiii, p. 240 I have shown that Shb. *praṭi* is a blend of the same type, and below, p. 295, that Shb. *aṭhra-* is also. So we have abundant parallels to support the present contention. Examples where Indic (and native) *śr-* remains are Shb., Mans. *śramaṇa-*, Shb. *śruṇeyu*, Mans. *śruṇey[u]*, Shb., Mans. *śravakaṁ*. . . . The correspondents to Sanskrit *śreṣṭha-* offer some difficulties. We should expect **śresta-* and this only as the phonetic equivalent in the dialects of Shb. and Mans. In point of fact, however, this never occurs: we have Shb. *sresta-* Shb., Mans. *sreṭha-*, i. e. *sresta-mati* at Shb. i. 2, [*sr*]eṭh[am] at Shb. iv. 10, *sre[ṭh]e* at Mans. iv. 17. The *ṭh* of the last two is an undoubted ‘Māgadhism’ (see Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 17) as is also the final *e* of *sre[ṭh]e* (cf. K. *seṭhe*, Dh. *se[ṭhe]*). It is natural therefore to suspect that in all three cases the initial *sr-* is a blend of native *śr-* and ‘Māgadhan’ *s-*. The fact that *seṭe* of the Girnar text has ‘Māgadhan’ initial *s-* for native *sr-* as well as ‘Māgadhan’ final *-e* for native *-am* makes for the same belief.

There is one case where we find ‘Māgadhan’ *ss* (written *s*) for native *śś* (which of course would be written *ś*) in place of Indic *-ṣṭi-*, namely, *anuvidhi[yisaṁti]*, Mans. xiii. 11 (Kalsi *anuvidhiyisaṁti*; per contra note Shb. *anuvidhiyisaṁti*).

Badaya- ‘12’ of the Shahbazgarhi redaction is certainly an error for **badaśa-*: see Johansson, Shb. i, p. 142 (28 of the

reprint), and Buehler, *Epigraphia Indica* ii, p. 450, footnote 44, p. 452, footnote 75.¹ Per contra note Shb. *daśa-*, etc. (see Johansson, Shb. ii, pp. 76, 77).

With these restrictions the sibilants of the Shahbāzgarhi and Mansehra recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts correspond to the respective Indic sibilants. I know of no exception.²

2. THE HISTORY OF INDIC *rth*.

The history of Indic *rth* in the dialect of the Mansehra redaction is unquestionable; it remains *rth*, naturally written *thr*. For in Buehler's text in EI. we have corresponding to Sanskrit *artha-*, *athra-*, written plainly 17 times; and *nirathriya* occurs once, exactly as if **nirarthya-* occurred in Sanskrit as *anarthya-* does. There are some additional cases of *athra-*, but in these certain letters are either not clear or are missing. That is to say *athra-*, and *athra-* only, is the correspondent to Sanskrit *artha-*. There are no other test-cases to show the history of Indic *rth* than those cited; we must therefore inevitably come to the conclusion stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

Now since the language of the Shahbāzgarhi redaction is agreed to be essentially the same as that of the Mansehra version, we should naturally expect to find the correspondent to Indic *rth* in this text *thr*, and *thr* only. Yet in point of fact this occurs but once, namely in *athrasa* at iv. 10. The regular correspondent to Sanskrit *artha-* is *aṭha-* (i. e. *aṭṭha-*). This occurs 16 times clearly according to the text in EI. But it should be observed that *aṭha-* (i. e. *aṭṭha-*) is the regular correspondent to Skt. *artha-* in the Dhāuli and Jaugada recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts and in the six redactions of the Pillar-Edicts, no other correspondent occurring in any of these. It therefore follows from the premises laid down in the Introduction that *aṭha-* of the

¹ Apparently Franke thinks that *badaya-* is not an error. As there is no other case in which *y* takes the place of *ś* in the dialect of Shb., or for that matter in any other dialect as far as I know, I confess that I am puzzled at his rejection of the current view, even if *badaya-* is found twice.

² All other deviations in the lists of Senart and Johansson disappear in the editions of the text by Buehler in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii. If Franke had not previously made his announcement (*vide supra*), I should have felt it incumbent upon me to give complete collections to prove this. As it is, I think it hardly necessary. [*Priyadarsi* at Shb. viii. 17 is a misprint: see ZDMG. xliii, p. 151].

Shāhbāzgarhi text is a 'Māgadhism', and that *athrasa* represents the true native form, thus agreeing with the dialect of the Mansehra recension. As a parallel where 'Māgadhisms' are found in Shb. but not in Mans., I need only recall the correspondents to Sanskrit *sarva-* which are *savra-* and *sava-* in the former, but *savra-*, and this only, in Mans. Now admitting that *aṭha-* in the Shāhbāzgarhi recension is a 'Māgadhism' we are forced to consider *aṭhra* at vi. 14 to be a blend of native *athra(m)*¹ and 'Māgadhan' *aṭham*. Similarly *niraṭhriyam* at ix. 18 is a blend of *nirathriyam* and 'Māgadhan' *nilaṭhiyam*, cf. Dhāuli (*nilaṭhiya*)*m*. If *supaṭhraye* at i. 2 be the true reading, it is to be judged in a like manner. The principle of these blends has been recognized before now: the novelty is only in applying it to these cases.

I may add that *anatheṣu* at Mans. v. 23, Shb. v. 12 is unrelated to Sanskrit *anartha-*, though connection with this is commonly assumed: it corresponds to Sanskrit *anātha-* as is demonstrated by the Dhāuli correspondent *anāthesu* (observe the long *-ā-* and the dental *th*); the Kālsī text, it is true, has *anāthesu* in the corresponding passage, but this is only a blunder as are *mātāpitisu*, iii. 8, *dhammānusathiye*, iv. 10, *dhammānusathi*, viii. 23, *lājā*, x. 28, *lājina*, xiv. 19, *vimānadasand*, iv. 9, *pāṣaṭh-ḍāni*, xii. 31, and *mādhuliyāye*, xiv. 22.

Unless I am mistaken, *athakramam* at Shb. vi. 14 is a misprint for *aṭha-*: see ZDMG. xliii, p. 147. But [*a*]*tham* at ix. 20 is not. The simplest explanation, and therefore the most satisfactory one, is that it is an error for *aṭham*, induced by [*a*]*tha* (Sanskrit *atha*) in the preceding sentence as conversely we have *aṭham* for *atha* in the corresponding sentence of the Kālsī text by the influence of *aṭham* (Skt. *artham*) in the next sentence. In this case we are but linguistically concerned with the [*a*]*tham* of the Shb. text.

I have given my exposition first without criticising the views of others, as I think that it will stand on its own merits. Now I shall take up the previous theories, and try to show that they are untenable.

Johansson in his work on the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction, i, pp. 165, 167, 168, 187, 188 (51, 53, 54, 73, 74 respectively of the reprint) and ii, p. 25 treats the problem, and comes

¹ Final *m* is often omitted.

to very different conclusions than those given above. The last reference seems to embody his final views which are that Indic *ṛṭh* became *ṛṭh* (with lingual *ṭh*) in the dialect of Shb., but that the *ṛ* was probably not completely sounded, and therefore liable to be omitted graphically; yet he held that the *ṛ* was not wholly lost as shown by the fact that *ṛṭh* was often written *ṭhr*. I first remarked that even in the text of Shb. which Johansson had before him, *ṭhr* occurs but twice: this is not often. It is true that at i, p. 165 (51 of the reprint) he says that *athrasa* at iv. 10 is for *aṭhrasa* with lingual *ṭh*; this then would make three instances; but I submit that this assumption is wrong as we have *athrasa* in the corresponding passage of Mans.; now if *ṛṭh* became *ṛṭh* in the dialect of Mans. we would certainly find *aṭhra-* written at least once; and this is not the case; *athra-* (with dental *th*), and this only, is the correspondent to Sanskrit *artha-* in this version. Johansson seems to have overlooked this fact, and so to have completely ignored this piece of evidence. And he is certainly in error when he attributes *atham* to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original, admitting that he does so by implication only; for as stated above, *aṭha-*, and this only is the correspondent to Sanskrit *artha-* in the Dhāuli and Jaugada redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts and the six recensions of the Pillar-Edicts; hence *aṭha-* (i. e. *aṭṭha-*) was certainly the form native to the 'Māgadhan' dialect: see the Introduction. . . . On page 167 (53 of the reprint) of part i. Johansson suggests that *aṭhra-* and *athra-* (i. e. *arṭha-* and *artha-* respectively) should be compared with Pāli *aṭṭha-*, and *atha-* (i. e. *attha-*) with Pāli *attha-*. As I have shown that *ṭhr* and *thr* are not the same, the first comparison falls to the ground; and as *atham* is found but once, and then readily explicable as a simple error, the second one also fails. At the bottom of the page he queries whether such doublets as Pāli *aṭṭha-* and *attha-* were originally dialectic doublets, and then later mixed, or whether both forms arose in the same dialect by the operation of certain phonetic laws. On the next page he suggests that the nature of the accent, acute or circumflex, may have had a modifying influence, and so caused the doublets. To this query I reply that in the Gīrnār redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts we have *attha-* (of course written *atha-*), and this only, as the correspondent to Sanskrit *artha-*, precisely as we have *aṭṭha-* (written *aṭha-*) in the Dhāuli and Jaugada redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts and the six recensions of the

Pillar-Edicts, and no other correspondent: it therefore would seem highly probable—nay certain—that Pali *aṭṭha-* and *attha-* are due to dialect-mixture.¹ It is true that in the Kālsī recension of the Fourteen-Edicts we also have the doublets *aṭṭha-* and *attha-* (written of course *aṭha-* and *attha-* respectively); but this is to be interpreted that the form proper to the native dialect is *attha-*, and *aṭṭha-* a 'Māgadhism'; for the principle involved, see Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 109. Incidentally I remark that we know nearly nothing concerning the accentual system, or systems, of most of the dialects of the inscriptions of Asoka. We do know, however, that the accentual system of the dialects of the Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpūrva redactions of the Pillar-Edicts was identical with, or closely resembled, that of Classical Sanskrit. At any rate the accent was stressed, and the ultima was unaccented. For final *-a*—whether originally final, or final by the loss of a final consonant—is regularly shortened in these dialects except in the case of accented monosyllables, and before enclitics and postpositives. The proof of this law I have given in my 'Notes on the Pillar-Edicts of Asoka', *IF.* xxiii, pp. 219–271. I may add that the same law apparently holds good in the dialects of the Rummīndī and Niglīva Pillar inscriptions; but the evidence is rather meagre.

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

THE HARVARD CLUB, NEW YORK CITY.

¹ See also Windisch, *Transactions Internat. Cong. Orient.*, 14¹, Première Section, pp. 279–280.

III.—NOTES ON LATIN SYNTAX.

The following notes owe their origin to a book, rich not only in valuable information regarding *proprietas splendorque verborum*, but in problems of interest to the student of syntax, the Schmalz-Krebs' *Antibarbarus*.¹ In a book of so vast a scope and so full of suggestiveness, containing the results of the most recent investigations, enriched by the fruits of the extended labors of one long recognized as *peritissimus linguae Latinae*, many statements would naturally arouse discussion. I limit myself, however, to the following.

Ac before Gutturals: the fact that three writers, Varro, Livy, and Plin. Mai., are conspicuous for the frequency with which they use *ac* in this position is to be emphasized.² The style of Plin. Mai. is also conspicuous for the number of times he uses *atque non*, 27 in all,³ a fact all the more remarkable when it is taken into consideration that he uses the regular *ac non* only 4 times (2, 162; 7, 7; 18, 245; 31, 97). According to both Schmalz Synt.⁴, § 224 and the Thesaurus, Col. 1075, '*atque non* is only found in Plin. Nat'. Note, however, its use in Plaut. Trin. 104 (G. and Sch., and Lindsay), Varro, L. L. 6, 38 (Spengel), Gell. 17, 21, 46 (Hosius) and Auson., Ad Grat. Ep., l. 8 (P., p. 353). Cf. *neque non* Livy 24, 2, 4; Gell. 13, 11, 6; 17, 10, 17. Theoretically such forms ought not to occur at all.⁴

¹ The Seventh Edition (1905-8), Vol. I, pp. viii-811, Vol. II, 776, shows an increase of 136 pages, 131 new articles: "*Redditus auctori debitus honor*",—"Applause, in spite of trivial faults, is due". For the writer's reviews of Vol. I, see Class. Rev. 20 (1906) pp. 218-222, and A. J. P. XXVIII (1907), pp. 34-55.

² *Ac* before *c*: in Varro (L. L., R. R.) 43, Livy 48, Plin. Mai. 37. The Thesaurus omits under *c*: Ovid. Met. 15, 398, Sen. N. Q. 1, pr. 11 (G.); Mela 1, 2, Quint. 10, 1, 47, Apul. Met., pp. 22, 13; 218, 29; 278, 7; 282, 18 (Helm); under *g*: Lucr. 6, 440, Celsus, p. 126, 4 (D.), Plin. Mai. 2, 135, 18, 81, Sen. Ep. 88, 9, Just. 7, 3, 4, Suet. Cal. 17, 2, Oros. 1, pr. 16; under *q*: Plin. Mai. 2, 200; 206; 10, 157; 18, 95; 33, 29, Val. Fl. 7, 267.

³ *Atque non*: the Thesaurus omits for Pliny: 2, 92; 12, 97; 17, 91; 20, 57; 32, 60; 36, 198; 37, 42; 115, cites 7, 7 = *ac non* (M.), and does not note the contrasted use of *ac non*.

⁴ Cf. Niedermann-Hermann, Hist. Laut. des. Lat. (1907), § 32.

From the point of view of the history of *ac* as contrasted with *alque*, it is important to note that there is a regular increase in the use of the shorter form from 28.4 % in Sallust to 74.3 % in Suetonius.¹

Cum praesertim: a collocation non-existent, according to some writers. See, however, Antib¹. II, p. 364 and Nägelsbach-M., Stil², p. 742, and add to their lists: Sall. Cat. 51, 19; Cic. S. Rosc. 66, Inv. 1, 5, Brut. 3, Or. 32, Off. 2, 56, Fam. 2, 6, 2; 3, 5, 3; 10, 10; 5, 20, 4; Att. 8, 11 (D.), 3; 14, 1; 10, 10, 2; 13, 2; 11, 11, 1; 12, 25, 1; Livy 32, 20, 6; Val. Max. 2, 10, 6; 6, 1, 4; Celsus, pp. 76, 29; 317, 15 (D.), Quint. 2, 21, 13; 7, 1, 62; 8, 6, 74; 10, 1, 105, Apul. Met. 7, 9 (p. 161, 4 Helm).

Diffidens with the ablative: according to the Antib¹, 'found in Silver Latin only in Suet. Caes. 3'; note, however, its use in Front. Str. 1, 8, 5 (G.) *paucitate suorum diffidens*.

Dignus with the infinitive: to Draeger II³, p. 332 and the Antib¹. add: Sen. N. Q. 6, 30, 5; Ep. 89, 5, Mela 1, 1; 75, Gell. 15, 18, 1, and to the 7 passages cited for Ovid by Kübler (Progr. K. W. Gymn. Berl., 1861, p. 8) add: Her. 17, 102; Met. 10, 336; 14, 833; Trist. 2, 242; 3, 4, 34; Fast. 1, 1, 226; 3, 490. See further A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 41 f. and add, with *ut*: Quint. Decl. 263 (p. 76, 26, R.), Script. Hist. Aug. 23, 21, 2. According to Schmalz, Synt², § 86 and Antib¹, *dignus* with the dative is not found until Late Latin. Cf., however, Stat. Silv. 4, 6, 59.

Excedere, with *modum*: Val. Max. 4, 3, 5, Sen. Ep. 45, 13, Plin. Min. 2, 4, 4; 5, 13; 3, 11, 8; 7, 33, 10; 8, 24, 10; with *tempus* Val. Max. 5, 4, 3, *circuitum* Mela 2, 97, *alvum* Plin. Min. 8, 7, 1, *annum* 2, 3, 5, *crimina* 2, 11, 2, *licentiam* 3, 20, 3, *numerus* Trai. Ep. 95, *naturam* Macr. 1, 23, 1, *fidem* Sen. Ep. 97, 3.

Igitur first in the sentence: its marked frequency in Celsus, Justin, and Orosius, is a striking feature of the style of each (in Celsus 34 times, postponed 3, in Apul. (Met., Apol.), 23 times, postponed 5, in Oros. 70, postponed 12).²

Itaque: its use in the following writers is striking: Celsus, following the Class. usage places it first 20 times, postpones it 6,

¹ Cf. Lease, Class. Phil. 3 (1908), p. 304.

² Neue-W. Formenlehre II², p. 975 shows a very faulty treatment of this word: in e. g., Val. Max. 16 passages are omitted, in Plin. Min. 19, in Justin 74, in Curtius 49, in Suet. 5, and in Orosius 70. See further, Lease A. J. P. XXVIII (1907), p. 48.

and Orosius, first 42 times, postponed 15, but in Apul. Met. (Helm) it is placed first only once (p. 10, 12), and postponed 20 times. See further Lease, A. J. P. XXVIII (1907), p. 48.¹

Loci: according to the Antib.¹ *interea loci* is found only in Plaut. and Ter., but cf. Pacuv. Chrys. 1 (R. 1897). Lorenz to Pseud. 255 is a better reference than Reisig-H. Anm. 530.

Longe with a Comparative: an important treatment is found in Wölfflin, Comp. p. 41, though the lists there given might well be extended.² For Plautus cf. Lorenz to Most. 911.

Merere ut: the Antib.¹ says this usage is found only once in Livy, 28, 19, 6, but it is also found in two other passages, 7, 21, 6 and 40, 11, 6. It is also found more than once in Cicero; cf. Fin. 2, 74; Verr. 4, 135. *Merere* with infin.: to Draeger II¹, p. 331 add Eutrop. 9, 15, 2; 10, 8, 2.

Metuere with dative: note its use of things in Livy 3, 49, 5 (vitae), 23, 16, 3 (castris) and of persons in 1, 9, 6 (sibi). Note also: *huic puero metuit*, Cic. Sulla 88. For its use with the infin., cf. Draeger II¹, p. 342 and add Ovid, Met. 1, 745.

Miscere: to this word the Antib.¹ devotes but four lines and does not note its use with the dative or with *cum*.³ To the

¹ Neue II², p. 976, cites Liv. 22, 24 8 (= utique), Curt. 7, 10, 7 (wrong reference) and omits: Plin. Mai. 2, 129; 193; 5, 98; 8, 176; 11, 64, Mart. 8 pr., Suet. Tib. 11, 3, Cae. 37, 3; 48, 1, Claud. 11, 1, Vit. 5, Prat. 147 (R.), Front. Str. 1, 1, 1; 6; 2, 9, 10; 3, 1, 1.

² Add to a) with *regular comp.*, Livy 39, 31, 7, Sen. Suas. 2, 14, Contr. 2, 6, 12, Val. Max. 1, 7 ext. 3, Celsus, p. 77, 11 (D.), Sen. N. Q. 1, 5, 2; 6, 6; 2, 32, 1; 5, 5, 1; Quint. 6, 3, 13; 4, 21; 10, 1, 67 (bis), Plin. Min. 1, 14, 10; 8, 24, 6; 10, 39, 4, Apul. Met., p. 216, 14 (Helm), Gell. 13, 29, 3; 17, 21, 9, Veget., p. 35, 8; 108, 20 (L.), Macr. 3, 5, 9, Oros. 3, 13, 11, and to b) with *irreg. comp.* Livy 24, 28, 5; 37, 52, 10; 40, 6, 7, Val. Max. 5, 2, 7; 6, 3, 9; 8, 1 Absol. 12, Sen. Contr. 7, 1, 25; 2, 27, Sen. N. Q. 1, 6, 5; 16, 2, Plin. Mai. 24, 109, Plin. Min. 2, 3, 10; 8, 14, 24; 18, 1, Just. 3, 7, 6; 6, 2, 14; 9, 3, 9, Front. Str. 2, 3, 12; 5, 9, Apul. Met., p. 228, 14 (Helm), Gell. 13, 20, 3, Veget., p. 108, 10; 130, 17; 153, 14 (L.) and Oros. 7, 35, 2.

³ Livy's usage is as follows:

I MISCRE.

A. *Things*, 1) Simple ablative: here the form shows 10 uses (1, 29, 2; 8, 36, 5; 9, 38, 6, and with *mixtus* 2, 33, 8; 10, 16, 3; 21, 56, 6; 22, 1, 10; 26, 11, 2; 39, 42, 5; 40, 8, 3). With these are to be reckoned, also with *mixtus*, *fumo* 4, 33, 8, *vento* 21, 58, 3 (cf. *grandine* 26, 11, 2 and Lucr. 6, 159, Ovid Fast. 4, 625, Verg. Aen. 12, 838, Val. Max. 1, 6, 5 and *Vapore* Lucr. 2, 223), and, after the analogy of *metus* 39, 42, 5 (cf. Ovid Tr. 4, 3, 12) also *gaudio* 39, 21, 1. Here, too, probably belong *falsa mixta veris* 24, 30, 3 and *aequa iniquis miscet* 35, 17, 2. Cf. *mixta cum veris* Ovid, Met. 12, 54.

"literature" cited by Schmalz add: cf. Bennett, Trans. Am. Phil. Assn. 36 (1905), p. 71 f.

Multum with a *Comparative* (cf. πολὺ μᾶλλον); to Schmalz Synt.¹, §88 add: Sil. Ital. 13, 708, Stat. Theb. 9, 559, Quint. 10, 1, 94, Juv. 10, 197; 12, 66. Cf. *aliquantum laetiore* Val. Max. 5, 9, 3. Cf. also Weiss.-M. to Livy³ 40, 40, 1.

2) Abl. with *cum*: 9, 22, 10 *cum dolore* (contrast *metu* 39, 42, 5 and *dolori* Sen. Ep. 99, 27), *cum insectatione* 40, 12, 6 *cum rebus Romanis* 45, 14, 3 (note *cum elocutione* Quint. 6, 5, 11, and contrast *cum verbis* Ovid Her. 10, 38 with *verbis* Id. A. A. 1, 663; note also *cum bonis tuis* Sall. Hist. 4, 69, 2 (M.), *cum meis lacrimis* Ovid, Pont. 1, 9, 20, and the frequent use of *cum* with things in Celsus). In Livy 1, 9, 4 *cum hominibus* is found, by brachylogy, = *cum sanguine hominum* (cf. Ovid Met. 12, 256 *cum sanguine*).

3) Dative belongs chiefly to poetry and post-classical prose (as shown by the form, e. g., in Val. Max. 2, 3, 2, Sen. Ep. 104, 12, Plin. Mai. 5, 75; 17, 119; 33, 132; 34, 168; with *misceri* Sen. Ben. 6, 6, 1, Ep. 7, 2; 97, 27, Plin. Mai. 2, 222; 18, 206; 19, 156; 24, 3; 72; with *mixtus* Sen. Ep. 66, 17, Plin. Mai. 22, 101; 24, 4; 43; 186; 29, 122; 30, 75; 36, 133). Livy shows but one possible example, 5, 37, 7 *Tiberino amni miscetur* (cf. *mixtum flumini* Curt. 9, 97).

B. *Persons*: here the form shows but one example, 24, 31, 3 *miscendi eos agmini*. Parallel to this is *hostibus* 4, 34, 1 (cf. *μίσγεται ἀνδρεσσιν*), *legionibus* 10, 31, 12 and here is to be enrolled also, *Romanis* 23, 4, 7, *patribus* 27, 51, 5, *feminis* 39, 8, 6, *nobis* 39, 37, 7, and *vobis* 4, 5, 5.

II COMPOUNDS OF MISCEERE.

Admiscere: only 6, 40, 12 *vitali* (cibo), probably a dative (the form shows a dative in Sen. Ep. 66, 16, with *admixtus* in Plin. Mai. 27, 97; 28, 75; 29, 51; 36, 133).

Immiscere: according to the form, only six in the dative: *turbæ* 3, 50, 10; 8, 24, 15; 22, 60, 2; 23, 23, 7, *turmas* 10, 28, 7, *equiti* 26, 4, 10; but to this category probably also belong 5, 8, 6; 9, 36, 4; 39, 31, 8. With the passive, however, the dative is used 14 times, 7 being with *immixtus* (to the Antib.¹ add: 21, 32, 7; 24, 3, 12; 27, 18, 12; 29, 28, 3; 30, 33, 12; 37, 39, 9; 40, 12, and for Plin. Nat.: 17, 25; 19, 155).

Two passages deserve particular attention on account of textual or syntactical difficulties. In 29, 28, 3 the text, without variants, is *hominum turba, mulierum puerorumque agminibus immixta*, in 30, 33, 12 the text according to M. Müller, reads *inter immixtos alienigenas*, and the variants are *mixtos alienigenis*. *Agminibus* is better regarded as a dative, and the text of M. M. is to be explained by supplying *popularibus* with *immixtos*. It should be noted that *agmini* is used in 10, 20, 12 with *intermixti*, in 24, 31, 3 with *miscendi eos*, and in Curt. 8, 12, 7 with *immixti*, and to explain *agminibus* as an ablative, as Fügner and Luterbacher do, is to disregard the meaning (personal) of this word and at the same time the force of the prefix *in*. The same line of reasoning is to be applied to 30, 33, 12, if *alienigenis* is the correct reading (so Zingerle and others).

Namque before *Consonants*: this usage is found as early as Liv. Andr. frg. 22 (B.). To Neue II¹, p. 977 and Antib¹. add: Sall. Cat. 36, 5, Cic. Tusc. 3, 44; 65, N. D. 2, 109, Phil. 13, 45, and poet. frg., p. 308 (B.). For the use of *namque* in parenthesis Draeger II¹, p. 163 cites only one passage in Livy (3, 44, 6), but 9 are to be found in this writer. Cf. Lease, Livy, Intr., p. 39 for Livy's use of parenthesis. To Schmalz Synt¹, p. 223 add: Nepos Alc. 1, 2, Eum. 4, 4. From a psychological and stylistic point of view it is interesting to note that some writers, as Cato Agr., Varro R. R., Celsus, Plin. Min., do not use *namque* at all, in others it is not at all common, Cicero (Rhet., Or., Phil.) using it only 35 times, Caesar only 10, and in still others it is a word of frequent occurrence, Nepos using it 64 times, Val. Max. 66, Quint. 65, and Tacitus 51. According to the Antib¹. (= 6th Ed.!) Tacitus uses *namque* only 3 times in second place, and in the first only before a consonant. Cf. also Ann. 2, 43, 22. In the first place he uses it 50 times, and of these only 18 precede a consonant! Furthermore, 'the first example of its post-position in Prose' is not in Varro L. L., but in Cinc. Alimentus (Funaioli, Gram. Rom. Frg. I, p. 2).

Nec = ne . . quidem: to Schmalz Stil¹, p. 40 and Draeger II¹, p. 73 add: Lucr. 1, 1115; 5, 314; 6, 1214, Livy 3, 52, 9; 6, 15, 7, Luc. Phars. 8, 497, Quint. 9, 2, 67, Juv. 13, 97, and particularly Martial in whom this usage is found at least 20 times (1, 109, 20; 113, 2; 3, 2, 12; 4, 44, 8; 6, 3, 4, etc., and *sed nec* 2, 28, 3; 4, 82, 5; 5, 44, 4; 9, 48, 10; 12, 97, 8).¹ *Nec non et*: the Antib¹. refers to Archiv 8, p. 181; for additional occurrences see Lease, Archiv 10, p. 390 and A. J. P. XXI (1901), p. 452. This formula was more widely used by Vergil than by Ovid, but these writers and all others are eclipsed by Plin. Mai. in fondness for

Intermiscere, found only in perf. part.: *agmini* 10, 20, 12, *hostibus* 10, 20, 8, *turmis* 42, 58, 6, and: *intermiscendo dignis* 4, 56, 3.

Permiscere, also only in perf. part.: *senatus* 21, 14, 1, *turbae* 30, 18, 7, *manipulis* 8, 6, 16, *hostibus* 31, 24, 16, *fugientibus* 26, 44, 4 (Caes., B. G. 7, 62, 9 uses *cum f.*), *feminis* 39, 13, 10 and *ploratibus* 38, 22, 8, probably abl. (cf. 2, 33, 8 *mixtus ploratus*). In 27, 35, 10 *permixtae = finitimae*. This verb is also used twice with *cum*, 32, 18, 8 *fugientibus* (contrast 26, 44, 4 above) and 30, 10, 15 *navibus*.

¹ To the "literature" cited in the Antib¹. add: Nägelsb.-Müller Stil¹, p. 771, Kirk, Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 31 f. and Langen to Val. Flacc. 4, 200.

this connective, using it at least 36 times.¹ For *neque* (*nec*) *enim* in Silver Latin cf. Lease, *Class. Rev.* 16 (1902), p. 212 and add the following:

	Neque enim.	Nec enim.
Cicero Rhet	36	11
Cicero Epist.....	47	22
Seneca Epist.....	16	8
Pliny Epist.....	72	0
Livy.....	54	18

Necesse est ut: both Dahl, *Lat. Part. ut*, p. 249 and Schmalz *Anm.* 482 to Reisig-H. Vorles. cite Sen. Ep. 78, 16 (= 78, 17 Hense), but here the text has been emended. To the passages cited add: Sen. Suas. 6, 10, Sen. N. Q. 2, 142 (G.), Quint. 5, 10, 123 (R.), Veget. pp. 16, 14; 24, 18 (Lang), Macr. 1, 17, 3; 6, 8, 6, Somn. Scip. 2, 14, 6; 21, Lact. 1, 3, 16; 2, 11, 8; 3, 12, 7; 9, 11; 18, 2; 24, 8; 7, 15, 11, Ira D., 1, 15, 7; 16, 3, Ambros Off. 1, 87; 2, 41, Aug. C. D. 13, 18; 14, 26; 16, 1; 17, 26; 21, 3 (bis), Conf. 1, 11; 10, 16 (Kn.); Script. Hist. Aug. 18, 49, 1; 20, 25, 4; Servius to Aen. 4, 102; 6, 839. For *necesse habeo* in Quintilian cf. Bonnell, *Lex.* and add 7, 2, 16.

Nescire with infin.: add to Draeger II¹, p. 304, Plin. Min. 5, 11, 3 *nescit stare* and to the top of p. 372, where no passage is cited in prose for *nescius*, Livy 27, 7, 5; 43, 13, 1 (the *Antib.*¹ under *nescire* cites Quint. 8, 4, 28, but this is a quotation from Cicero).

Neve and *Neu*: for a detailed discussion of these two forms in general and in Livy in particular, together with their syntactical usage in that writer, cf. Lease, *Class. Phil.* 3 (1908), pp. 302-315. Particular attention is called to the statement on p. 312 and to two passages of the correlative use of *ut neve . . . neve*, Cic. De Or. 3, 171 and 172 (omitted by Draeger II¹, p. 695), in the latter of which are found two *verbs*, a usage thought to be non-existent in Latin by Bennett, *Critique*, p. 29.

¹ The *Archiv* 8, p. 181 incorrectly cites 29, 22 and omits: 2, 63; 3, 144; 6, 79; 142; 7, 78; 8, 219; 12, 34; 72; 13, 72; 14, 121; 15, 39; 16, 15; 29; 135; 245; 17, 56; 133; 244; 266; 18, 365; 19, 63; 20, 87; 21, 61; 26, 147; 28, 251; 31, 79; 111; 32, 110; 33, 23; 36, 161; 165. Plin. Mai., therefore, uses this formula the unusually large number of 36 times. Add also Suet. Cal. 40, Vesp. 18, Macr. 1, 9, 2; 4, 6, 10; 6, 4, 23; 7, 2, 6, and Char., p. 135, 20 = G. R. Frag. I, p. 484 (Funaioli).

Nolo ut: according to the *Antib.*, 'probably only in Hygin. fab. 189, 9', but also found in Firm. Mat. De Err. Prof. Rel. 8, 3 (p. 24, 182).

Pacisci ut: this construction, as also with an infin., first appears in prose in Livy, according to Draeger II¹, p. 248 and 319. In Livy *pacisci ut* is used 17 times, *ne* twice (37, 32, 10; 38, 24, 4), infin. once (21, 41, 9), acc. and infin. once (34, 23, 7). *Pacisci ut* is also found 3 times in Val. Max., once in Mela, twice in Plin. Min., once in Justin, 3 times in Suet., twice in Gell.¹

Plenus: for Livy's usage reference is often made to Drak. note to 3, 25, 6 (e. g., by Draeger I¹, p. 559, Luterbacher to Livy 5, 21, 10; 7, 28, 7). Here, however, Drak. cites only passages from the 1st decade. Accordingly, reference should also be made to his note at 27, 40, 8 (23, 12, 14; 27, 40, 8; 35, 32, 12 are omitted). In Livy, therefore, *plenus* is used with the genitive about 50 times, with the ablative only 9. Note also the use of the abl. in Ovid Am. 2, 6, 13, Rem. Am. 180, Front. Str. 4, 7, 9; 10, Oros. 7, 13, 2. Cf. further Lease, A. J. P. XXI (1904), p. 450.

Pluere: with this verb Livy prefers the abl. (used 29 times to the acc. (only 4); cf. Lease to Livy 21, l. 1902, and H. J. Müller to 24, 10, 7 (*Anh.*, p. 100). Of a shower of stones Livy uses *lapides pluere* 15 times, *lapidari* 3 times (29, 10, 4; 14, 4; 44, 18, 6), *lapides cadere* in 1, 31, 2; 22, 1, 9; 41, 9, 4, besides *imbri lapidavit* 43, 13, 4 and *pluit lapideo imbri* 30, 38, 8.

Postquam: according to the *Antib.* "Cicero bevorzugt offenbar *posteaquam*, wie ein Blick in das Lexicon von Merguet zeigt". "Das Lexicon" implies that there is only one. While that to the *speeches* does show such a preference, *posteaquam* being used 94 times, *postquam* only 19; the *Lex. Phil.* shows the contrary, *postquam* being used 9 times, the other not at all. In his rhetorical works, also, there is no decided preference, *posteaquam* being used 6 times, *postquam* 5. As a matter of fact, Cicero in his *Speeches* and *Letters*¹ greatly prefers *posteaquam*, but not in his *Rhet.* and *Phil.* works. In Caesar (*Meusel Lex.*) *posteaquam* is used 13 times, *postquam* 10. Sallust (*Cat.*, *Jug.*), Nepos, and

¹ Add to Draeger II¹, p. 248, Livy 8, 36, 11; 9, 42, 7; 10, 37, 5; 46, 11; 22, 52, 3; 23, 15, 3; 24, 47, 8; 31, 17, 3; 45, 6; 32, 25, 9; 36, 9; 35, 51, 8; 38, 9, 9, Val. Max. 5, 4 ext. 3; 6, 1, 10; 7, 4, ext. 1, Mela 1, 38, Plin. Min. 6, 23, 2; Pan. 67, 7 (without *ut* 3, 12, 1), Just. 16, 4, 7, Suet. Caes. 9, 3; 19, 1; 29 (*Ihm*), Gell. 6, 18, 2. Cf. also Quint. Decl., pp. 321, 28; 356, 7 (R.).

² Cf. R. B. Steele, A. J. P. XXVIII (1907), p. 435 f.

Livy, however, all show a marked preference for *postquam* (65-1, 27-9, 372-3). Val. Max. and Plin. Min., it may be noted, use *postquam* frequently, but *posteaquam* not at all. In Cicero these forms are used with the perf. 106 times, the pres. 5, and in Livy with the perf. 258, the pres. 4 (6, 8, 10; 21, 13, 4; 23, 17, 4; 34, 19, 10), with the impf. 80, the plupf. 28.

Potiri: this verb is found with three cases in Plautus, with the abl. 3 times (Asin. 916, Curc. 173, Ps. 1071, and Arg. II 15), the acc. 3 times (Asin. 323, Most. 415, Rud. 190), the gen. 8 times (Am. 187, Asin. 555, Capt. 92, 144, 762, Ep. 532, 562, Rud. 1337). Note also the accus. in Caecil. St. 109 (R.), Lucr. 2, 659; 3, 1038; 4, 760.

Praeterquam: Livy's usage of this particle differs from that of Cicero: Cicero (Or. et Phil.) uses it only 10 times, but Livy uses it 96 times; in Cicero there is no preference for its use with *quod* (used 5 times), but in Livy it is so used 60 times out of 96. (Cf. Lease to Livy I, l. 1149).

Priusquam: here again Livy's usage differs from that of Cicero; Cicero prefers *antequam*, using it 213 times (Rhet. 15, Or. 83, Phil. 54, Ep. 61), to *priusquam*, used 112 times (Rhet. 7, Or. 45, Ph. 25, Ep. 35), but Livy prefers *priusquam* (as Sallust), using it 308 times, to *antequam*, 113 times. So also Nepos prefers *priusquam* (using it 25 times) to *antequam*, used not at all; Velleius, however, uses *antequam* 22 times and *priusquam* only twice (1, 10, 2; 2, 24, 23), and Tacitus, *antequam* 38 times, *priusquam* only 6. *Priusquam ut* is extremely rare, being found, as far as I know, only in Cic. Att. 4, 1, 1; 8, 11 (D.), 5, Lig. 34, Livy 26, 26, 7; 31, 11, 16; 35, 11, 5; 40, 47, 7 and Macr. 7, 8, 8.

Procul: according to the Antib¹. Livy often uses *procul a domo*; in the passage cited, however, as also in 23, 12, 3; 28, 12, 3; 37, 18, 2 and 40, 38, 2, *procul ab domo* is used. Livy is conspicuous in his fondness for *procul* as a preposition, using it in all 65 times (24-23-16-2),¹ but with *ab* only 40. *Procul dubio* is not "erst Suet. und Quint.", as Reisig Vorles. p. 735 stated, nor "erst Plin. Nat. 9, 184 und Liv. 39, 40, 10", as the Antib¹. maintains. Reisig had evidently overlooked Hand IV, p. 594, where Lucr. 1, 812 and Livy 39, 40, 10 are cited. As a matter of fact, the expression is found as early as Cato (cf. Gell. 3, 7, 6),

¹ Neue II⁸, p. 771 cites only 17 occurrences in Livy, and omits the usage of Val. Max. (7), Curtius (8), and 10 passages in Tacitus, 4 in Ovid.

Ennius (cf. Cic. Fam. 7, 6, 1), Accius (cf. Gell. 3, 11, 5), Hyginus (cf. Gell. 10, 16, 18), and later in Val. Max. 1, 5, 5; 3, 2, 9; 5, 2, 5; 7; 6, 2, 5; 9, 4 ext. 1; 9, 7 Mil. 1. It is not found "erst in Plin. Nat. 9, 184", but in 2, 165, later in 17, 86; cf. further Lease, A. J. P. XXI, p. 451.

Prohibere aliquem aliqua re: for Livy's usage the Antib¹ refers to "Fabri zu 22, 14, 2". To the list of 4 here given add: 1, 49, 1; 7, 4, 4; 25, 13; 27, 12, 10. For this verb with a passive infin. "M. Müller zu 2. 34, 11" is referred to; to his list of 17 add 6, 24, 9. Livy in 26, 40, 4 uses *quin* after *nec poterat*, in 25, 35, 6 he uses *quominus* after *non posset*. With *ne*: to Draeger II, p. 294 add Livy 24, 43, 4; 38, 56, 13.

Quamquam: while in Caesar and Nepos *etsi* is the favorite concessive particle, and in Sallust not used at all,¹ *quamquam* is the most common in Cicero's Speeches and Rhet. Works,² in Livy (124 times: 32-50-29-13) and Quintilian (124).³ *Quamquam* with Subjunctive: neither Draeger II¹, p. 768 nor Kühnast, p. 244 cite Livy 38, 9, 11; 57, 8 (cf. H. J. M. *ad loc.*, 3rd ed., 1907). Plin. Mai. 14, 24 and Suet. Caes. 70, Gram. 21 use *quamquam* with an abl. abs., and Plin. Mai. 19, 67; 28, 114; 29, 80; 36, 62 uses it with a pres. part. Cf. further A. J. P. XXI, p. 453.

Quamvis with impf. subj.: found in Cicero, as Brut. 174, Fam. 7, 32, 3, Att. 12, 23, 1, and Sall. Or. Macr. 20, the Aug. poets and late, as Aug. Conf. 4, 6; 6, 4; 10, 15 (Kn.), Oros. 6, 8, 9; 11, 24; 7, 3, 9; with plpf. sub., Verg. Ecl. 6, 50, Plin. Mai. 33, 135, Sen. Ep. 76, 26, and at least 9 times in Orosius; cf. further A. J. P. XXI, p. 453. For its use with the indic. cf. Draeger II¹, p. 770 and add: Val. Max. 2, 2, 7, Celsus 33, 6; 82, 9, etc., Sen. Brev. Vit. 6, 4, Lucan 3, 748, Petron. 58. With the superl., also found in Val. Max. 8, 15 pr., Suet. Dom. 14, 3; with abl. abs., in Ovid Rem. Am. 793, Plin. Mai. 11, 6; 17, 8, Lucan 5, 811, Suet. Caes. 48, and with the pres. part. in Plin. Mai. 11, 270.

Que: for *que . . . que* cf. Draeger II¹, p. 80. Here, however, Liv. 26, 57 is cited for 26, 51, and the following are omitted: Liv. 26, 33, 15, Sen. Clem. 1, 6, 5; 2, 1, 3, Macr. 5, 22, 10, Som. Scip. 1, 14, 6; 16, 9. Note Livy's addition of *que* to final *ē*

¹ Reisig-H. Vorles., p. 268, Anm. 427, b.

² Cic. Rhet. has *quamquam* 65 times, *etsi* 24 times.

³ Quintilian uses *quamquam* 124 times, *quamvis* 31, and *etsi* 8.

in *morleque* 8, 9, 7 and possibly in *tabeque* 21, 39, 2 (cf. Neue I², p. 374). The use of *que* at the end of a period, avoided by Cic. and Caes., but found in Sall. Cat. 5, 1; 15, 1, Jug. 4, 9, is a characteristic feature in Livy's style (about 25 in the 3d decade alone), and was observed also in Plin. Mai. 33, 103, Sen. Ep. 66, 10, Plin. Min. (16 times), Front. Str. (6 times).

Quin, with a Command in *O. O.*: add to the two passages in Livy cited by the Antib¹. 38, 43, 8; 39, 32, 11; 40, 40, 4. *Quin*, consecutive, is used, much more frequently (94) than *quominus* (38).¹ *Non quin* was used twice by Livy, 2, 15, 2; 32, 32, 6.² *Quin*, interrogative, was used 20 times by Livy, 5 in *O. O.*, 14 with pres. indic. (8 in 1st dec.), one with fut. pf. (1, 45, 6); *quin*, corroborative, 28 times, alone 15 (10-3-2-0), + *etiam* 6 (only in 1st dec.), + *contra* 5 (6, 37, 8; 7, 5, 1; 31, 31, 9; 35, 26, 10; 37, 15, 3), + *potius* twice (22, 41, 4; 26, 19, 8), and with *et* not at all. *Quin et*, however, was preferred by Val. Max., decidedly so by Plin. Mai. and Tacitus, but used only once by Quint. (3, 8, 14). *Quin immo* was used 12 times by Plin. Mai. (14, 34; 15, 7, etc., and *quin immo etiam* in 37, 17; 197), by Quint. 6 times (cf. Bonnell, Lex.), and by Plin. Min. 5 (1, 8, 4; 2, 11, 11; 3, 16, 4; 7, 23, 1, Pan. 69, 5). Note *quin . . non* Cic. Att. 5, 11, 6; 8, 11, D. 3, Cels. 109, 17 (D.).

Quisquam, with things: according to the Antib¹. 'already in Lucr., cf. Holze, p. 111'. Two objections can be found to this statement, the first being that the reference should be to Holze I, p. 402, the second, that the usage is found earlier, in Plautus (Men. 447, Most. 608). To Draeger I², p. 99 add: Quint. 4, 1, 10; 10, 7, 3.

Quisque in plural: cf. Antib¹, but note that this usage is not found "Zuerst bei rhet. Her.", but in Plaut. Most. 155. To M. Müller, Livy I², p. 173, add for Masc. and Fem. plur. to the one cited, 10, 35, 8; 37, 43, 8, Masc., and 25, 22, 8; 26, 45, 2; 39, 31, 12 Fem.

Recusare with the infin.: according to the Antib¹. never found in Cicero, but there is at least one example, Ad Att. 1, 8, 1 (cited by Draeger II², p. 336!). Add to Draeger, p. 336: Plin. Ep. 4, 17, 11; 9, 13, 2, on p. 692: *non recusare quominus* Val. Max. 8, 1 Abs. 10. In Livy *recusare* is followed by *quin* 5 times (to

¹ Draeger II², pp. 670 and 691 cites only 33 occurrences of *quin* and 24 of *quominus*.

² Omitted by Stegmann, N. Jahrb., 1887, p. 263.

Dr. II², p. 671 add 29, 18, 9; 30, 30, 25; 32, 21, 15; 42, 42, 3), by *quominus* 3 times (add to Id., p. 691: 43, 16, 12).

Refert: found in Quintilian 37 times,¹ *interest* 25 times, but in Pliny the Younger *interest* is used 21 times, *refert* 15 times. Note the use of *parvi refert* in Quint. 1, 4, 21 and add to Draeger I², p. 465. The remaining uses of the genitive in Quint. are 9, 44, 4 *compositionis*, and twice of persons (8, 6, 58; 12, 8, 2). In Pliny there are but two occurrences of the gen. with *refert*, 8, 22, 4 and Pan. 40, 5, both of things. With *interest* Quint. uses the gen. 3 times (of things 7, 2, 20; 10, 1, 11, of persons 3, 6, 2), Pliny 7 times (of things 9, 13, 25; 10, 98, 2, Pan. 21, 3; 60, 3, of persons 5, 21, 2; 6, 3, 2; Pan. 65, 2). The ablat. *mea*, etc., as in Cicero, is more common with *interest* than with *refert*: in these two authors, however, only *interest* is so used, in Quint. once (7, 4, 10) with *sua*, in Pliny 5 times (2, 1, 14; 5, 1, 13; 6, 6, 8; 7, 20, 6, Pan. 84, 4). Note that Pliny in 1, 23, 1 uses *plurimum refert*, a few lines below, *plurimum interest*, followed in each case by exactly the same words.

Studere: in Plautus this verb is used 23 times, 11 with the dative, twice with accus. (Mil. 1437, Truc. 337), 5 with the infin. (Am. 182, Asin. 281, Bacch. 1161, Poen. 818, Ps. 523), 3 with accus. and infin. (Am. 892, Asin. 67, Stich. 52), and twice with *ut* (Capt. Arg. 4, Poen. 575). It is to be noted that the Antib¹. cites Plaut. Asin. 167 for the use of the dative of the gerund. Plautus, however, uses only the gerundive construction with this verb, Merc. 192, Stich. 678 (in Asin. 67 the acc. and infin. is used).

Suadere with infin.: to the list in Draeger II², p. 324 add: Auct. Her. 3, 8, Quint. 2, 7, 2; 6, 3, 92; 11, 2, 49.

Subinde: according to the Antib¹., 'first in prose in Livy, then Suet.': cf., however, Val. Max. 5, 4 ext. 5, Celsus, p. 100, 5 (D.), Sen. N. Q. 6, 32, 12, Ben. 7, 21, 2, Prov. 4, 9, Ep. 13, 13, (in Ep., at least 20 times), Curt. 7, 7, 30; Col. 2, 4, 11; 6, 30, 2; 11, 2, 8, Mela 3, 47; 102, Plin. Mai. Pr. 28; 11, 81; 144; 34, 120, Quint. 6, 3, 85; 8, 3, 58; 9, 3, 27; 11, 1, 17; 2, 24; 135, Tac. Agr. 14, Plin. Min. 2, 76.

Temperare with a dative: Seyffert and Heräus, according to the Antib¹., each maintained that this construction appeared first in Livy. Drakenborch to Livy 28, 44, 18, however, already called

¹ Under *refert* Bonnell, Lex. omits 1, 10, 40; 3, 8, 48; 4, 2, 116; 7, 2, 14; 8, 6, 24; 9, 1, 17 (5, 12, 17 is cited for 5, 12, 7), under *interest*: 2, 10, 9; 4, 2, 79; 7, 2, 14 and 10, 5, 13.

attention to its appearance in Plautus Rud. 1254. He also uses it in Truc. 61 (elsewhere, Plautus uses the abl. (Merc. 982), *ne* (Stich. 117), the infin. (Poen. 22, 33, 1036) and absolute 3 times.

Ubi primum: though avoided by Cicero and Nepos, it is the favorite with Sallust and Caesar (Archiv 14 (1905), p. 239). It was regarded with favor by Livy also, another departure from the Ciceronian norm, being used 30 times, to *cum primum* 14 and *ut pr.* only 5 (7, 6, 11; 25, 26, 13; 36, 19, 3; 41, 2, 1; 42, 1, 8). On the other hand, Pliny the younger does not use *ubi primum* at all, but *ut pr.* 7 times (1, 9, 7; 3, 6, 6; 6, 6, 5; 8, 3, 2; 9, 16, 2; 10, 3, 1; 9, 1).

Ut qui: According to Draeger II¹, p. 537 *ut qui* was used 18 times by Livy, but, as a matter of fact it was used 36 times, *quippe qui* 28 times. Cf. Lease to Livy, Praef., l. 3.

Velle ut: found as early as Plautus (Bacch. 989a). This passage, as also Cic. De Or. 3, 228, Sulla 1, Phil. 8, 31, Fam. 4, 14, 4, and Firm. Mat. De Err. Prof. Rel. 19, 2 (p. 47, Z.) and Aug. Conf. 9, 4 (Kn.), is omitted by Draeger II¹, p. 255. The paratactic construction is found in Pliny the Younger as follows: after *volo*, pres. subj. in 7, 9, 8 (*bis*); after *velim* pres. subj. in 3, 19, 9; 5, 12, 4; 6, 8, 8; 8, 24, 10; after *vellem*, the impf. subj. in 4, 15, 8; the plupf. in 6, 34, 3.

Veri similis: the Antib¹. should have cited Landgraf's note to Reisig-H., Vorles., p. 621. Here, however, *similia veris* is incorrectly cited for Livy 6, 20, 4 (6, 12, 4 = *simile veri*), and so, also, Livy 29, 21, 1 for 29, 20, 1. For *veri similis*, he, as also M. Mueller, Livy II, p. 150 says, "2 mal": the expression is found 3 times (5, 11, 7; 9, 37, 7; 38, 55, 9). Furthermore, *similia veris* is also found in Livy 5, 21, 9.

In Quintilian *simile veri* is used 12 times (Haustein, p. 39 f. omits 2, 17, 39 (*bis*), 4, 2, 31 (*bis*), 8, 3, 70 and cites 2, 17, 19 for 2, 17, 39), *simile vero* but once (2, 4, 2). Cf. also, for the latter, Plin. N. H. 16, 220.

Versa vice (instead of the modern form, which appears first in Isidorus, Archiv 5, p. 587), is found, according to the Antib¹, 'first in Sen., then in Gell.': cf., however, Justin 13, 1, 7; 16, 4, 18. Note its use also in Oros. 1, 14, 2; 2, 10, 3; 3, 20, 9; 5, 7, 10 and 6, 3, 3.

EMORY B. LEASE.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

IV.—CROSS-SUGGESTION: A FORM OF TACITEAN BRACHYLOGY.

The rhetorical device, "suggestion by contrast", based on certain obvious psychological facts and experiences, is familiar to students of Horace. Prof. C. L. Smith (*Odes of Horace*, Introd., p. lxxi, § 122) defines it: "Where a twofold contrast exists between two objects, it may be indicated by attributing to them single qualities which do not match. Each quality will then suggest its opposite in the other object; as *Carm.* III 13, 6 *gelidos inficiet tibi rubro sanguine rivos*, where the (clear) cold water is contrasted with the (warm) red blood. *Carm.* II 3, 9 *quo pinus ingens albaque populus umbram hospitalem consociare amant | ramis*; i. e., the tall (dark) pine and the (shorter) white poplar". I may say in passing that the difficult lines, *Carm.* III 23, 17-18 may receive light from this principle: *immunis aram si tetigit manus | non sumptuosa blandior hostia*; i. e., the (innocent) and giftless hand is contrasted with the hand of the sinner bearing a costly gift. Cf. for the religious principle involved, I Samuel 15, 22: Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. Another familiar example from Horace occurs in *Sat.* I 1, 1-2, where *nemo* suggests *unusquisque* as the subject of *laudet*, which is contrasted with *contentus vivat*. So also in vss. 118-119, *qui nemo . . . se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis*. A sister principle to "suggestion by contrast" is "suggestion by similarity". This form of "ellipsis" in the wider sense is defined by Prof. Smith (l. l. § 121): "Where two or more qualities belong to a series of objects, the poet is sometimes content to express one with each, leaving the rest to suggestion". Examples, Horace *Ep.* I 16, 50; *Epod.* 5, 37.

Sometimes Horace combines suggestion by similarity with suggestion by contrast; e. g., *Carm.* I 21, 7-8, *nigris aut Erymanthi silvis aut viridis Cragi*; dark (green) and (light) green are the respective shades. From the cases cited below it will be seen that, as used by Tacitus, the qualities from which the suggestion arises, are often placed in a series, but also in a sort

of antithesis, and that besides suggestion by similarity, suggestion by contrast may be involved. Technically considered this device is a brachylogy of the type called *constructio ad sensum* in its broader meaning. It is susceptible of a number of variations, not being limited in use to contrasted objects but applicable also to contrasted ideas.¹ Hence it may appear as ellipsis, syllepsis, zeugma, etc. Inasmuch as many obscure and difficult passages seem to me to find their key in this principle of style, an analysis and subjective interpretation of a few of them may show how the text may be explained without recourse to emendation.

In treating of brachylogy, Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* VIII 3, 82 says, *huic subiacet virtus non solum aperte ponendi rem ante oculos sed circumcise atque velociter. ac merito laudatur brevitās integrā sed ea minus praeſtat quotiens nihil dicit niſi quod necesse est* (*βραχυλογία* vocant quae redditur inter schemata) *est vero pulcherrima cum plura paucis complectitur: quale Sallustii est, Mithradates corpore ingenti, proinde armatus. Hoc male imitantes sequitur obscuritas.*

Without knowing the context of the quotation from Sallust we cannot be sure of the full implication. If *proinde* = *proinde ac si esset*, then *proinde armatus* is almost the same as *sine armis* or *inermis*. But the contrast between his powerful physique (his great natural means of defence and offence) and his less adequate means of offence (*armatus* used absolutely is frequent in this sense, although it may also include defensive arms as is shown in a definition in *Cic. Caec.* 60 *scutis telisque parati*, but cf. the examples in the *Thesaurus L. L.* col. 620–621) might suggest that he was comparatively unarmed. The reference to his huge physique also suggests an opponent or opponents of inferior size and armed to better advantage. Cf. *Tac., Agr.*

¹ Examples from the Greek are: *Soph. Ajax* 1211 ff., *καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐννυχίου | δείματος ἦν μοι προβολὰ | καὶ βελέων θούριος Ἀλας*—where on the analogy of *Psalms* xci. 5, *Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day*, one naturally thinks of *βελέων ἡμερησίων* (*ἀμερασίων*). *Soph. Ajax* 1326 f., *οὐ φήσ' ἔλασεν τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν ταφῆς | ἄμοιρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς βίαν θάψειν ἐμοῦ*. *Soph. O. T.* 241, *ἔθειν* depends on an *αὐδῶ* supplied from *ἀπανδῶ* (= *veto*) in 236. *Herod.* 7, 104, *οὐκ ἔων φεύγειν ἀλλὰ μένοντας . . . ἐπικρατεῖν*. An instance in *Terence, Andria* 620 occurs to me, which may go back to the Greek: *qui me hodie ex tranquillissima re coniecisti in nuptias*—a state of (single) blessedness contrasted with an (unhappy) marriage. Instances might be cited from *Livy*, e. g., *I praef.* 10, where (something good) is understood with *quod imitere* from *foedum . . . quod viles*.

37, *catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre*. If *proinde* = in like manner, then the suggestion may be from similarity, "of powerful physique and powerfully armed." Clearly then in interpreting obscure passages which are susceptible of such analysis, we cannot be certain as to how far the principle of suggestion is to be applied. On the other hand, while the grammatical interpretation may be possible and apparently adequate, without calling in the aid of such a rhetorical principle, the subjective and individual interpretation of an author may make the application not only permissible but even necessary. In impressionistic writing as in painting much is left to the imagination. *Hoc male imitantes sequitur obscuritas*. In the case of a stylist like Tacitus, who affected *varietas*, *brevitas* and *color poeticus* (Boetticher, Lex. Tac. proleg., p. lxvi) there is much obscurity, not a little of which is dispelled by a knowledge of his favorite tricks of expression. In the variation of his phrase-forms he uses more than a hundred different types, his brevity is obtained by a bewildering use of ellipsis, syllepsis and zeugma, as well as by economy of thought through epithet and suggestion, while the poetic effects range all the way from quotation and imitation of the poets to rhythmical cadences.

The object of the present paper is to examine a number of passages in the *Agricola* and *Germania*, in order to show on the one hand the application of the principle of suggestion by contrast and similarity as a natural and legitimate means of interpretation, and on the other hand to explain the text of the MSS tradition without recourse to emendation.

As an illustration of how common this brachylogy is in Latin take the phrase *domi militiaeque*, where the contrasted words have the effect of (in peace) at home and in war (abroad). Yet Tacitus uses the phrase but once (*Hist.* III 75, 2) and the words in antithesis only once (*Ann.* IV 67). Elsewhere he contrasts *domi* with *bellum*, *bellis*, *bellis externis*, *externis rebus*, *adversus externa*, *foris* (see G. and G. Lex. Tac. s. *domus*, p. 314 B), a fact which bears evidence of this author's fondness for avoiding the commonplace by variation, while at the same time it shows his fondness for this schema.

The suppression of details which could be supplied by the reader's imagination was a part of the writer's literary art, as Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* VIII 3, 64) commenting on Cic. in *Verrem*

5, 33 observes: *An quisquam tam procul a concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest, ut non cum illa in Verrem legit; stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in litore*, non solum ipsos intueri videatur et locum et habitum sed quaedam etiam ex iis, quae dicta non sunt, sibi ipsi astruat? Ego certe mihi cernere videor et vultum et oculos et deformes utriusque blanditias et eorum, qui aderant, tacitam aversionem ac timidam verecundiam. Cf. also §§ 67–69.

The cases cited below are arranged not in the order of interest but in their order of occurrence.

Agr. 1. *at nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.* The suggestions by contrast and similarity if expressed would fill out the text somewhat as follows: But nowadays (in contrast with the days of the republic) as I was about to write (a eulogy of) the (virtuous) life of a man who has passed away, I have had need of (asking) indulgence. I should not have asked it (now) (from any necessity) if I had been going to complain (in invective) against times (just passed) so cruel and hostile to high qualities.

Agr. 2. *scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur.* By similarity the suggestion is: *vocem* (sc. *liberam*, from *libertatem*) *populi Romani et libertatem* (sc. *agendi* sugg. by *vocare* in *vocem*) *senatus* (sc. *Romani*) *et conscientiam* (sc. *libere expressam*, sugg. by the *libertatem* and *vocem*). The free expression of what is the common knowledge of mankind is before the mind more prominently than the free possession of that knowledge.

Agr. 2. *sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos* (sc. *huius recentioris aetatis*) (vidimus) *quid* (sc. *ultimum esset*) a simple ellipsis in the second member of two contrasted clauses, where the similarity of thought makes the meaning obvious. Such cases as Agr. 37 *circumire coeperant* (sc. *et circumissent*) *ni opposuisset* (cf. Agr. 4, 13), where the contrast in mode suggests the nonfulfillment of the action or state, present less difficulty because of the idiom which soon became evolved.

Agr. 4. *Massiliam . . . locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum.* By contrast, from *Graeca* understand *Romana* as if the phrase were *Romanae provinciae parsimonia*,

from the adjective *provinciali* understand *urbis* as if the phrase were: *urbis Graecae comitate*; for *comitas* is a quality characteristic of Greek city culture whereas *parsimonia* we might well associate with a Roman province.

Agr. 5. *nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala*. The suggestion is by contrast: *magna* = great (and good) while *mala* = (even a small) evil reputation. The antithesis is between a great and good reputation and any sort of a reputation bad in the eyes of Nero. *In translating it is not necessary to bring out these suggestions, the analysis and interpretation will explain and evaluate them.*

Agr. 6. *ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit*. Similarity of meaning suggests (*edidit*) with *ludos* from *duxit* while from *ludos* (*munera*) may be supplied with *inania honoris*. This form of the brachylogy is commonly known as zeugma.

Agr. 10. *ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur*. From *priores* understand (*a me*) with *tradentur*, from *nondum comperta* understand (*ea nunc demum explorata*) as subject of *tradentur*, from *rerum fide* understand with *eloquentia* (*tantum sed citra fidem*. Cf. Agr. 1) while *eloquentia* itself suggests with *rerum fide* (*sed incondita et rudi voce*. Cf. Agr. 3 end).

Agr. 12. *in pedite robur, quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur, honestior auriga, clientes propugnant*. From *clientes* understand (*princeps*) with *auriga*, from *propugnant* we get the suggestion that it is in battle that the chief drives; it is evident that some of the clients fight in the chariot. The *clientes* are also held in less esteem. (The chieftain) who drives the chariot (in time of battle) is held in more esteem than those who do the actual fighting, that is, his vassals, who fight from the chariot by his side or on the ground.

Agr. 15. *alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere*. The similarity of thought causes *manum* to be understood with *alterius* in the second member; *servos* suggests to *centuriones* the notion that these subordinate officers are likewise the 'minions' of the governor; while from *centuriones* the word *servos* acquires the additional connotation, that the procurators use these slaves as their rough and ready quasi-official representatives.

Agr. 20. sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere. In the last part the antithesis is heightened by chiasmus and the variation from abstract to concrete. *Modestiam* is the characteristic of the orderly (the opposite of *disiectos*), while *modestiam* suggests the disobedience or lack of control of the stragglers. Again *laudare* suggests an idea of blame to be joined with *coërcere*, while *coërcere* seems to throw back on to *laudare* its opposite, some notion of freedom or immunity, to reinforce the words of praise. Evidently any literary style which requires the mind to apprehend so much that is hinted at rather than explicitly expressed must be read slowly, and there is reason to believe that the ancients themselves found Tacitus far from easy reading.

Agr. 24. idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur. *e conspectu* suggests *in conspectu* or *palam* with *ubique*; *tolleretur* suggests its opposite *inferrentur*; while *Romana* suggests *Britannorum* with *libertas*.

Agr. 25. hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. This is a case of suggestion by similarity in an antithesis. *Hostis* suggests for Oceanus the hostile Ocean or perhaps the enemy by sea; more strictly victory over the enemy by sea or by approach by sea (cf. above, *portus classe exploravit quae . . . sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur*). On the other hand *victus* must be understood with *hostis*, as the effect is victory over the land and the enemy, although the emphasis in the former more analytic phrase is more on the difficulties of the land march.

Agr. 29. quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit. We notice first the variation in point of view and length of phrase in *ut plerique fortium virorum* over against *muliebriter*, and *ambitiose* over against *per lamenta ac maerorem*. "Not a few brave men" suggests "all the weaker sex" for *muliebriter*; "ostentatiously" (i. e. in such a manner as to attract popular attention by a stolid reserve and Stoical indifference to grief) suggests natural and complete abandonment to grief without regard to public opinion, as the full content of the contrasted phrases.

Agr. 33. . . . pulchrum et decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt. From *fugientibus* understand *progredientibus* with *in frontem*, from *in frontem* understand *in tergum* (cf. Hist. 3, 38, 17) with *fugientibus*, or some such idea as *ex acie* or *retro* (cf. the various interpretations of this passage in the note of Furneaux ad loc.).

Agr. 35. legiones pro vallo stetero, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi (bellanti, Rhenanus, Halm) et auxilium si pellerentur. Here the antithesis suggests the construction, *victoriae* = *si vicissent* (from *si pellerentur*) *citra Romanum sanguinem* suggests *cohortibus ceteris* with *auxilium*.

Agr. 37. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. From *persultare* (A. T. *perlustrari* B) we must understand by "zeugma" some general neuter verb, *agere*, *progredi* with *cohortes*, with *partem* either the *persultare* of the text or *pedibus perambulare*. The contrast with variation of construction (as common in Tacitus) requires *rariores* = *sicubi rariores erant*. The phrase *partem equitum dimissis equis* requires *equitem* = *partem equitum equis inveciam*; i. e., mounted. As is often the case, the writer's desire for variation in the form of phrase as well as his straining after brevity has led him to adopt this mannerism of artistic suggestion.

Agr. 38. vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obviis. The second member alone has two, not three, words. *Secretus* is a favorite of Tacitus (cf. Gerber and Greef, Lex. Tac.). In Germ. 35 the idea of "peace and quiet" is obtained by adding *quietus*: (Chauci) sine cupiditate, sine impatientia, quieti secretique nulla provocant. In the present instance through suggestion by similarity *silentium* is carried over to *secreti colles*, while the idea of solitude in *se-creti* reinforces the preceding phrase, where it is not explicitly expressed. The picture called up before the mind of the reader is therefore somewhat as follows: everywhere is the silence of solitude and desolation; the hills once noisy and swarming with the hordes of the enemy are now silent, deserted and solitary. Thus the opposite is conjured up before the mind, just as in Quintilian VIII 67-69 the single word *expugnatum* in its context recalls all the horrors of the sack of a city.

Agr. 38. Britanni trahere vulneratos, vocare integros. Similarity in the two contrasted phrases suggests: (*integri*) *trahere vulneratos* (*vulnerati*) *vocare integros*. Of course we cannot exclude the case (*integri*) *vocare integros*, which would obviously occur in the attempts at rally or more organized retreat.

Agr. 45. nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. The contrast between the figurative and literal use suggests *horrore perfudit* from the following *sanguine perfudit*. In the same way *Maurici Rusticique visus* suggests with changed construction, *Senecio* (sc. *occisus*). For this use of *perfundere*, cf. Cic. ep. ad Att. VIII 6, 3 qui me horror perfudit. Cf. Cic. de Fin. V 24, 70.

There are several passages where the application of this principle may help in the establishing of the correct reading.

Agr. 31. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in paenitentiam laturi . . . ostendamus, etc. Charles Knapp (Proceed. Amer. Philol. Assn., vol. 33, pp. xlix-l) reads as above by simply omitting the *in* (in the MSS) before *libertatem*. This reading may also be defended by applying the principle of suggestion by contrast. *Brigantes* (sc. *gens una*) *femina duce* . . . *nos* (sc. *omnium civitatum vires* (c. 29) *viro duce*). . . . *Nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset* (sc. *ita ut minus valerent*) is contrasted with *integri* (sc. *socordiae*); *indomiti et libertatem laturi* is contrasted with the idea of (*iugum servitutis ferre coacti*) implied in *exuere iugum potuere nisi*; *non in paenitentiam* is contrasted with *felicitas in socordiam vertisset*, which implies that the Brigantes grew tired of their independence which they could just as well as not have maintained and that they preferred to take upon themselves the Roman yoke. So by a shift of ideas *libertatem laturi* implies *libertatem* (*non iugum*) *laturi*. This series of contrasts might be still further elaborated.

Agr. 44. opibus nimis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant; i. e., opibus nimis (quae ei non contigerant) non gaudebat; speciosae (sed non nimiae opes, quibus revera gaudebat) contigerant. If this be a fair interpretation, there is no necessity for emending with Rhenanus and others to *non contigerant*.

Agr. 44. nam sicuti durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre ita festinatae mortis grande solacium

tulit evasisse e. q. s. For *sicuti* read *sicut ei*. *Ei* suggests (*nobis*) to be understood with *grande solacium tulit* below, while the latter phrase suggests by syllepsis and similarity of thought (*grande solacium tulisset*) with *ei*; for the dawn of the new era would have compensated him for his enforced endurance of the Terror which he was not destined to see ended. If this interpretation be correct, there is no necessity for emending with Dahl and others, by supplying *non licuit* with the first member.

Agr. 15. plus impetus felicibus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. The Toledo MS and the newly found "E" of the library of Conte G-Balliani in Iesi, supply *felicibus* needed for the sense of this passage. Before this I had tried in a very unsatisfactory way to interpret on the principle of cross-suggestion, rather than resort to emendation; e. g., *integrīs* or the like. *impetus*, offence, initiative, and the impulse to push on and complete a work, is a positive quality, whereas *constantiam*, the resolution to stand firm on the defence, is a negative or at least a neutral quality. On the analogy of such usages as Livy II 51, quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit (for other examples see Draeger Hist. Synt. d. lat Spr. II, p. 655) one might attempt to explain the sense by supposing that Tacitus had, in a striving after brevity, suppressed the *quo* before *plus* leaving it to the reader to supply the necessary antithesis by cross-suggestion, from *penes miseros*; i. e., Let them not be dismayed by the issue of one or two battles (with the Romans) (the) more impulse (to fight), (the) greater resolution on the part of their victims. Or put as it used to stand in the text: more offence, more defence on the part of the poor wretches. Hence *penes miseros* suggests *victoribus* or *felicibus*. Of course, unless, as some have supposed, *felicibus* is itself an emendation of great antiquity, there is now no longer need of resorting to the principle of cross-suggestion.

In the Germania there are a large number of cases where cross-suggestion is probably intended; at any rate the application of this σχῆμα may help solve some of the difficulties. Among the more interesting are the following.

Germ. 2. Quis . . . Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictā, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque e. q. s. May not the contrast suggest (fertile) Asia, (the clear sky of) Africa and (civilized and sunny) Italy? The

abuse of such retroaction is illustrated by the following distich of Hildebert, Bishop of Tours 1056-1133:

Durus eques, iudex rigidus, plebs libera quondam
Quaerit, amat, patitur otia lucra iugum.

Evidently the construction is *durus eques quaerit otia, iudex rigidus amat lucra, plebs libera quondam patitur iugum*. (C. Pascal, *Poesia Latina Medievale*, p. 45.)

Germ. 4. *magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia*. *valida* = able (and willing—a suggestion from *non eadem patientia*); *laboris* (contrasted with *impetum*; i. e., sudden effort) = continued toil as cause; *operum* the effect, the production of buildings, tilled fields, military works and the like. The implication then is: they have big physiques and are able and willing to undergo sudden violent exertion, but they are neither able (suggested by *valida*) nor willing to undergo sustained toil so as to produce works that last.

Germ. 4. *minime sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inedia caelo solove adsueverunt*. With *tolerare* supply *adsueverunt* and with the latter the former; *minime* suggests *sed maxime* with the second member. With the first member *caelo* is thought of as rainy weather and *solo* as a well-watered soil; with the last member *caelo* is thought of as frosty weather and *solo* as a comparatively unproductive land. The effect then is: Being used to a rainy climate and a well-watered land they dislike the sensations of heat and thirst, and having become inured to low temperatures and the scanty crops of a naturally unproductive soil, they are accustomed to bear cold and an insufficiency of food.

Germ. 4. *terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda*. *specie* = in appearance (and by contrast with *in universum*, also “in detail”; i. e., in details of appearance; but cf. Dial. 25, 18: *nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant*). On the other hand it is possible to attach to *in universum* the notion of *aspectu* carried over from *specie*.

Germ. 4. *umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit*. *umidior* = damper (and less windy) *ventosior* = windier (and less damp). Instances of this class are so common in all sorts of style that they need not be multiplied here. Doubtless in many of them there is no cross-suggestion intended,

inasmuch as only the salient qualities of the objects mentioned are described. Yet in many cases the adjectives belong to entirely different spheres or categories, and seem to reinforce each other.

Germ. 4. *satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens*. We may not be going too far in inferring from the contrasted *ferax* and *impatiens*: It not only bears crops of grain but produces them in abundance, whereas it is not naturally adapted to fruit-bearing trees, and the quantity of fruit produced is scanty. Cf. c. 10 of the lots made from a branch of a fruit-bearing tree, "fruit" being used in a broad sense.

Germ. 6. *rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur; hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt*. *Rari* suggests (*plerique*) with *hastas gerunt*; *maioribus* suggests (*minores*) with *hastas*.

Germ. 14. *nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri*. For this use of *annus*, cf. Agr. 31, *ager et annus*. The "yearly crop" is meant, what will result from the process *arare terram* and the other agricultural operations. Hence *arare terram* receives by contrast the notion of plow (and sow) the earth. The lapse of time implied in *exspectare annum* suggests to the mind the obviously proper time for beginning to plow and plant, to be mentally supplied with *arare terram*. Moreover, the agricultural term, *arare terram* paired off with the poetical *exspectare annum*, suggests for the latter the other duties of the tiller of the soil, which occupy his attention until the time of reaping. Again *vocare hostem* receives from *vulnera* the idea of *provocare hostem ad pugnam* (the preliminary to fighting is the challenge, just as plowing and planting are to reaping; *vulnera mereri* expresses the result, *vulnera quasi mercedem accipere*—the wounds come as an answer to the challenge—*vocare*. Hence *vocare hostem* is also contrasted with *arare terram*, the preliminary operation pointing to an expected result; *vulnera mereri* (a poetic phrase) is also contrasted with *exspectare annum* (another poetic phrase); the expected crop comes after the long wait after the preliminary plowing and planting, the wounds come as the expected result of battle, for which they would necessarily look in challenging the enemy to fight.

Germ. 22. *in conviviis consultant, tamquam si nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat*. The contrast suggests "direct expressions of opinion

(in minor matters) and important projects (of a more complicated or delicate nature)."

Germ. 27. sepulcrum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. The contrast between German and Roman custom is then as follows: the light common sod is used to raise their simple burial mounds, whereas among the Romans, lofty, elaborate, pretentious, tombs of stone receive the dead.

Examples enough have been discussed to make plain the frequency and almost myriad variety of form and use of this stylistic device in these two early works of Tacitus. In applying the principle there is great latitude possible. Where quantity is contrasted with quality, abstract with concrete, literal with figurative, moral with physical, subjective with objective, the mind of a discriminating reader cannot fail at times to be arrested, now by a feeling of surprise at an incongruity or a lack of concinnity, now by a certain picturesqueness in the impressionism, now with the poetic color, and again with an effect perhaps closely akin to the humorous. Many of these characteristics are really inherent in the Latin language, which is fond of economy of expression. The Roman had a habit of including several ideas in a single clause, where in English we should employ as many sentences. But a literary artist like Tacitus¹ mixed upon his palette a great variety of pigments, applying them to his canvas with a studied deliberation, as if he constantly stepped back from his easel, to get the best effects of *chiaroscuro* and symmetry. In this way Tacitus has evolved a style which not only calls forth the admiration of the casual reader but is a constant source of surprise to those who will take the time to analyze it.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

¹J. Vainey, *Quomodo dici potest Tacitum fuisse summum pingendi artificem*, Parisiis 1896, discusses Tacitus' power of visualizing, his manner of arranging the central and minor parts of his pictures, his choice of subjects, and his style as compared with that of other writers. The dissertation does not treat of his purely rhetorical devices.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

RECENT LITERATURE ON ANCIENT ANIMAL NAMES AND EFFIGIES.

Attention has frequently been called to the difficulty of identifying with certainty many of the species of animals and plants mentioned by ancient authors or depicted in minor art productions that have come down to us from remote antiquity. That the theme is a fertile one, commanding the interest and inviting the coöperation alike of classical and natural history students, none will deny. We may be permitted in the present article to take note of some recent contributions to the literature of this subject, our purpose being less a presentation of original results than an attempt to show along what lines investigation may profitably be conducted, and what sort of problems and difficulties are to be encountered.

To begin on native ground. In an address before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1860, as printed in the fourth volume of the Proceedings of that body, the late Professor Sophocles of Harvard remarks as follows :

" Few things connected with Greek philology present more perplexity to the scholar than the identification of plants and animals whose names occur in ancient Greek authors. With regard to the Greek naturalists, as a common rule, they were content to mention some of the most striking peculiarities of plants and animals. Minuteness of observation and accuracy of description were apparently undervalued by most of them. Consequently they had no *technical language* properly so called; the popular language of the day being deemed sufficiently definite for their purpose. And as each Greek city had its local peculiarities, it was natural that more local names than one should be employed to designate a given species."

Elsewhere in the same communication occurs this passage:

" A considerable number of plants and animals mentioned by ancient Greek authors may be identified with the help of the modern language of Greece, as spoken by the common people, provided the following proposition be admitted; that *when the ancient name of a plant or animal is still heard among the Greeks, the presumption is that it is the traditional name of that plant or animal.*"

About the same time, Cornelius Felton, former President of Harvard, a noted Philhellene of whom Lowell said that he "was Greek to the finger-tips", records with regret in his first edition of the Aves (1861) that a considerable portion of the birds of Athens' great comic poet still remain unidentified; and this, too, notwithstanding the aid had been invoked of no less eminent a

naturalist than Louis Agassiz in an effort to determine them. Felton likewise, in commenting on Agassiz's rediscovery of the γλάνις of Aristotle (= *Parasilurus* of modern systematists), maintains with Professor Sophocles that "the ancient names of birds, fishes and quadrupeds, in numerous instances, are preserved among the common people, under forms modified in the same way as other classes of words are by the uneducated."¹

After a half century of progress we find a philologist of our own day addressing the Congress of Arts and Science at St. Louis on The Problems of Greek, and referring to the matter of biological nomenclature in these words:²

"The names of animals and plants are troublesome. The *αλλουρος* and *γαλῆ*, with the later *κάττα* and *κάττος*, have a literature of their own, and yet the cat problem remains unsolved. Despite volumes on Greek birds, the make-up of the chorus in the Aves is not altogether settled. . . ."

Numerous other testimonials of like nature might be given. Not only is it true that volumes have been written on Greek birds—some of them very estimable, as witness D'Arcy W. Thompson's *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895)—but ichthyological names in particular have been carefully investigated by both naturalists and philologists from the time of Scaliger onward. Noteworthy among the older works is J. G. Schneider's *Synonymia Piscium graeca et latina* (1789), published as an extension and emendation of a like-named essay of Peter Artedi, father of modern systematic ichthyology. Among recent contributions to the same subject may be mentioned Jordan and Hoffmann's *Catalogue of the Fishes of Greece* (1892), and Krumbacher's elucidation of a newly-found thirteenth century "Fishbook" (1906). Additional references to the literature of this topic will be found in articles contributed to *Science* for 1905-7 by Dr. Theodore Gill and the present writer.

But to pass on from the birds and fishes, let us consider the higher vertebrates. In spite of the vast amount of effort that has been expended since Cuvier's or since Darwin's time in tracing the history of the different animals domesticated by man, the "cat problem" to which Professor Humphreys alludes is by no means the only one remaining unsolved. With regard to this very matter Otto Keller of Innsbruck remarks as follows in a recent instructive article:³ "Die Geschichte der Katze gehört zu den interessantesten, aber auch zu den schwierigsten Kapiteln der Kulturgeschichte überhaupt. Es scheint, man kann nicht vorsichtig genug sein". This admission is the more significant

¹ *Proc. Amer. Acad. Arts Sci.* (1861) 4, p. 334.

² Milton W. Humphreys, *The Problems of Greek*, Cong. Arts Sci., St. Louis Expos. (1906), 3, p. 165.

³ Keller, *Zur Geschichte der Katze im Altertum*, Mitt. deutsch. Arch. Inst., Röm. Abth. (1908), 23, p. 40. Cf. also his *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (1887). Wessely, K., *Woher stammt die Katze?* *Urania*, 1909.

considering that it is from the author of an extensive series of contributions to the history of feral and domestic animals in antiquity,¹ and estimating at their full value the enlightening researches along similar lines by his namesake Dr. Conrad Keller of Zürich (*Die Abstammung der älteren Haustiere*, 1902), and of Eduard Hahn and Victor Hehn (*Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, 1896; *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 6th ed., 1894).

Somewhat analogous to the cat problem is the question as to the antiquity of the lion in Greece, this being one of the four large quadrupeds which have become extinct in that country since the period of Athenian supremacy. The identity of the Urus or Aurochs, which persisted in Europe as late as the sixteenth century, has long been a perplexing topic around which has grown up a considerable literature. Those interested in the latest phase of the discussion will do well to consult A. B. Meyer's article on the lion in Greece, and Yermoleff's on the Caucasian bison, reprinted in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the years 1903 and 1906 respectively. It may not be amiss to recall in this connection that the distinguished French zoologist, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, contributed a very readable essay on leonine species formerly inhabiting Hellas.²

It would be an easy but thankless task to multiply illustrations of this sort, for the fact is sufficiently evident that our knowledge of ancient natural history matters is in many respects imperfect and confused. Reviewing the individual classic authors, one finds that the animals of Homer, Herodotus³ and Aristotle have received very considerable attention, whereas relatively little has been bestowed upon the rest, save for an occasional disquisition on the fish-names occurring among the *scriptores minores*.⁴

Nor, with the exception of the now antiquated work of H. O. Lenz on the Zoology of the Greeks and Romans (1856), has there been any comprehensive and adequate exposition of the same theme. As compared with the *Hierozoicon* of Bochart, a really marvellous repository of information on biblical animals, and the most authoritative work of its kind, the deficiency is noteworthy and regrettable. For the compilation of such a work special aptitude and training are, of course, necessary; or, as a

¹ An idea of the extent of the special literature that has accumulated during recent years may be had on consulting the general index of Bursian's *Jahresberichte* (1898).

² *Expéd. Scient. de Morée* (1833), 3, p. 34 ff.

³ Benecke, *Ueber die Thiere des Herodots*. *Wissensch. Monatshefte*, 1879.

⁴ This predilection for investigating ichthyological names extends also to Semitic and other oriental writings. Compare, for example, H. Lenz, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (1895). I. Löw, *Aramäische Fischnamen*, in Nöldeke's Anniversary Volume (1906, 1, p. 549 ff.). Delitzsch, *Assyrische Thiernamen* (1874). F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den süd-semitischen Völkern* (1879). J. J. Köhler, *Die altenglischen Fischnamen* (1906).

learned critic (A. Rüge) has said, "tiefdringende naturwissenschaftliche und philologische Kenntnisse zusammen sind dazu nötige Vorbedingungen". The necessary qualifications for such a task were possessed in high degree by two eminent German zoologists who have recently deceased: the late J. Victor Carus, whose *History of Zoology* is a standard treatise, and Rudolf Burckhardt, author of a short compendium on the same subject, and of numerous suggestive articles on primal biological science (*Ueber antike Biologie; Das koische System*, etc.).

In studying the zoological notices and allusions of a given classic author one turns first of all for aid to the critical notes and commentaries supplied by various editors and recensors of the text. For instance, in the case of the Aves, one will note carefully the Agassizian identifications given by Felton, and determine whether any of these should be modified in the light of the newer conclusions of Benjamin B. Rogers, embodied in his edition of 1906. An inquirer will in the next place consult the special glossaries that have been prepared of Greek and Latin animal names, checking his results with the aid of those systematic works—and of these there are many excellent ones—which deal with the fauna of the two peninsulas. Lastly our investigator, if he has sufficient patience and a liberal sense of that "curiosité permanente et empressée" which the genial philosopher of Périgord enjoins upon us, will not disdain laying under contribution the endless series of inaugural dissertations, Schulprogramme, Promotionsreden, and varying assortment of serious and dilettante articles in classical and scientific periodicals. It is in this way that contributions of real and permanent value have been produced, such, for instance, as the critical commentaries on Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (a new one by L. Dittmeyer has only recently made its appearance), or the late Hugo Berger's *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen* (2d ed., 1903), or Hugo Bretzl's treatise on Botanical Knowledge resulting from the Alexandrian Conquest (1903).

A word of caution, however, as to the trustworthiness of the conclusions put forward by amateur essayists. Too often these are lacking in critical insight or discernment, or there is insufficient foundation of fact, or the meaning of the facts themselves is misconceived, or again the extraordinary, the fantastic and the far-fetched is preferred to the familiar, simple and plausible, or yet again it may be that a spirit of vanity disinclines one to be satisfied with results that are neither novel nor positive in character; all of which is inimical to that state of mind which is content, when conditions demand it, to hold judgment in suspension. Common sense conclusions are always safest, and conjectures which are chiefly remarkable for their ingenuity, and partake of the nature of a contest in the art of guessing, never fail to arouse scepticism. Wisely declared Hippocrates: "The

sinews and fibres of knowledge consist in believing nothing rashly."

It is a common rule of logic that the improbable is always to be distrusted. But preliminary to the application of this principle to the matter in hand it is necessary to know what constitutes the improbability of an alleged fact or conclusion. Precisely here are seen the advantages of special equipment, and conversely the lack of it exposes the unwary to numerous pitfalls. The danger will perhaps be better appreciated by citing one or two examples. For instance, there is not the slightest scientific foundation for the hypothesis that the prototype of the legendary Polyphemus was a gorilla, a creature which first became known to the ancient world through the *Periplus* of Hanno;¹ nor for the equally absurd identification of Scylla with a gigantic octopus, far exceeding in size the solitary Mediterranean species;² nor for the alleged anticipation of the Darwinian theory of evolution by an Aphrodite cultus at Mycenae;³ nor for the fanciful conjecture put forward in all seriousness that the Indian creature made known by Ctesias "with powerful tusks above four feet long"—whence its subsequent appellation *odontotyrannus*—was in reality the mammoth;⁴ nor that the "bird" *δίκαιπον* (in point of fact none other than the Scarabaeoid dung-beetle), whose ejections are said to have produced painless death like sleep, is merely an allegorical paraphrase for opium;⁵ nor for the alleged commensal habits of the crocodile and trochilus, or spur-winged plover.⁶

Amongst other things it will be seen from the few instances we have taken at hazard that Euhemerism is responsible for some very curious deductions in the domain of ancient animal nomenclature. On the other hand, the judicious employment of this principle is often productive of gratifying results, as witness the following illustrations.

¹ Zell, Bursian's Jahresb. (1901), 117, p. 11. There is some doubt whether the 'gorilla' (onomat.) brought back by the famous Carthaginian navigator of the fifth century before our era was the same anthropoid to which the name is now applied. By many the meagre description is thought to refer to the chimpanzee. A connection between the cyclopean legend and Sicilian bone-caverns has been suggested by D'Archiac (*Revue Scient.*, 1863, 1, p. 395).

² Tümpel, *Der mykenische Polyp und die Hydra*. Festschr. f. J. Overbeck, 1893, p. 144 ff. Also in *Philol.* (1894), 53, p. 551. H. Steuding, *Skylla, ein Krake am Vorgebirge Skyllaion*, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Päd.*, 1895, 151, p. 185.

³ F. Houssay, *Les théories de la genèse à Mycènes et le sens zoologique de certains symboles du culte d'Aphrodite*, *Revue archéol.*, 1895, pp. 1-27. H. Coupin, *Le poulpe et la croix gammée*, *La Nature*, May 20, 1905, p. 396.

⁴ J. F. Brandt, in *Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Pétersb.* (1861), 3, p. 335. Græfe, in *Mém. ibid.* (sec. sci., polit., etc., 1832), 1, p. 69. Olfers, *Abhandl. Akad. Wiss. Berlin f.* 1839 (1842), p. 62.

⁵ Ch. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2d ed., 1874, 2, p. 652.

⁶ There are not wanting modern editors who repose confidence in this time-worn observation myth which has been handed down to us from the father of history (Herod. 2, 68).

First, to note a popular fallacy, widespread in point of space and time, and having to do with remains of fossil animals. Readers are familiar with the veneration in which the bones of "giants" and legendary heroes were held throughout classical antiquity. Leaving out of account the more primitive gigantomachia,¹ there are a number of passages in ancient authors describing occurrences which are paralleled in patristic and secular chronicles of later times, especially those recording the translation of bones of saints. Some of them, furthermore, find their analogue in the comparatively modern refflorescence of the Teutobochus myth. One has only to recall the very circumstantial account given by Herodotus (1, 67 ff.), Plato (de Rep. 2, 3), Pausanias (1, 35; 8, 29), Philostratus (Heroicus, 1) and others of the discovery of the remains of Homeric chieftains and divers local heroes, reports which tally at all points with the exhumation of fossil vertebrate remains. There is often internal evidence, apart from the huge size of the members, to show that these could not possibly relate to human skeletons. Besides, even in antiquity there were not wanting thoughtful persons who scouted the popular interpretation of these relics. Suffice it to note that Suetonius, Hadrian's astute secretary, shrewdly observes that "the bones of huge beasts or sea-monsters both have and still do pass current for the bones of giants."²

Now this rationalistic, or if one will, Euhemeristic interpretation of the passages³ in question which relate to the "graves of giants" has pointed the way to practical results of far-reaching importance. Taking his cue from the ever-helpful Pausanias, who mentions the finding of huge bones in the plain near Megalopolis, Dr. Theodore Skouphos⁴ of the University of Athens, organized a systematic search for skeletal remains in the vicinity indicated, and was rewarded by the discovery of a new and extremely rich fossiliferous locality, rivaling the famous bone-bed of Pikermi, on the road between Marathon and Athens.⁵

¹ Cf. Max Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* (Berlin, 1887). See also Cuvier's *Hist. des sci. nat.*, etc.

² Cited by Charles Blount, in his curious annotations on Philostratus, 1680 (concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus), a work which was ineffectually suppressed for political reasons.

³ The loci critici are commented upon in the following able articles: E. von Lasaulx, *Die Geologie der Griechen und Römer. Abhandl. bayer. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl.* (1853), 6, p. 577. M. Hoernes, *Einige Notizen alter Classiker über Auffindung vorweltlicher Thierreste (sog. Riesenknochen). Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien* (1880), 40, p. 308. J. Schvarcz, *The Failure of Geological Attempts made by the Greeks* (London, 1862-68).

⁴ Skouphos, *Ueber die paläontologischen Ausgrabungen in Griechenland in Beziehung auf das Vorhandensein des Menschen. C. R. Cong. Internat. Archéol., 1ère session* (Athens, 1905). Remains of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, mastodon, hyaena, boar, and various ruminants have been brought to light in great profusion as a result of this fortunate discovery.

⁵ First exploited by A. Wagner of Munich, and described in detail by the late Professor Albert Gaudry in his *Animaux fossiles et géologie de l'Attique* (Paris, 1862-67).

For a second illustration, let us take the case of the problematical 'odontotyrannus' of the Alexander saga, whose characters are derived with some curious modifications from the unnamed "amphibian" of Palladius, or the σκώληξ of Ctesias and Aelian; "bestia maior elephante, tribus armata in fronte cornibus: quam Indi appellant *odontotyrannum*, capitis equini, coloris atrii". (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum hist.*, 4. 54). All sorts of guesses have been made as to the meaning of this word. One author, as we have seen, gravely asserts it to have been the mammoth, whose survival into historical times thus becomes a necessary postulate. Various others have claimed it to be the crocodile, boa constrictor,¹ Platanistid of the Ganges, elephant and rhinoceros; and the lexicons usually render the appellation "vermes."

The latest and most successful attempt at a solution of the problem is that of Curt Müller,² undertaken at the instigation of Professor Joseph Partsch, who has so greatly augmented our knowledge of the physical geography of Greece. Ctesias is unquestionably the ultimate source of the widely varying versions in regard to this remarkable creature, as he was also the first to introduce the knowledge of the elephant and other oriental wonders—to say nothing of the fabulous unicorn—to the western world. But just as the origin of the μονόκερως has been traced by Schrader³ and others to ornamental designs painted on the walls of the Persian court at Persepolis, so too the odontotyrannus is susceptible of a somewhat similar interpretation, the description of it possibly harking back to Indian textile designs. In different ways it has been possible to reconcile other apparently incredible statements of Ctesias—as for instance, that relating to a tribe of swarthy-hued Indians who subsist exclusively on lacteal diet and have no evacuations—with the reports of modern travellers.⁴ Wherefore, as Lassen remarks, "the accusations of mendacity heaped upon the Greek physician by the ancients have been generally withdrawn."⁵

An ornithologic name of analogous formation to the last is pterygotyrannus, found among the Indian glosses in the Lexicon of Hesychius (L. H. Gray and M. Schuyler, *Indian Glosses in Hesychios*. Amer. Journ. Phil. 22, p. 199). This has been variously interpreted as a pheasant, parrot and peacock, with the chances in favor of the first-named (*Phasianus argus*). The word itself is interesting for recalling certain vernacular epithets

¹ Lassen, who proposes this conjecture, is happily oblivious of the fact that this reptile is peculiar to South America.

² Müller, *Studien zur Geschichte der Erdkunde im Altertum*. Inaug. Diss., Breslau, 1902.

³ Schrader, *Ueber Monoceros, etc.* Sitzungsber. preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1892, 2, p. 573.

⁴ Capt. F. Wilford, in *Asiatic Researches*, 1809, 9, p. 69.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 2d ed., 1874, p. 641.

of domestic animals, as developed in the large cities of the Graeco-Roman empire. Among slang expressions of this sort, as Professor Sophocles has pointed out, are *πετελιός*, *cock*, literally the winged one; *ἄλογον*, *horse*, literally the irrational animal.¹

Yet another example of keen philological analysis is furnished by the application of the Euhemeristic principle to the myth of the gold-digging ants. On this point we will content ourselves with quoting the following paragraph from an article by the director of the Dublin Museum of Science and Art, Professor Valentine Ball:²

"The so-called myth of the gold-digging ants was not cleared up till, by chance, information was received as to the customs and habits of the Thibetan gold miners of the present day. Then Sir H. Rawlinson, and independently, Dr. Schiern, of Copenhagen, were enabled to come forward and state beyond a question of a doubt that the *myrmeces* of Herodotus and Megasthenes were Thibetan miners, and, it may be added, their dogs. The same dogs are now for the first time identified, as will be seen further on, with the griffins. . . . I will mention also that the horn of the gold-digging ant, which we are told by Pliny was preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythrae, and which for centuries has been the subject of much speculation, was probably merely one of the gold-miners' pickaxes. I have been informed by an eyewitness, Mr. R. Lydekker, that the picks in use by agriculturists and miners in India consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles."

It may be instructive perhaps to cite still one more instance where an apparently insoluble nature-myth has been shown by means of comparison and correlation with known facts to contain a substantial nucleus of truth. Throughout mediaeval and ancient literature are found abundant allusions to the spontaneous generation of insects, chiefly bees and wasps, from decaying animal carcasses. This belief was extremely widespread, and not infrequently invested with symbolical significance, in so far as corruption may have been thought to be put off for incorruption. Even among Arabian chronicles of the first millennium of our era we meet with passages like the following, which is extracted from

¹ Proc. Amer. Acad. Arts Sci., 1860, 4, p. 409. One should be on one's guard against accepting with too great literalness an author's assignment of characteristics to particular animals, since experience shows that in ancient, precisely as in modern times, these are sometimes arbitrarily transposed from one creature to another. Thus, when the Romans first encountered the elephant in the army of Pyrrhus in Lucania, they gave it the name of the "Lucanian ox", as Lucretius says (de Rer. Nat. v. 1301):

Inde boves lucas turrito corpore, tetras,
Anguimanus, belli docuerunt volnera Poeni
Sufferre, et magnas Martis turbare catervas.

To mention only one modern instance, readers of Voltaire will recall how in *Zadig* various qualities are attributed to the basilisk which conventionally belong to other fabulous creatures.

² Proc. Roy. Irish Acad., 2d ser., 1885, 2, p. 303.

Albiruni's Chronology of Ancient Nations (Sachu's ed., 1879, p. 214):

"The formation of scorpions out of figs and mountain balm, that of bees from the flesh of oxen, that of wasps from the flesh of horses, is well known to all naturalists. . . . For worms are produced out of flesh, and in flesh lice and other animals are living."

For a simple and convincing explanation of this observation-myth, scholars are indebted to the late Baron Osten-Sacken, of Heidelberg, who identifies the "Bugonia" of ancient fable with the mimetic fly *Eristalis tenax*, and the supposed "wasps" emanating from putrescent horse carrion with another Dipterid insect, *Helophilus*. The Baron's interesting essay On the Bugonia of the Ancients is now readily accessible, having been reprinted from an Italian entomological journal in English dress, to which are added some supplementary comments. (Heidelberg, 1893-5).

Turning now to our collateral topic, we may note some of the attempts that have been made toward elucidation of the graphic or plastic representations of forms of animal life that have come down to us from olden times. In this category are included engraved portraits, whether on gems, coins, metal-work or the monuments; statuary, in the round or relief, and of the materials usual in the plastic arts; and lastly the protean assemblage of vase and mural paintings that yield such a rich mine of information. The subjects depicted in Pompeian wall frescoes have been exhaustively treated in well-known monographs, and separate indices have been published of animal and floral representations. So too, have the animal designs engraved on island gems¹ and coins received special attention at the hands of competent students. The minor art productions which have been perhaps least investigated from a strictly zoological point of view are statuettes,² ceramic paintings and inscriptions.

Regarding the last-named, it is interesting to recall that Egyptian animal inscriptions were first studied by Champollion and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire during and following Napoleon's ill-fated expedition; and, after nearly a century of neglect, there is evidence of a revival of interest in this direction. Very important for the naturalist, from their bearing on former geographical distribution and variation of animal species during the lapse of a score of centuries—however imperceptible that may appear to be—are the recent studies of Lartet and Gaillard on the mummified animals of Egypt.³ We may refer also to a brief article by Dr. R. Lydekker of the British Museum, entitled Some

¹ Cf. Imhoff-Keller, Tier u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen u. Gemmen, etc.

² Blumenbach, J. F., Specimen historiae naturalis antiquae artis operibus illustratae eaque vicissim illustrantis. Got., 1808. Remarkable for being an early portrayal of the rare two-horned rhinoceros.

³ Arch. Mus. d'Hist. Nat. de Lyon, 1903, 7, No. 2.

Ancient Animal Portraits, which was contributed to *Nature* for 1904, and presents the following pertinent comments (p. 207):

"Very little attention appears to have been hitherto directed to the correct identification of wild animals represented in the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian sculptures, and in the frescoes of Egypt under the Pharaohs. Antiquarians and Egyptologists seem in the main to have contented themselves with calling an animal a gazelle, an antelope or a deer, without the slightest attempt to ascertain whether such titles are correctly bestowed, and in some cases utterly oblivious of the fact that deer (with the exception of the Barbary red deer and the fallow-deer in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) are quite unknown in the African continent."

Although it is true that comparatively little has been done in investigating Asiatic animal inscriptions, nevertheless a laudable beginning was made in the last quarter of the preceding century by W. Houghton in his essay *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*.¹ In this the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness for numerous hints to Delitzsch's work on Assyrian Animal Names, indispensable to all students of the monuments. More recently O. Schrader has contributed a suggestive article on certain profile figures represented in oriental art designs, from which may be traced *inter alia* the conventional idea of fabulous creatures like the unicorn and the chimaera.² Properly to appreciate these and similar results is to recognize, and, should it lie within one's power, to respond to an incentive for further progress.

C. R. EASTMAN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The Acropolis of Athens. By MARTIN L. D'OUGE. 8vo. The Macmillan Co., 1908. Pp. XX+405.

This handsome gilt-edged volume, published as a companion to Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*, is profusely and beautifully illustrated with nine photogravures, seven plans (one colored), and 134 cuts in the text. In view of the many works which have appeared on Athens as a whole, it is instructive to have one which is limited to the Acropolis. Yet so much of the history and culture of Athens centered about the Acropolis that its history is really the history of Athens and we have in the present work almost as large a volume as Gardner's *Ancient Athens*, to which it is similar in make-up and from which many illustrations are taken. The

¹ Houghton, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1877, 5, p. 33; pt. 2, p. 319.

² See too, in *La Nature* for April 17, 1909; Prof. E. Trouessart's article entitled *La licorne chez les anciens et les modernes*, and one by O. Théatis in a recent number of *Le Musée*, on the Lion in Ancient Art. In this last the lion is shown to be one of the most frequently represented animals in ancient art, the oldest example cited being an ivory statuette found at Abydos.

arrangement is in the main historical though an analysis shows that neither the strictly chronological nor strictly topographical order is followed. Chapter I discusses the Acropolis, its Natural Features and Original Occupation as Sanctuary, Citadel, and Residence; chapter II considers the Earliest Historic Period down to the Persian Destruction, the Pelargicon, the Beulé Gate, the Roman Stairway, the Old Temple of Athena, Remains of Sculpture; chapter III covers the period from the Persian Destruction to the Age of Pericles, taking up the subject of the Walls, the Propylon, the Older Parthenon, Foundations below the Periclean Parthenon, Curvature of the Lines of the Parthenon, Remains of Sculpture; chapter IV treats of the Age of Pericles, the Parthenon, the Propylaea and Temple of Wingless Victory, and the Erechtheum; chapter V examines the Temples and Shrines on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis and the Theatre of Dionysus; chapter VI deals with the Acropolis in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods and the Descriptive Tour of Pausanias on the Acropolis; chapter VII gives an account of the Acropolis from the close of the Roman Period to the Present and of Modern Investigations and Restorations. Pages 332-342 give 228 valuable notes and references which present other views than those of the author, supplement the text, and bring it up to date. There are three appendices and a good index. The first appendix gives (A) the original sources and (B) Frazer's translation of Pausanias' Description of the Acropolis and (C) a select bibliography. The second is an English abstract of Professor White's article on the Pelargicon which appeared in modern Greek garb in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1894. The third discusses the problem of the Old Athena Temple and the Hecatompedon.

Professor D'Ooge was director of the American School in Athens in 1886-7 and was present during the excavations on the Acropolis. He has made repeated visits to Athens since and this book is the fruit of his life work and especially of his personal study of the site and its ruins. He has not merely given us an excellent and convenient summary of the most important contributions to the history of the Acropolis but has expressed sound independent judgment on the opinions of others and has taken unto account with few exceptions the most recent investigations. Dörpfeld's new theory that the older Parthenon is Pre-Persian is adopted and his reconstruction of the original plan of the Erechtheum is accepted. Stevens' discovery of windows in the east wall of the Erechtheum is noted and his reconstruction given, p. 330, fig. 134. The recent restoration of the west wall and north porch may also be seen, p. 199, fig. 90.

Professor D'Ooge follows Dörpfeld in most of his views but differs from him especially with regard to the Old Temple of Athena and the Pelargicon. He believes that the Pelargicon and the fortifications of the Acropolis did not remain till the time of Herodes Atticus but (p. 30) that the Pelargicon was destroyed

by the Persians, never to be restored. This seems hardly consistent with the view expressed, pp. 16 and 28, that the Acropolis continued a citadel until the Age of Pericles and then ceased to be such. It perhaps is an exaggeration to say (p. 30) that Professor White has refuted Dörpfeld and (p. 29) to call his theory extraordinary. Is not rather Professor D'Ooge's theory extraordinary that from the Mycenaean epoch till the Age of Pericles and in late times the Acropolis was fortified but that in the height of its glory, when Sparta and others were waiting for a chance to attack it, Pericles left it unprotected? The operations of 403 B. C. and 86 B. C. as well as those of 480 and 479 B. C. indicate some sort of fortification. The towers and walls of the Beulé Gate, too ugly for ornaments, certainly seem to show (p. 33 notwithstanding) that the Acropolis was fortified from the first century and I feel that the view that it was always a citadel as well as a place of beautiful buildings has not been finally disproved. Nor can I bring myself to the certain conclusion that Dörpfeld is wrong with regard to the Old Athena Temple, though Professor D'Ooge presents the different views with great clearness and his arguments carry weight. His own theory (p. 49) is that "after the Persian invasion the old double temple of Athena and Erechtheus and the old Hecatompedon were provisionally repaired until they were superseded by the Parthenon and Erechtheum". Why should the Hecatompedon be repaired instead of the older Parthenon, which also was burned by the Persians? If, as Professor D'Ooge thinks, the Old Athena Temple was repaired, as well as the Pelargicon, it could have stood only a few years. He seems to think Pericles instituted an era of destruction as well as of construction, destroying the Old Athena Temple, an older Erechtheum, and the Pelargicon,—a theory for which there is no more evidence than for the continuance of these structures when once repaired. Gardner and others are followed (p. 67) in the belief that the lower town of Athens had a wall before the Persian attack. Some scholars, however, still dispute this in view of the facts that there are no remains of a city-wall before Themistocles (and his was a wall of sun-dried bricks) and that the march to Marathon and the taking to ships before the battle of Salamis may best be explained on the theory that Athens had no walls to protect her citizens and so took the offensive instead of defensive. These, however, are matters of opinion and it must be said that Professor D'Ooge is very sane in his views. His work is so well done that the first edition doubtless will be quickly exhausted and possibly I may be pardoned for making a few suggestions out of several which occur to me for a second edition.

In the first place one or two general criticisms. The most recent editions are not always cited. For example, p. 340, note 183 the reference is to Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* no. 36 instead of to the later and better edition of Hicks and Hill,

(1901), no. 55 and p. 356 to Luckenbach, *Die Akropolis* (1896) rather than to the far superior edition of 1905. Likewise it would be much better, p. 332, note 16 to cite Wiegand, *Die Archaische Poros-Architektur* than J. H. S. XVI, 338 and, note 18, to cite Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* rather than a mere report in *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 140. P. 355 Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, 2 vols. is mentioned with its German title but there are now four volumes. In the bibliography several titles are lacking; the list, however, is selective and on the whole excellent. It should nevertheless include at least the works of Lechat (especially his *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*), Gräber's article on the *Enneacrunus Ath. Mitt.* XXX, p. 1 f., Lermann's *Alt-Griechische Plastik* (important for the study of the polychromy of the sculptures of the Acropolis) but above all Kavvadias und Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis 1885-1890*, and Furtwängler's articles in the *Sitzb. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1905 and 1907. For the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions* we still have the abbreviation C. I. A. instead of I. G. The use of the phrase "recent excavations" (pp. 16, 95, 296 *et passim*) for excavations of nearly a quarter of a century ago seems strange in an ever-changing and progressive subject like archaeology. But such minute defects do not impair the book's essential value, which is certainly great. The long and hard labor of over twenty years which Professor D'Ooge has put into his task of love has found fruition in a most noble volume.

Architectural terms are sometimes used loosely and not always with their exact archaeological and technical meaning. The word *stylobate* in a strictly architectural sense applies only to the upper step of the *crepidoma* (a word not used by Professor D'Ooge) whereas it is applied here to the whole *crepidoma* (cf. pp. 89, 114, 197, etc.) and we hear often of the "top step of the *stylobate*". P. 124, *mutules* are not square but always rectangular. P. 126, from the third sentence one might get the idea that "the golden or bronze jars or tripods" were not also *acroteria*. An *acroterion* is not merely an *anthemion* nor is it limited to the ornament on the apex of a gable. P. 128 (so also p. 160), the technical word *taenia* should be used instead of "moulding". Strictly speaking one limits the word *taenia* to the moulding above the *architrave* and it should not be applied to the band above the *frieze* as is done, p. 130, where we have the spelling *tenia*. *Triglyph* or *triglyphos* is a better word than *triglyphon* (pp. 129, 169). We cannot speak of the lowest course of a wall as "the so-called *orthostas*" (p. 197). Moreover the plural *orthostatai* is preferable to the singular which must be *orthostates*. P. 218, most archaeologists prefer Attic-Ionic to Ionic-Attic style.

P. v, it is not strictly accurate to say that "the excavations upon the summit and the slopes of the Acropolis of Athens were completed in 1889" because many excavations have been made on the west and especially on the north slope since that time (cf.

'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 1 f., Miss Harrison, Primitive Athens, p. 89 f.), to say nothing of some work on the summit itself. P. 14, Mycenae is said to be the only ancient Greek city whose original plan we know with some degree of definiteness. Surely we know that of Gournia as well, to say nothing of Palaikastro, Phylakopi, and many later Greek cities. Pages 53-63 are already antiquated by Furtwängler's criticism of Wiegand's reconstruction of the *poros* pediments of the Hecatompedon (cf. Sitzb. d. k. Bayr. Akad., p. 1905, p. 433 f.), and especially by the work of Petersen and Heberdey (cf. Petersen, Die Burg-tempel der Athenaia, pp. 21-40; Hellenic Herald II, 1908, June, p. 121). Nor does Professor D'Ooge seem to know of Furtwängler's reconstruction (cf. op. cit., p. 458 f.) of the marble group representing the gigantomachia, from the pediment of the Old Athena Temple. Nor is any attention paid to Furtwängler's sound criticism of Schrader's theory with regard to the so-called "wagenbesteigende Frau" (p. 62) and the archaic relief of Hermes (p. 104) that they belong to the frieze of the Old Athena Temple. In Sitzb. d. k. Bayr. Akad., 1907, 1 f. Furtwängler argues that these reliefs come rather from an altar. P. 64, it is not certain that the marble group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in Naples is a copy of the work by Antenor. Some think this is a copy of the group by Critius and Nesiotes. P. 73, fig. 24 is taken from Weller's article on the Pre-Periclean Propylon in Am. J. Arch. VIII, 1904, p. 35 f. and not from Jahn-Michaelis, Arx Athenarum (1901), as is stated, p. xiii. P. 74, for Hermes Propylaea read Propylaeus. P. 101, fig. 40, we should have included in the reproduction of the Moscophorus the inscribed base and the right foot. Nor is this "the best preserved male figure that has come down to us from the time antedating the Persian war" (p. 102). The so-called Apollos of Tenea, Melos, Keratea, Sunium, etc., are better preserved, to say nothing of the marble figures of the giants from the Hecatompedon, if the statement be limited to the Acropolis. On pages 103 f. some of the sentences and references have in some way become confused. The sentence at the end of the first paragraph, p. 103 ("The type of this rider", etc.), is out of place. Moreover the description, p. 103, applies not to fig. 41 but to fig. 46, p. 107, and *vice versa*, p. 107, we have a description not of fig. 46, a marble head, but of fig. 41, p. 103, a bronze head. P. 110 says "One might say of Pericles that he transformed the Acropolis from a fortress built of lime-stone to a sanctuary of worship whose shrines and temples were constructed of white marble". But long before Pericles plenty of marble was used in the Older Parthenon, the Old Temple of Athena, and the Earlier Propylon, this last being built almost entirely of marble, to say nothing of the numberless marble statues and inscriptions. The statement would apply nearly as well to Peisistratus or Cleisthenes as to Pericles. On the same page we hear that the chief architect of the Parthenon was "Ictinus who had already

distinguished himself by the building of the great temples of Demeter at Eleusis and of Apollo at Bassae". But probably the Periclean Telesterion, and certainly the temple at Bassae, is later than the Parthenon (cf. Frazer, Pausanias IV, p. 404). P. 143f., it would be well to mention the admirable copy of the Athena Parthenos in Patras, cf. B. S. A., 1896-7, p. 121 f. P. 183, the northeast hall of the Propylaea is said to have a row of nine Doric columns whereas Wood has shown there were only eight (cf. J. H. S. XXVIII, p. 331). Pp. 183, 184 on the subject of the roof of the Propylaea we must not be content with accepting, as we are advised to do, the conclusions of Penrose, Bohn, and Dörpfeld, for Wood and Dinsmoor are proving that their work is not acceptable. The roofs were hip-roofs, not gables. P. 189, it should be stated that there are two decrees relating to the Nike temple, one somewhat later than the other. Pp. 196, 197, it is difficult to believe with Professor D'Ooge that the Erechtheum within a year or two after its completion was called "the ancient temple of Athena", especially since it was a temple of Erechtheus or Poseidon as well as of Athena. Pp. 207, 211, it is thought that the paintings of the Butadae were on the walls of the middle room but they were more probably (cf. note 139) in the east room and this would explain the purpose of the windows discovered by Stevens just as it does in the *Pinakothek* of the Propylaea. Nor do I think the word "double" in Pausanias refers to a double story but rather to the double temple of Erechtheus and Athena. P. 216, it is said of fig. 99 that "the head and tail of the serpent appear above the chest" containing Erichthonius. But these are the heads of two serpents, not the head and tail of one, cf. Wiegand, *Die Archaische Poros-Architektur*, p. 96. Pp. 217, 218, we might explain the Caryatid Porch as the grave-monument of Cecrops. P. 235 f., the views of Dörpfeld and Puchstein with regard to the Greek stage in general and with regard to that in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens are well summarized, but a recent article by Petersen in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXIII, p. 33 f. thinks the proscenium of stone is not Hellenistic but a part of the Lycurgan building, and that the supposed row of columns along the front of the *scene* wall never existed. Nor is there any reference to Petersen's account of the Nike bastion in l. c., p. 12 f. P. 287 and note 186 there should be a reference for Artemis Brauronia to Pickard, *Am. J. Arch.*, 1898, p. 367 f. P. 288, mention should be made at least of the copies of the group of Marsyas and Athena which stood on the Acropolis (Paus. I, 24, 1), and of Sauer's reconstruction in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXIII, p. 125 f., of which there was a preliminary publication in *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1907, col. 1243 f. In fact the account of the sculptures of the Acropolis is incomplete and there is no account at all of the important vase-finds. P. 340, note 190, "*he* is of the opinion, etc.", Professor D'Ooge seems not to have made the acquaintance of Miss C. A. Hutton.

The reading of the proof has been unusually good, but cf. pp. 82, 83, VI for VII three times, p. 113 of for cf., p. 133 to observed for to be observed, p. 162 diphoroi for diphrophoroi, p. 337, note 114, Kapitā for Kapital, p. 339, note 167, Hyppolyteum for Hippolyteum.

As has been said above, criticisms upon this work of Professor D'Ooge are obliged to confine themselves to minutiae; for that is practically the limit of their field. These delightfully written and scholarly pages not only retire Bötticher's treatise as an up-to-date investigation of the problems of the Acropolis but constitute a most helpful handbook to the tourist in Athens as well as a standard work for the archaeological specialist.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. VOL. XII. Second Half.

299-300. F. Vollmer, A request for lexical material from monographs and notes in periodicals, with a suggestion as to a convenient form for sending these.

301-308. E. Wölfflin, Analogiebildungen auf -ellus, -ella, -ellum. By the addition of the dimin. suffix -lo to noun stems we get through syncope and assimilation forms in -allus, -ellus, -illus, -ollus and -ullus, such as *grallae* (= *grad'lae*), *libellus* (= *liber'lus*), etc. Of these the forms in -allus and -ollus are least frequent, while those in -illus and -ellus are most common. Such forms as *tantillus*, *novellus*, etc., are not double or three-fold diminutives, but the use of -ellus and -illus was extended by analogy, and displaced -ulus. This tendency was increased by the mistaken idea that -ellus in *misellus* (= *miser'lus*), etc., was a suffix; cf. -anus in *Romanus*. *Villa* (*vic-la*) may be connected with *vicus*, in spite of the difference in gender and the rarity of *ll* from *cl*, neither of which is unexampled.

309-331. G. Helmreich, *Zu Caelius Aurelianus Acutarum passionum libri III.* A continuation of the investigation begun on pp. 173-186. The conclusion is, that anyone who uses this writer for grammatical and lexical studies cannot rely on Amman's text, but must make use also of the *editio princeps*.

331. Eb. Nestle, *Animaequitardare*. This word, which is omitted from the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, is read in *Eccl.* 29. 8 (11) = *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* 12. 407. 7. Additional examples of the noun *animaequitas* and the adj. *animaequus* are also given.

332. E. Wölfflin, *Lucania*. The earliest instance of this word appears to be in *Hor. Serm.* 2. 1. 38. Previously *Lucana* (sc. *terra*) or *Lucani* was used, and the latter should be read, rather than *Lucania*, in *Cic., Tusc. Disp.* 1. 89.

333-344. E. Wölfflin, *Epitome*. Although this word is of Greek origin, it does not seem to be used as a title in Grecian literature. Among the Romans M. Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, published an epitome of Polybius, Caelius Antipater and Fannius. Somewhat later Varro made an epitome of his *De Ling. Lat.*, reducing the original 25 books to 9, as well as of the *Imagines* and the *Antiquitates*. About the year 30 A. D. an epitome of Livy was in existence, which in common with the

periochae of the same writer contained also matter drawn from other sources. From the time of Hadrian even the epitomes themselves were abridged, as for example Festus by Paulus. The difference between a periocha and an epitome is, that the former is a mere summary, a sort of table of contents, while the latter furnishes a readable text. The pure Latin word for an epitome, according to Seneca (Epist. 39. 1) was in his time *breviarium*, in earlier times (olim) *summarium*. The former term was also used of a brief history, not an abridgment of a more extensive work, but based on various sources. Other synonyms of *breviarium* are *brevis* (sc. liber), *breve*, *abbreviatio*, and *compendium*. In general we find that the Romans, even in epitomizing, were in the habit of adding matter from other sources, a fact which is unfavorable to the view that Roman writers of history depended on a single source.

345-354. E. Wölfflin, *Plinius und Cluvius Rufus*. The parallelism between Tac. Hist. i. 81 cum timeret Otho, timebatur and Plut., Otho 3 φοβούμενος . . . ἦν φοβερός is so close as to make it evident either that Plutarch made use of the Histories of Tacitus, or that both drew on a common source. Of those who hold the latter view, some regard the source as Pliny the elder, others as Cluvius Rufus. Wölfflin believes that Plutarch took the expression directly from Tacitus, both because Tacitus was a diligent reader of Seneca, in whose works such antithetical expressions are common, and on account of the parallelism of quod timent an quod timentur, in Tac. Dial. 13.

354. E. Wölfflin, *Titulus Mummius*. Would arrange this in four lines and read the last two as follows:

Ob hasce res bene gestas quod in bello voverat
Hanc dedicat aedem et signu Herculis Victoris.

355-365. Meader-Wölfflin, *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa III*. A continuation of the review on pp. 239 ff.

365. A. Zimmermann, *Zur lateinischen Wortbildung*. Since *opter* = *propter* is found in Corp. Gloss. IV. 265. 15, *opter* quod in C. I. L. VI. 14672 should not be changed to *propter* quod. *Albarus*, = λευκός, Corp. Gloss. III. 264. 33 is related to *albus* as *Oscan casnar* is to *cānus*. The same suffix -ar appears in *Caesar*, *Firmarus*, *Aesar*, and *Longarenus*. The name *Stolus* in C. I. L. VI. 4925 shows the existence of an adjective *stolus*, related to *stultus* as *Sancus* is to *sanctus*. *Indolis*, = ἐπίπονος, Corp. Gloss. II. 80. 54 confirms the derivation of *sedulus* from *dolus*. *Indolis* is formed like *inanimis* and *sedulus* like *securus*. *Commoram* = *cōram* (co-ōram), Corp. Gloss. V. 14. 30 and 56. 12. Suggests the meaning *contra oram*. *Tellor* = *homo*, Corp. Gloss. ii. 595. 16. May be related to *tellus* as *decor* is to *decus*. *Necessis*. Derived from *ne* and *cessis*, verbal substantive from *cedere*; cf. *messis* and the adverb *cessim*.

366. E. Wölfflin, *Agnellus, agellus*. *Agnellus* is an example of the extension of the suffix *-ellus*: see pp. 301 ff. above. *Agnulus* would have become *ag(e)n-lus, agellus*, and would have been a homonym of *agellus* from *ag(e)r-lus*.

366. E. Wölfflin, *Salsamentarius*. Horace's father is said in the *Suetonius vita* to have been a *salsamentarius*. The word means a dealer in salt fish and salted meats.

367-372. R. Planta, *Die Bildung aus -ēnus*. Would derive words in *-ēnus* from a primitive Italic *-einos*, a by-form of *-inos*, contrary to the view of Skutsch. He makes an exception, of course, of those words in which *-ēnos* represents an original *-esnos*, among which he would not include *egēnus*. Also to be excluded are the words in which the actual suffix is *-no*, such as *habe-na*, and analogical forms, such as *terrenus* beside *aenus*. The interesting suggestion is made that the abnormal gentile name *Verres* came from an original *Verrenus*.

373-400. E. Wölfflin, *Moderne Lexikographie*. An interesting and suggestive article, a summary of a paper presented to the *Bayerische Acad.* in 1894. The necessity of taking into consideration the historical and geographical points of view, as well as the style of individual writers, and the branches of literature which they represent, is dwelt on. The causes of the death of words and the substitution of new terms are discussed, and the recovery of lost words from existing Latin derivatives and from the Romance languages.

400. J. E. B. Mayor, *Besta : similitudinarie : infrugifer : anxio*. Cites instances of all of these words, the existence of which was denied by Weissner on p. 284.

401-410. E. Lommatzsch, *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis*. An examination of the language and style of this work, based on the edition of Oder, Leipzig, 1901. The judgment of Vegetius, *eloquentiae inopia ac sermonis vilitate sordescunt*, is confirmed, and it is shown that V. in his use of the work attempted to free it from vulgarisms of syntax and style.

411-425. Miscellen. G. Gundermann, *Bruta*. The gloss *Heronalacah brutae diversarum* should be read *ἡρώων ἀλοχοὶ brutae diversorum*, *brutae* being a Germanic borrowed word = *Braut*, and *diversorum*, the translation of the Greek *διαφόρων*; cf. Hesychius, *ἡρώες· οἱ διαφέροντες ἀρετῇ*.

G. Gundermann, *Oruia*. This word is a Latinized form of *δρύα*, the vulgar word for the classical *χορδή*, "sausage."

G. Gundermann, *Glos. Gluttit. Gluma*. A reconstruction of the glosses on these words in *Corp. Gloss.* II. 24. 29-32, where they are confused.

J. M. Stowasser, *Die sogenannte Interjektion EN*. Three varieties of *en* must be distinguished, interrogative, hortative, and

deictic. These are of different origin, the first being for *estne*, "is it possible?"; the second from *in* = *isne*, *eisne*, corresponding to the use of *age* with imperatives; the last a Sandhi-form for *em* (= *eme*). *Enim* und *Nempe*. *Enim* is only used affirmatively, and is the imperative of *immo*. *Nempe* is of Umbrian origin, introduced into Latin by the Umbrian Plautus. It is formed of *enem* and *-pe* (= Lat. *-que*), and lost the first syllable by *procope* (cf. *stud* for *istud*, etc.), of which it is perhaps the earliest example.

E. Wölfflin, *Das Suffix -aster*. This suffix, derived from *ad* and *-tro*, implies nearness or similarity to, and is not always "pejorative" in its meaning; the *surdaster*, for example is only *subsurdus*, and hence better off than the *surdus*. It is doubtful whether any suffix is strictly speaking "pejorative."

E. Wölfflin, *Propitius, Komparativ propior*. In Quint. 10. 1. 91 would take *propius* as comparative of *propitius*; cf. *ferus*, *ferocior*, *fidus*, *fidelior*. *Propius* seems to have the same force in Verg., Aen. 1. 526, and perhaps in Mart. 1. 70. 16.

K. Brugmann, *Salus*. The *ti* in this word is original and not from a diphthong. It is a primary abstract in *-ti-*, like *dos*, *mens*, *ars*, etc.

F. Vogel, *Ipse etiam. Domo. Latro*. In Cic. ad Att. 4. 1. 1 would strike out *nec* and put a comma between *me* and *ipsum*. This change frees Cicero from the charge of ingratitude, and substitutes *ipsum etiam* for the dubious *nec etiam*. In Phil. 1. 24 *domo* is used in a double sense, implying that the documents produced by Antony are "home-made". The legend that Rome was founded by robbers arose from a misunderstanding of the meaning of *latro*, which originally meant a soldier.

O. Densusianu, *Zu "bubia"* Arch. X. 228. The existence of this word is made probable by Roumanian *imbuibare* for Vulg. Lat. **imbubiare*, "eat to repletion."

O. Densusianu, *Carrus, das Sternbild des Bären*. This meaning of *carrus*, which is preserved in all the Romance languages, is not recognized by the Latin lexicons, but is found in Corp. Gloss. III. 425. 20-30.

426-444. Review of the Literature for 1900, 1901.

445-453. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Latinität der Epitome Caesarum*. The *Epitome* is at least a generation later than the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor, since it extends to the death of Theodosius (395); and it is written from a different point of view, following the biographies of Sueton. and the Script. Hist. Aug., rather than Tacitus and Ammianus. The writer's own language is best studied in chapters 40-48, where he ceases to follow his sources closely; it is inferior to that of Aurelius Victor. Some peculiarities are noted in the use of the personal and demonstrative

pronouns, and of prepositions, as well as in the comparison of adjectives.

453-454. E. Wölfflin, *Matrem gerere*. Defends the reading *lupa . . . matrem (se) gessit*, in *Flor.* i. i. 3, against *matrem egit* of *Cod. Bamberg*.

454. E. Wölfflin, *Agricola = Agricolus*. Suggests that the original nom. of *agricola* was *agricolas*, corresponding to *paricidas* (*Paul. Fest.*, p. 221).

455-463. G. Landgraf, *Ueber das Alter der Martial-Lemmata in den Handschriften der Familie B*. The language of these is that of the writers of the fourth or fifth century, and the lemmata are to be assigned to the Gennadius to whom the rescension of the B codices is due, or to his assistants. He is identified with the person addressed in Claudian's letter *ad Gennadium proconsulem*.

463-464. H. Moeller, *Ferens*. The citation *ferens turis* from *Manil. V. 340* is incorrect in *Thes. L. L.*, s. v. II 2, since *turis* depends on *ignem* farther on in the sentence. *Ferens* is used absolutely in a middle sense. Of this use, already known in *Nepos, Dat. 4. 5.*, M. gives two additional examples, *Manil. 5. 395* and *Egnatius ap. Macr. 6. 5. 2*.

465-472. G. Landgraf, *Die Hegesippus-Frage*. (Dedicated to Wölfflin on his 71st birthday.) Shows by an examination of the language and style of the Latin version of the *History of Josephus*, sometimes attributed to Hegesippus, that Reifferscheid was right in saying that it was unquestionably the work of Ambrosius.

473-477. Meader-Wölfflin, *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa, IV*. A continuation of the article on pp. 355 ff.

477. P. Wessner, *Oricula*. This orthography occurs in *Donat. Eun. 539*, where instead of *oculis accipiat*, we should read *oriculis accipiat*.

477-478. *Amusus*. This word should be read in *Donat. Eun. 3. 3. 31*.

478. E. Wölfflin, *Os umerosque deo similis*. In this passage (*Verg., Aen. i. 589*) *similis* is equivalent to *assimilatus*, with the force of the middle voice. In *Tac. Ann. 6. 9* the construction *clari genus* is poetic usage.

479-550. P. Maas, *Studien zum poetischen Plural bei den Römern*. The term poetic plural is defined as covering those instances in which prose under the same circumstances has the singular, excluding, of course, prose with a poetic coloring. The existence of the so-called *pluralis maiestaticus* is denied, and in general all efforts to assign to the plural a special shade of meaning is regarded as a mistaken one. The usage is found to be of

Greek origin, extended however by the large number of words in Latin which are plural in form, but singular in meaning. It is confined to certain words and to certain cases, and shows a regular development. In many instances it is to be explained on metrical grounds, since the singular will not fit into dactylic verse. Euphony also has its influence, as well as a desire to differentiate the poetic from the colloquial language. A special investigation is made of the plural in the case of expressions denoting mass and in those denoting parts of the body. The former are in part archaisms, which came into the poetical from the colloquial language. Here, too, prosody had an influence, particularly in the case of nouns of the so-called second declension with a trochee before the case-ending, as well as euphony. The use of words denoting parts of the body in the plural is unlimited only in the nom. and acc.; in the other cases it is never the rule, and it is exceptional with neuters. The paper, which cannot well be reduced to an abstract, is full of suggestions for further investigation. It is provided with an index.

551-559. E. Lommatzsch, *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis II.* A continuation of the article on pp. 401 ff.

560. E. Wölfflin, *Uber, Ubra*. Instead of the singular of the cod. Bamberg., the plural should be read in Flor. 1. 1. 3, on the ground of general usage, of which instances are cited.

560. J. Cornu, *Foevea = fovea*. In Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. 18, p. 86, l. 10, *foveam* is read for *foveam*. *Foeveam = foiviam* is a new example of the attraction of the semi-vowel *i*; see Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*. II. 528-539.

561-578. G. Landgraf-C. Weyman, *Die Epitome des Iulius Exsuperantius*. Text with critical apparatus and commentary.

578. E. Lattes, *Ab und Caitho*. The Etruscan cognomen *Ab* (CIL. XI. 2038 = CIE. 4279, *A. Caitho Ab*) is not found in the Thes. L. L. It is probably an abbreviation of *Aber* for *Haber = Faber*. Some parallels to *Caitho* are also cited.

579-587. Miscellen. J. M. Stowasser, *Abaso*. This word, which has been admitted to the Thes. L. L., is a mere misspelling of *agaso*.

Eb. Nestle, Dextrator, δεξιολάβος. Compares *dextrator*, found in CIL. VIII. 2532, with *δεξιολάβος*, in Act. Apost. 23. 23 of which it may be the Latin translation.

F. Sommer, *Biduom und triduom*. The long *i* is explained as due to compensatory lengthening, rather than to the analogy of *pridiē* and *postridiē*. The words are formed from **bisduom* and **trisduom*, earlier **dvis divom* and **tris divom*. *Quadriduom* is formed on the analogy of these two words.

A. Zimmerman, *Zur Bildung der lateinischen Personennamen*. Cites instances of Reduplication (Mama: Ma, and with broken reduplication, Amma); of Shortening (Cassius: Κάσσανδρος; Philomusus: Musa: Mus); of the use of the Greek fem. suffix -is in Latin names (Montana: Montanis; Nona: Nonis; Plenia: Plenis), of the ending -ucus (Caducus, Manduccus, with the development of a gentile suffix in -icius: Abuccius, Callucia, etc.); of the insertion of s through error (Caiu Spontius, Scalvinus, Scatia, Stersita); of the substitution of a more convenient ending (Secus for Secuns: Praesta for Praestans: Princus for Princeps?).

588-602. Review of the Literature for 1900, 1901, 1902.

602. Berichtigung zu besta. The examples from Lact., given on p. 400, must be abandoned. So also the one from Primasius, cited by Hausleiter.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXVII (1908).

Janvier.

Ernest Muret. *De quelques Désinences de Noms de Lieu particulièrement fréquentes dans la Suisse romande et en Savoie*. 46 pages. The theory has long been held that a large number of place-names in French Switzerland and in Eastern France are derived from Germanic names, but the present article aims to show that this was not the case and that most of them are of Gallo-Roman origin. The questions discussed are matters of chronology and etymology.

Joseph Bédier. *Les Chansons de Geste et les routes d'Italie*. 33 pages. In this the concluding article of the series various legends concerning Italian towns are mentioned, including that of the birth of Roland at Imola. Next the various ports of embarkation from Italy for the Oriental pilgrimage are discussed, together with the epic legends connected with them. In conclusion the author examines all the places in Italy which are not on the pilgrimage routes but which are nevertheless mentioned in French epics; these places, however, are for the most part mentioned rather incidentally.

Pio Rajna. *L'Attila di Nicolò da Càsola sulle orme di una pubblicazione recente e con riguardo ad un'altra*. 21 pages. The Attila legend has shown a remarkable vitality in Italy for many centuries past, and has been the subject of numerous investigations. In the present article especial attention is paid to the Franco-Italian poem by Nicolò da Càsola, which possesses many points of interest to the Mediævalist.

A. Thomas. Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques. 29 pages. A long discussion of the etymologies of a large number of words belonging to the French and Provençal dialects.

B. Schädel. La Frontière entre le Gascon et le Catalan. 17 pages. In Gröber's Grundriss the limits of these two forms of speech are indicated as coinciding with the political frontier between France and Spain following the crest of the Pyrenees. It is here shown, however, that the considerable region known as the Val d'Aran, though belonging politically to Spain, is linguistically a part of France. The relative difficulty of the various mountain passes largely determines the dialectic limits.

Mélanges. Johan Vising, Franç. desver, resver < *deaestuarē, *reaestuarē. Giulio Bertoni, Sur la mort de Lambertino Buvaletti. Bernard Heller, L'Épée symbole et gardienne de chasteté (supplément). Walter W. Skeat, Franç. haquenée.

Comptes rendus. J. Runeberg, Études sur la Geste Rainouart (Raymond Weeks). Léopold Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V (P. M.). Joseph Anglade, Le troubadour Guiraut Riquier: Étude sur la décadence de l'ancienne poésie provençale (A. Thomas). Albert Dauzat, Essai de méthodologie linguistique dans le domaine des langues et des patois romans (A. Thomas). D. Rouso, Studii bizantino-române (Mario Roques).

Périodiques. Studi glottologici italiani, IV (M. R.). Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris, XII-XIV (A. Th.). Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXI (P. M., with numerous criticisms). Transactions of the Philological Society, III (P. M.). Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français, 1907.

Chronique. Obituary notices of L. Traube and Alphonse Roque-Ferrier. Account of the publications of the Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur. Completion of the second edition of Ulysse Chevalier's Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 16 titles. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. I: From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance (P. Meyer says that it is in general inferior to the similar work by W. H. Schofield). The Song of Roland, newly translated into English by Jessie Crosland.

Avril.

Auguste Longnon. Nouvelles Observations sur Raoul de Cambrai. 16 pages. Nearly thirty years ago a critical edition of Raoul de Cambrai was published by Paul Meyer and Auguste Longnon. Recently Joseph Bédier has attempted to upset the

theory of the origin of this epic advanced by the editors. One of the latter now returns to the charge and reaffirms the original theory of the relative antiquity of the poem.

Paul Meyer. Notice du ms. 25970 de la Bibliothèque Phillipps (Cheltenham). 27 pages. P. Meyer first saw this fragment of a manuscript at the Savile sale in London in 1861, and since then has studied it at Cheltenham. It contains several well-known Old-French poems and others that have so far escaped attention. Most famous among the former is a version of the fabliau known as *La housse partie*. The poems are of Anglo-Norman origin, and they present many points of interest.

Paul Meyer. *Melior et Ydoine*. 9 pages. This Old-French dit is preserved in a Cambridge manuscript, and its publication was announced by P. Meyer more than twenty years ago. It is in the form of a debate on the famous question of knowing "quel vaut mieux a amer, gentil clerc ou chivaler."

Gaston Raynaud. *Renart le Contrefait et ses deux rédactions*. 39 pages. A clerk of Troyes, having embarked in commercial pursuits with considerable success, determined to write a satire on his times in the form of the Renart stories. He completed his work in the years 1320 to 1322, but having meanwhile become well-advanced in years he determined to rewrite his poem so as to make it rather a work of edification than one of satire. This he did between the years 1328 and 1342, thereby bringing the total number of verses in the two versions up to no less than seventy-five thousand. The author of the present article has analysed and compared the two versions of this immense compilation of history, legend and anecdote.

A. Thomas. *Remarques sur la Dissimilation consonantique à propos d'un article de M. Maurice Grammont*. 10 pages. Maurice Grammont has devoted a great deal of attention to dissimilation in the Indo-European languages and has reached the conclusion that this phenomenon is best exemplified in the Romance languages. A. Thomas here discusses the author's general principles as to the theory of dissimilation and raises a number of objections to those stated by his predecessor in this field.

Mélanges. A. Jeanroy, *Fr. qui vive*: A. Jeanroy, *Anc. fr. anesser*. Gaston Bigot, *L'article Estave de Godefroy*. G. Huet, *Ogre dans le Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes*. A. Thomas, *Messin loraige*. A. Thomas, *Prov. malavei, malavejar*.

Comptes rendus. Wilhelm Nyman, *Étude sur les adjectifs, les participes et les nombres ordinaux substantivés en vieux provençal* (E. Walberg). J. Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor: Étude de littérature comparée* (Lucien Léclercq). Artur Långfors, *Li regrès Nostre-Dame par Huon le roi de Cambrai, publié d'après*

tous les manuscrits connus (P. M.). Joseph Huber, *L'Évangile de l'Enfance en provençal* (P. M.). L. Berthoud et L. Matruchot, *Étude historique et étymologique des noms de lieux habités du département de la Côte-d'Or: I. Période anté-romaine; II. Période gallo-romaine (première partie)* (A. Thomas). O. Schultz-Gora, *Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch* (A. Thomas). Michele Barbi, *La Vita Nuova* (Paget Toynbee). Henri Chate-lain, *Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e siècle, rimes, mètres et strophes* (A. Jeanroy).

Chronique. Announcement of critical editions of Old-French texts soon to be published. The newly-formed Société internationale de dialectologie romane of Brussels.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 7 titles. Georges Doutre-pont, *Inventaire de la librairie de Philippe le Bon (1420)*. Emil Freymond, *Eine Prager Handschrift der Lamentations de Matheolus und des Livre de Leësce*.

Juillet.

Francesco Lo Parco. *Il Petrarca e gli Antipodi etnografici in rapporto con la concezione patristica e dantesca*. 21 pages. Petrarch's geographical notions have often been the subject of study and discussion, but his ideas of cosmography have never been carefully investigated. His chief sources of information appear to have been St. Isidor of Seville and the early Church Fathers.

Paul Meyer. *Recettes médicales en Français publiées d'après le ms. B. N. lat. 8654 B.* 20 pages. Medical science was at a standstill during the Middle Ages, and physicians were obliged to depend on collections of recipes handed down from former times for the treatment of diseases. Most of these are written in Latin, but occasionally French translations of them were made especially for the use of women. These collections of recipes are now of interest to us chiefly from a lexicological standpoint, or as curious bits of information concerning home remedies and herb teas.

Ernest Muret. *De quelques Désinences de Noms de Lieu particulièrement fréquentes dans la Suisse romande et en Savoie (Suite)*. 43 pages. In this long instalment of his article the author discusses the etymologies of hundreds of geographical names having various characteristic endings.

G. Lavergne. *Documents du XIV^e Siècle en Langage de Sarlat (Dordogne)*. 11 pages. A selection of charts from among a large number coming down to the time of the Revolution is here published with historical and geographical notes.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, *Franç. vernis*. Mario Roques, *Aven-neril, blaeril, etc.*

Comptes rendus. *Melanges Chabaneau*, 4 mars 1906 (A. Thomas, with summaries of the eighty-one articles which compose it). E. Besta et P. E. Guarnerio, *Carta de Logu de Arborea* (Jacob Jud). P. E. Guarnerio, *L'Antico Campidanese dei sec. XI-XIII secondo le Antiche carte volgari dell' Archivio Arcivescovile di Cagliari* (Jacob Jud). Max Leopold Wagner, *Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der um den Gennargentu gesprochenen Varietäten* (Jacob Jud). Lazare Sainéan, *L'Argot ancien (1455-1850): Ses éléments constitutifs, ses rapports avec les langues secrètes de l'Europe méridionale et l'argot moderne, avec un appendice sur l'argot jugé par Victor Hugo et Balzac* (P. M.). Dr. Eugeen Ulrix, *De germaansche Elementen in de romaansche Talen: Proeve van een germaansch-romaansch Woordenboek* (A. Thomas).

Périodiques. *Revue des langues romanes*, L (P. Meyer). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXI. 4-5 (Mario Roques, with lengthy discussion of etymologies). *Annales du Midi*, XIX (A. Thomas). *Reale Istituto lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti*, série II, vol. XL. *The Modern Language Review*, II (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Alfred Straccali and Émile Galtier. P. Meyer gives a long note on Prof. F. M. Warren's articles in *Modern Language Notes* on the *Escoufle*, *Guillaume de Dole*, *Ombre* and *Galeran*: "M. W. qui, en d'autres occasions déjà, a donné la preuve du soin et de la critique avec lesquels il étudie les particularités de style et de versification de nos vieux poèmes, s'efforce d'établir . . . que les trois premiers de ces poèmes sont l'œuvre d'un même écrivain."

Livres annoncés sommairement. 12 titles. George Fitch McKibben, *The Eructavit, an Old-French Poem: The author's environment, his argument and materials* (Chicago diss.). Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God: A study of the versions of this allegory with special reference to those in Latin, French and English* (Bryn Mawr diss.). Ad. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik, Vierte Reihe*.

Auguste Longnon, *Encore quelques mots à propos de Raoul de Cambrai* (a species of appendix).

Octobre.

Mario Roques. *Le Plus Ancien Texte Rétique*. 12 pages. A Latin sermon in a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century preserved at Einsiedeln was partially translated into Rhaetian in the twelfth century by interlinear additions of about one hundred words. This short Romance text has already been the subject of three articles, and will probably lead to the writing of yet others from time to time. It offers many difficulties in interpretation, and has many points of linguistic interest.

P. Meyer. Notice du ms. Bodley 761 de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne (Oxford). 20 pages. The manuscript here analysed contains a variety of works in Latin and French written by various scribes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. P. Meyer studies with especial care a number of medical recipes which are of lexicological interest. There are also chronicles, prophecies and many other interesting minor works in the manuscript which are passed in review rather rapidly.

Marcel Lecourt. Notice sur l'Histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues de Sébastien Mamerot. 9 pages. The Imperial Library of Vienna contains a unique manuscript in two large volumes of an unpublished work by Sébastien Mamerot composed in 1460. In 1807 Napoleon had the manuscript sent from Vienna to Paris, whence it was no doubt returned after the Battle of Waterloo. The *explicit* is explicit in its statements: "Cy finissent les fais des Neuf Preues escripts par moy Robert Briart, du diocèse de Bayeux, en la cité de Troyes en Champaigne en l'an mil CCCC soixante et douze."

A. Thomas. Notes Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur Sébastien Mamerot. 3 pages. Citation of charts and other evidence pertaining to the literary field in question.

Ernest Muret. De quelques Désinences de Noms de Lieu particulièrement fréquentes dans la Suisse romande et en Savoie (Suite et fin). 30 pages. This concluding instalment is devoted to the study of place-names of apparently Ligurian origin, thus carrying us back to the dim prehistoric times which preceded the Celtic invasion and the Roman conquest of Switzerland and Savoy.

Fr. Schumacher. Les Éléments narratifs de la Passion d'Autun et les Indications scéniques du Drame médiéval. 24 pages. This piece has such a large proportion of narrative passages that there seems to be a question as to whether it was ever intended for dramatic representation at all. The author of the article discusses four different theories to account for the narrative passages.

A. Thomas. Le Nom et la Famille de Jehan de Monstereul. 9 pages. Having found certain documents referring to two houses in Paris owned by Jehan de Monstereul, the author has in vain attempted to identify them in person. Parchment and paper are oftentimes worth more than stone and marble.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. senechier, senegier. A. T. Baker, Sur un morceau de Robert de Blois contenu dans le manuscrit 3516 de l'Arsenal.

Comptes rendus. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction "que" dans l'ancien français depuis les origines de la langue jusqu'au commencement du XIII^e

siècle (Henri Yvon). E. Langlois, *Nouvelles françaises inédites du XV^e siècle* (A. Thomas). Alphonse Meillon, *Esquisse toponymique sur la vallée de Cauterets (Hautes-Pyrénées)* (A. Thomas). A. G. Little, *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore anglico de provincia Hiberniae* (P. Meyer). Jean Ducamin, Pierre Alphonse: *Disciplines de clergie et de moralités traduites en gascon girondin du XIV^e-XV^e siècle* (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXI. 6 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1906-1907 (P. M.). *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, IX (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Camille Chabaneau, F. Arnaud, Charles Lenient and Charles Aubertin.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 12 titles. *Miscellanea di Studi critici pubblicati in onore di Guido Mazzoni*. Lucy E. Farrer, *La vie et les œuvres de Claude de Sainliens alias Claudius Holyband*. Joseph Buckeley, *Beiträge zur französischen Ortsnamenforschung*.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dr. Schlutter's article from the American Journal of Philology (XXIX 432-448) is obviously of great importance as pointing to the sources of so many of the glosses from Gildas. The references are most acceptable and valuable.

There is an English translation of Gildas by Dr. Giles, in the volume of Bohn's Library entitled Six Old English Chronicles. It is very easy to find the quotations in it; and it has a certain value as giving a translation from an independent point of view. Dr. Giles of course never studied the glosses; and he seems to me to give a very fair general view of the sense.

I cannot say, however, that I am in the least convinced as to an A. S. *lupa*, meaning "a loop". I have come back to an opinion which I had thirty years ago, that *loop* is not a native word at all, but a dialectal or Northern English word, of Celtic origin. This is the very view now adopted in the New English Dictionary as being the likeliest.

The modern E. *oo* usually results from an A. S. *ō*. The chief exceptions are due to a preceding *r*, as in *rūm*, room; *drūpa*, to droop; *brūcan*, to brook (with *oo* shortened before final *k*); all as cited at the bottom of p. 432. I do not accept the other examples as being to the point. *Uncouth* is somewhat of a poetical word; and in Shakespeare was *ūn-cūth*, with the stress on the former syllable, and consequent shortening of the A. S. *u* to the *u* in *full*. But at the present time, there is a tendency to accent the second syllable, which again lengthens it, and so reproduces, accidentally as it were, the original sound. N. E. *pook* is dialectal; the standard form is *Puck*, with a short *u* before *k*. *Sloom* is mere dialect; and so is *cooscot*, usually spelt *cushat*, which has the same *u* as in *Puck*. The only form left, viz. *stoop*, as from *stūpian*, is easily accounted for as having been preserved by the preceding *st*, precisely as the old *ea* is preserved in *steak*, which is to be compared with *great* (with *gr*) and *break* (with *br*), as against all other examples such as *heat*, *beat*, etc. That a preceding *l* does not preserve an A. S. *u*, we know by the example of *look*; which is not from **lūcian*, but from *lōcian*, regularly. I connect *loop* with the Gaelic *lub*, "a bend, a curvature, a bending of the shore, a loop, a noose, a winding, meander, maze"; Macleod. Very striking is the sense of "winding" or "meander"; because Jamieson notes that in Lanarkshire the pl. *loops* signifies "the windings of a river or rivulet". O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary has: "*Lub*, s. f., a loop, bow, staple, plait, fold, thong, maze,

meander", etc. It is really Celtic, because *lubtha*, "bent", occurs in Old Irish, as noted by Windisch. The root-sense of *loop* is simply "a bend", not "a noose", though the latter sense soon arose. Even now, it implies the idea of a long oval rather than of a ring or circle. It is not known in English earlier than 1400.

I cannot find either "a loop" or "a noose" or "a leash" in *catasta*. I understand *Molossorum catasta* as meaning "a crowd or pack of mastiffs". A Molossian dog was a kind of mastiff (N. E. D.); not the kind of dog to be held in a leash. And *caterva* never meant a loop or leash or lead; but simply a company, crowd, or large number. A *leash* never included more than *three* dogs at most; *leash* often had the sense of "three". This is not what we want.

Catasta was a stage, a scaffold, an instrument of torture; hence, a thing of terror, a threatening crowd, a formidable pack. At p. 311 of Six Eng. Chron., Dr. Giles has: "Their mother-land . . . sends forth a *larger company* of her wolfish offspring", to translate "item mittit satellitum canumque prolixiorem catastam". This seems to me to give the right sense of "prolixiorem catastam". It means that there was a large pack of them, and all loose. The gloss *werod* is perfectly right. "Throng" or "pack" gives the sense we want.

This is why I remain unconvinced as to *lupa*. But Schlutter's tract, in general, is excellent.

WALTER W. SKRAT.

BRIEF MENTION.

Translations and no end! If the malevolent reader will scan the lists of *Books Received*, he may behold to the satisfaction of his wicked heart how many versions there are to challenge criticism, how many rival renderings to demand comparison. And there is no sharper knife wherewith to pry the classical oyster out of his shell than the familiar question one encounters in literary and semi-literary circles: 'What do you think of Mr. Somebody's translation?' 'For decency' sake one dare not borrow Thackeray's answer when questioned about the Proverbial Philosophy of Mr. Martin Farquhar Tupper, which for some moons was an immensely popular performance. 'I do not think of Mr. Tupper at all'. Translations by certain hands are literary events, although such achievements as Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyám are not to be classed as translations. For years there was no translation of Euripides that one need consider; that is, no translation of any large number of Euripidean plays, but then came Mr. WAY and now comes Mr. GILBERT MURRAY, whose praise is in all the journals. But the Hellenist asks himself with a groan: Why have I acquired a direct vision of a language through years of study and contemplation, if I am to spend the few remaining hours of a busy life in hopeless admiration of a facility that is beyond my reach or in utter detestation of some distortion or discoloration of the original? 'Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre' and the alien cup is often a quassia cup or a queasy cup. 'Lächerlich ist es', says the Altmeister Boeckh, 'wenn man behauptet der vollendetste Uebersetzer sei auch der vollendetste Philologe'.

Of course, I am no enemy of translation. In fact, it is an inevitable part of a teacher's work, one that he must not put off on the boys, contenting himself with easy criticism of their performances. The lesson ought to be translated by the teacher himself as a review. The translation serves as a manner of commentary and incidentally as a lesson in aesthetics. In the earlier ranges of instruction, in the period before the student has been taught to appreciate the impossibility of translation, the teacher must sacrifice himself. I have yellow reams of translations of Herodotos into the language of the Authorized Version and Thukydides into the language of the early eighteenth century, of Aischylos, of Sophokles in the metres of the original, whose end

is to be burned. I should no more think of perpetuating those things than a lecturer on art would think of perpetuating the chalk diagrams by which he illustrates his course. Such things serve a temporary purpose as incitements, if not exemplars, to the pupil. But if one reads one's own translation too much, there is a danger which it fills one with horror to contemplate—the possibility of remembering one's own rendering and forgetting the original.

Sometimes, it is true, the translation is better than the original from the point of view of art. The Tudor translations, so far as I know them, are delightful studies, original or no original. And 'Nachdichten'—that is a different matter. The echo sometimes penetrates the heart deeper than the original note. I can well understand the case when one has to imagine an original to get the right tone as in 'Sonnets from the Portuguese'. There is such a thing as a Roman, an Hellenic frame of mind. But these meditations are moving along lower lines, the lines of translation proper. Apart from the rendering of the sense, the translator has to consider the form.

Artistic prose, with its subtleties of rhythm, which we have just begun to appreciate, is a problem impossible of solution. What is hiatus to us or we to hiatus? What can we do with the simple recipe of Paeon Primus for the opening and Paeon Quartus for the close of a period? Some people's notion of English rhythmical prose is bad blank verse. It is all a matter of ear with us. Science has not untwisted the chains of the harmonies of English prose. How far our sense of such things corresponds to the antique, how far it is derived unawares from familiarity with the antique, is a matter for further study. We talk of Ciceronian periods in English, and yet the accomplished Irish editor of Cicero's Letters declines to discuss Zielinski and the rest of them. But poetry is another matter and the attempt to render the metres of the original goes very far back. However, this is not a history of English metres, but the confession of a disillusioned schoolmaster. The English hexameter is a hopeless medium for the rendering of the classic hexameter. It may be no worse than the classic hexameter as it is so often read, and in the hands of a true poet may develop a rude life of its own, but as a medium of translation, it is too painfully suggestive; and the elegiac distich has always left me in despair. The English iambic trimeter—I have composed thousands of them in my time—is a failure. Our monosyllabic language makes padding a necessity, makes it almost impossible to avoid an occasional break in the middle of the verse. It is a stuffed figure, a jointed doll. We can't revive the Alexandrine. We can't read Drayton

with any patience. As for the lyric measures, that is a different thing. There are many dactylotrochaic, not to say logaoedic, measures, that have at least to my ear the same *ethos* in English as in Greek. The so-called greater Asclepiadean measure of Horace's 'Tu ne quaesieris' might well serve for haunting melancholy in English as in Greek, as in Latin. To the examples cited, A. J. P. XVI 394, add Kallimachos, A. P. XIII 10:

ἀ ταῦτε δὲ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὲν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζωᾶς
ἀρπαξας κτέ.,

and one must not overlook the unsatisfied desire of the folk-song which bears strong testimony to the *alhos* of the measure:

ἀ ὅς ταν βάλανον ταν μὲν ἔχει ταν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν.

This measure which is that of Sappho's *κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεαι* has caught the ear of several translators. To Wharton's specimen I add the rendering given in Professor Shorey's Horace, Od. IV 9, the best I have seen:

Thou shalt die and be laid low in the grave, hidden from mortal
ken,
Unremembered and no song of the Muse wakens thy name
again;
No Pierian rose brightens thy brow, lost in the nameless throng.
Thy dark spirit shall flit forth like a dream bodiless ghosts
among.

Many, many years ago I was so much in earnest about the importance of transplanting these lighter measures into English that I conceived the notion of substituting for the *conspectus metrorum* in Horace a set of English rhymes which should convey the rhythm to beginners, at least, after a fashion. This method of accentuating the movement of hexameter and pentameter is an old story. Witness the leonine verse and the rhymed pentameter so common in the Roman elegiac poets. And it came into fashion again. Some forty years ago I actually went so far as to publish under strict anonymity an imitation of Horace's *Ad Thaliarchum*—itself an imitation—prefacing it, however, with an appeal for mercy.

Forgive Alcaeus, if I have borrowed rhyme
A Northern sleighbell fastened to Pegasus
To mark thy music by its tinkle
Hater of Myrsilus, bard of Lesbos.

As for the rhymed Alcaics one will more than suffice,

The rain it raineth: deep is the snow without
The wind it plaineth: now for a drinking bout
Pile high the fuel, fierce and cruel
Rages the rainy and windy duel.

About that time some Boanerges of a critic uttered his voice and I abandoned my scheme.

But what of analogous metre? This is what Wilamowitz aims at in his renderings (A. J. P. XIII 577). But the trouble is that there is no agreement as to the *ethos*. The *ethos* comes largely from association of ideas. When a German poet undertook to translate Byron's *Belshazzar's Feast*, a German critic fell foul of his countryman for the employment of female rhymes and profanely compared the movement to that of the *Volkslied*: *Als einst ich auf der Bleiche*. And so what I am about to write may call forth similar ridicule, and yet I am tempted to say a word in behalf of an English measure, which, as it seems to me, has not found all the favor with translators that it deserves. It is the English iambic dipody. Schipper treats it scurvily and considers it a fissiparous generation of the iambic tetrapody. It happens to be my favorite metre for social versicles and doubtless will be Till from on high Thou call me home, as the old hymn has it. As a *clausula* it is admirable. It has the effect of reconsideration, just the effect that the pentameter has over against the hexameter. Hymnwriters are not averse to it as in 'Lead thou me on', but it seems to have been very little used by the translators of the *Anthology*. One notable exception is Hobbes. Now Hobbes was not a highly gifted translator and I once made a long search through his *Odyssey* in order to find a confirmation of my rash thesis that a man translated best that with which he was most in sympathy. And finally I had to put up with his version of the *Song of the Sirens*. But after all there are worse translations of the famous epitaph on *Archedice* (Thuk. 6, 59):

Archedice, the daughter of King Hippas,
Who in his time
Of all the potentates of Greece was prime,
This dust doth hide.
Daughter, wife, mother unto kings she was
Yet free from pride.

But if neglected by the translators of the *Anthology* the translators of *Sappho* in Mr. Wharton's collection make not infrequent use of it and effective use of it. As an independent verse, the English iambic dipody has the same disadvantages that the pentameter has as an independent verse, but the epigraphic origin of the iambic dipody commends it to favor, despite the association with the *New England Primer*. 'My book and heart Shall never part'. It is a favorite posy verse. It is the verse for rings, for kiss papers. It lends itself to light and airy subjects. It is not incompatible with grave themes. A French poet, Richepin, whom I do not make my constant companion, uses it with fine effect in his *Caresse*.

Au vent du nord
Qui le bâtonne
Le pauvre Automne
Fuit sans remords.

Le vent le mord,
Lui dans sa tonne
Se pelotonne,
L'Automne est mort.

Et son glas tinte
Comme une plainte
Dans les derniers

Refrains de fête,
Adieu, paniers,
Vendange est faite.

'Et son glas tinte'. There is the toll I seem to hear in one of my favorite epitaphs, one that holds the lesson of many a life besides my own and many experiments in rhyme besides my own.

Ναυηγού τάφος εἰμί. σὺ δὲ πλῆε. καὶ γὰρ ὁθ' ἡμεῖς
ἀλλύμεθ', αἱ λοιπαὶ νῆες ἐποντοπόρου.

Shipwreck'd was he
Whose tomb you see.
But hold your way.
For on the day
When we were lost
The others cross'd.

All this flood of memories has been let loose by a recent work of Mr. BITHELL'S, *The Minnesingers*, Vol. I. *Translations* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909). These translations go farther down than the period of the Minnesingers proper and I recognize many old favorites from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, which was the delight of my youth. Among the rest Mr. BITHELL has tried his hand on the hearty old Tannhäuser Lay, which tempted me also in my translating days, and my version of which, somewhat doctored, may be found in my *Essays and Studies* (p. 189 foll.). Which of the two is the greater failure, I will not attempt to decide, although I am absolutely impersonal as to my literary performances of forty years syne. At any rate, I can say for myself that I have stuck closer to my text than Mr. BITHELL, and while I sympathize with him heartily in sending Pope Urban to hell instead of Tannhäuser, I felt bound to follow the ballad in reserving the knight for the judgment day. The last feeble verse Mr. BITHELL perhaps does well to omit, and I myself have commented on the prosaic effect of the tag, and yet in view of my sins and the sins of my fellow-translators I am fain to say,

Dass soll nimmer kein <Richter> thun,
Dem Menschen Misstrost geben,
Wil er denn Buss' und Reu' empfahn,
Die Sünde sei ihm vergeben.

And surely my penitence is sincere enough and poignant enough.

The playful allusion to PLACIDO CESAREO in the last number of the Journal had passed into irrevocable print before I became aware that Cesareo with his young wife had perished in the disastrous earthquake at Messina. One of his colleagues has paid a tribute to his memory in the April number of the *Rivista di Filologia* with a singularly just estimate of the scholar who has come to so untimely an end. He was too eager to assimilate everything that had been written on his subject and shewed too little discrimination as to the value of his authorities. His identification of ancient and modern tendencies in literature bordered on the fantastic. What do we really gain by comparing Kallimachos with the decadents of our time? But who that loves life is not tempted in the same way? Who is not tempted to apply the Bertillon method to the scamps of all the ages? Veder troppo, says the Italian commentator on Cesareo's career, veder troppo è meglio che veder niente e agli effetti della vita operativa l'alluazione è preferibile al letargo. And so we leave him.

In my note on Persius 5, 181 I remarked somewhat petulantly: 'Those who wish illustrations for what they can see with their own eyes may consult Friedländer'. But how many people, how many scholarly people see with their own eyes? Pindar's ἀργυροθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακόφωνοι αἰοδαί lay hid in night until Mr. W. R. Paton suggested the true explanation in the *Classical Review* for June, 1888. The personified songs, like Eastern dancers, plastered their faces with silver coins. The matter was taken up in the October number of the same periodical by Mr. J. G. Frazer and there is no longer any guessing as to Pindar's meaning. And as Mr. Ellis illuminates his commentary on Avianus (Fab. 8) by a quotation from Uncle Remus, so the exegete of Pindar, I, 2, 8, might draw his illustration from a vivid chapter of The Garden of Allah. In like manner I found the other day in a novel which abounds in close observation of rural life, John Galsworthy's *The Country House* (p. 141), a sentence which I should have been glad to use in vindication of my exegesis of Pindar, P. 2, 80: ἀγὰρ πάγχυ διαπλέκει, of which feeble fun has been made of late years (A. J. P. XXVIII 109). '<The dog>', says Mr. Galsworthy, 'stood there curved in a half-circle and deeply wagged that which had been left him of his tail', as scholars often deeply wag that which has been left them of their sense.

Professor MUTZBAUER has completed his *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre u. der homerische Tempusgebrauch* by the publication of a second volume (Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1909). In the Introduction he sums up his main contentions,

which lack the charm of novelty. The work, it seems, has been completed for years and the author disclaims responsibility for its late appearance. No one will be surprised at Professor MUTZBAUER's insistence on the importance of the 'Zeitart' in Greek (A. J. P. XXIII 242; XXIX 389), on the purely inferential character of temporal interrelations, such as contemporaneousness and priority (A. J. P. XXIX 395), on the lack in Greek of any dominant historical tense (A. J. P. XXIX 243, XXX 104), such as we find in Latin and German, on the natural affinity of the future for the aorist (A. J. P. XXXII 247), on the development of the *de conatu* sense of the present from the durative meaning of the tense (A. J. P. IV 161), on the unsatisfactory explanation of the gnomic aorist as an aorist of experience (A. J. P. XXIII 245), on the use of the perfect either as an intensive or as the expression of a condition (A. J. P. XXIX 335). In the list of Homeric verbs Professor MUTZBAUER is careful to note the range of the uses of the different tenses and he tries with dogged persistence to bring out the difference between imperfect and aorist by translation, translation, which, one cannot assert too often (A. J. P. XIX 231), even if it be in vain, is only an illustration, not a proof. Those who have read my *Problems in Greek Syntax* and my recent *Notes on Stahl* will hardly expect me to grind all this grist over again.

Some years ago commenting on Rutherford's *Scholia Aristophanica* I remarked on the needlessness of a rendering into English for those who are competent to use the scholia at all (A. J. P. XIX 347). So at first blush it seems strange that anyone should think of translating into English such a book as Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, a thing that actually happened in 1891. The translator excused himself on the ground that he aimed at making the book as comprehensible to English students as the original work is to German; and something is to be said in those cases, in which the translation is of service to the translator himself. And so without any disrespect to the perturbed spirit of Dr. Rutherford, whose scholarship was held in high esteem by his compatriots (C. R. XXI 190), and asserted with unsparing severity by his schoolmasterly nature (A. J. P. III 226; IV 86; XI 390; XXIV 104), it may be that Rutherford was trying to clarify his mind as to the meaning of his text. But he did not always succeed, as will presently appear. Just as I was reproaching myself with the unnecessary pother (XXX 231) I had made about ψυχρότης and ψυχρόν in the last number of the Journal, I picked up an old edition of Aristophanes and found that I had transcribed more than fifty years ago on the margin of Nub. 907: δότε μοι λεκάνην, Friedrich August Wolf's scholion on the passage. It runs: ἵνα τὴν χολὴν ἐμέσω· ὡς ναυτιῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων ψυχρίας

τῶν αὐτῶν σχεδόν, ἃ ὁ Εὐθύφρων λέγει παρὰ Πλάτωνα. This is the deathly nausea to which I referred (A. J. P. I. c.) and Wolf's note is taken in part from the Ravenna scholion: ὡς ναυτιῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχρᾶς, which Rutherford renders thus: 'as though he were made sick by the other's cool impertinence' and I am comforted for my idle excursions on ψυχρότης and ψυχρόν.

All my philological work has been given to my little world in the mother-tongue, so that my occasional preachments in behalf of a return to Latin are at sad variance with the example I have set. But the doctrine is true despite the laches of the preacher, and the words of ROBINSON ELLIS in his Lecture on BREITER'S *Manilius* and FRIDERICH'S *Catullus* are well worth recording here. 'The very effort to express in a Latin commentary either kind of obscurity, obscurity in the subject matter, obscurity in the language, this very effort is calculated to produce the condensed terseness, without which any such exegesis is apt to become tedious, explaining too much or dwelling on details which are best left to the students' discretion'.

H. L. W.: M. Jules Maurice has for years been known as one of the most diligent students and one of the most able interpreters of the coinage of the period of Constantine. His numerous published discussions of numismatic subjects and especially his detailed accounts of the different mints of the Roman empire have made his name familiar to all readers of the *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France* as well as of the various numismatic journals of Europe. The result of all this patient investigation is the admirable volume recently published under the title *Numismatique Constantinienne: iconographie et chronologie, description historique des émissions monétaires*, par JULES MAURICE. Tome I. (Paris, Leroux, 1908. Pp. clxxix + 507. Pl. xxiii.)

This substantial work is divided into four distinct parts. The first of these contains introductory essays on the organization and work of the mints, on the makeup (*anatomie*) of the coinage, and on the different kinds of coins struck during the time in question. The second part is devoted to the chronology of the chosen period, which extends from the first of May, 305 to the ninth of September, 337. Under each year the author records historic events and clearly shows the great value of the coins as a means of checking, supplementing, or correcting the literary sources. The third is a most interesting discussion of the portraits of the emperors as they appear upon the coins in the end of the third century and the first half of the fourth. The

fact that quite different heads are found on the coins of a single emperor has led most scholars hitherto to believe that these representations are not real portraits at all. For this most perplexing problem M. Maurice believes that he has discovered a satisfactory solution in the assumption that under the new imperial organization of Diocletian each of the emperors had the right to issue money not only in his own name but in the names of his colleagues as well, and that in many cases, when a mint had not yet received all the necessary portraits, coins were issued bearing the name of one of the joint emperors and the head of another. Doubtful as this theory seems to be at some points, yet, using it as a principle, M. Maurice has brought order out of chaos and has reconstructed in a series of beautiful plates (i-xvi) an imperial portrait gallery which is quite in harmony with all that can be learned on the subject from Aurelius Victor, Lactantius, and other sources. A careful comparison of these portraits with the extant portrait busts of the period will doubtless yield further interesting results. The fourth and last part contains the detailed description and classification of the coins issued by the five mints of Rome, Ostia, Aquileia, Carthage and Trier from the year 305 to the year 337. The other fourteen mints of the empire will form the subject of a second volume, which will complete a standard work of reference invaluable to every student of the Constantinian epoch.

The book is well printed and has very few typographical errors which the author himself has not corrected in the *addenda*. I have noted only *Lurgitionum* (p. xxvi, end), *Cripsus* (pl. xi), and the remarkable statement with which I bring this brief notice to a close (p. xxxix): Le système de Dioclétien comprend encore un petit bronze qui a servi de base aux évaluations de l'Édit du maximum pour les denrées, publié par cet empereur en 1901.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 80-82 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH.

Aristotle's art of poetry; revised text, with critical introd., translation and commentary by Ingram Bywater. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 46+887 pp. 8°, cl., \$5.25.

Byrne (Lee). The syntax of high school Latin. Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1909. 9+54 pp. 8°, cl., 75 cts. net.

Caesar. De bello Gallico, lv. 20-36; v. 1-23, by W. A. Edward. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 39+103 pp., il. 12°, cl., 50 cts.

Campbell (F. W. Groves). Apollonius of Tyana; with an introd. by Ernest Oldmeadow. New York, *Mitchell Kennerley*, 1909. 7-120 pp. 8°, cl., \$1 net.

Cicero. Orationes; pro P. Quinctio, al. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit A. C. Clark. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. Various paging. 12°, cl., 75 cts.

— De finibus bonorum et malorum; libri quinque; with introd. and commentary by W. M. L. Hutchinson. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 32+238 pp. 8°, cl., \$2.40 net.

Cole (P. R.) Later Roman education in Ausonius, Capella and the Theodosian code. New York, Teachers' College, 1909. 39 pp. 12°, pap., 25 cts.

Cowles (W. L.) Selections from Ennius, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, with parallel passages from Horace, Ovid and Martial. Amherst, Mass., 1909. 7+84 pp. 12°, cl., 60 cts.

Gildersleeve (B. L.) Hellas and Hesperia; or the vitality of Greek studies in America. New York, *Henry Holt & Co.*, 1909. 130 pp., por. 12°. (University of Virginia, Barbour-Page foundation.) Cl., \$1 net.

Harry (Jos. E.) Studies in Euripides; Hippolytus. 71 pp. 8°. (University of Cincinnati studies.) pap. 1909.

Hayes (C. H.) An introduction to the sources relating to the Germanic invasions. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 229 pp., D., pap., \$1.50.

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi fragmentis; recog. brevique adnotatione critica instruxerunt B. P. Grenfell et Arth. S. Hunt. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. Various paging. 12°, cl., \$1.10.

Horace. The satires; with an introd. and notes by E. P. Morris. New York, *American Book Co.*, 1909. c. 254 pp. 12°, cl., \$1.

Justinian I. The digest of Justinian; tr. by C. H. Monro. V. 2. New York, *Putnam*, 1909. 8+453 pp. 8°, cl., \$4 net. V. 1 published by *Macmillan*, 1904.

Masson (J.) Lucretius, Epicurean and poet. V. 2, supplementary. New York, *Dutton*, 1909. 20+204 pp. 8°, cl., \$2 net.

Ogden (C. J.) *De infinitivi finalis vel consecutivi constructione apud, priscos poetas Graecos.* New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 60 pp. 8°, cl., \$1.25 net.

Overstreet (H. A.) *The dialectic of Plotinus.* Berkeley, Cal., *University of California Press*, 1909. 29 pp. 4°, pap., 25 cts.

Plutarch's complete works. V. 6. New York, *Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.*, 1909. 8°, cl., \$7.50.

Prince (J. D.) *Assyrian primer.* New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 60 pp. 8°, pap., \$1 net.

Ritchie (F.) *Ritchie's first steps in Latin*; ed. by F. C. Staples. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 106 pp. 12°, cl., 60 cts.

Rice (B. L.) *Mysore and Coorg. From the Inscriptions published for Government.* London, 1909. 8°, 12s. 6d. net.

Stewart (J. A.) *Plato's doctrine of ideas.* New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 206 pp. 8°, cl., \$2.

Trevelyan (E. S.) *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales.* London, 1909. 364 pp. 8°, 10s. 6d. net.

Taylor (Alfred E.) *Plato.* New York, *Dodge Publishing Co.*, 1909. 151 pp. 12°, cl., 50 cts. net.

Theophrasti characteres; ed. H. Diels. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 28+68 pp. 8°, cl., 90 cts.; pap., 75 cts.

Thucydides. *Histories*; book iv.; ed. by T. R. Mills; with an introd. by H. Stuart Jones. New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 25+244 pp. 8°, cl., 90 cts.; notes only, cl., 60 cts.

FRENCH.

Dartois (J. L.) *Le néo-latinisme, thèse, in-16.* *Soc. des auteurs-éditeurs.* 2 fr. 50.

Millot (S.) *Dictionnaire des formes cursives des caractères chinois, in-4°.* *E. Leroux.* 40 fr.

Vissière (A.) *Premières leçons de chinois, in-8°.* *E. Leroux.* 12 fr.

Waltz (R.) *Vie de Sénèque.* Paris, 1909. 8°, 7 fr. 50 c.

Wiéger (P. L.) *Folk-lore chinois moderne, textes, trad., et notes, in-8°.* *E. Guilmoto.* 12 fr.

GERMAN.

Adnotationes super Lucanum. Primum ad vetustissimorum codicum fidem ed. Ioa. Endt. (xii, 447 S.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 8.60.

Aristophanis pax. Ed. Konr. Zacher. Praefatus est Ottom. Bachmann. (xxxii, 127 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 6.

Ansonius u. Venantius Fortunatus. Moselgedichte. 2 Ausg. v. Carl Hosius. (viii, 118 S. m. Abbildgn. u. 1 Karte.) 8°. Marburg, *N. G. Elwert's Verl.*, 1909. m. 2.20.

Baaz (Ericus). *De Herodiani fontibus et auctoritate. (82 S.) gr. 8°.* Berlin, *E. Ebering*, 1909. m. 2.40.

Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrsg. v. Frdr. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt. VI. Bd. Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. Hinrichs' Verl.* 5. Heft. Ungnad, Arth.: *Untersuchungen zu den Urkunden aus Dilbat, nebst e. Anh.: Die Lücke in der Gesetzesstele Hammurais. (iv, vi, 149 S.)* 1909. m. 10.80.

— VII. Bd. Lex. 8°. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs' Verl.* 1. Heft. Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien u. Kleinasien. Gesammelt im J. 1899 von Max Frhrn. v. Oppenheim. Mit Beiträgen v. Max van Berchem, Jul. Euting, Nicol. Finck u. a. I. Arabische Inschriften. Bearb. v. Max van Berchem. Mit 26 Abbildgn. u. 7 Lichtdr.-Taf. (156 S.) 1909. m. 11.50.

Ben Jehuda (Elieser). Thesaurus totius hebraeae et veteris et recentioris. (In hebr. Sprache.) Vol. I. (xv, 580 S. m. Bildn.) Lex. 8°. Berlin-Schöneberg, *Langenschiedt's Verl.*, 1909. m. 23.

Bibliothek, indogermanische. Hrag. v. Herm. Hirt u. Wilh. Strelberg. I. Abtlg. Sammlung indogerman. Lehr- u. Handbücher. I. Reihe: Grammatiken. 8°. Heidelberg, *C. Winter, Verl.* 6. Bd. Thurneysen (Rud.) Handbuch des Alt-Irischen. Grammatik, Texte u. Wörterbuch. I. Tl.: Grammatik. (xvi, 582 S.) 1909. m. 16.

Bolsacq (Emile). Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes. 3. livr. (S. 161-240.) gr. 8°. Heidelberg, *C. Winter, Verl.*, 1909. Subskr.-Pr., m. 3.

Brakman (J. F.) Ammianus et Annaeana. (III, 38 S.) gr. 8°. Leiden, *Buchh. u. Druckeret, vorm. E. J. Brill*, 1909. m. 1.

Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses selectae. Edd. B. Keil et R. Reitzenstein. Vol. XIV. gr. 8°. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*. Fasc. I. Rosenmeyer (Ludov.): Quaestiones Tertullianae ad librum adversus Praxean pertinentes. (viii, 98 S.) 1909. m. 3.

Domaszewski (Alfr.) Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion. (viii, 240 S. m. 26 Abbildgn. u. 1 Taf.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 7.

Elter (Ant.) Prolegomena zu Minucius Felix. (Progr.) (63 S.) gr. 8°. Bonn, *C. Georgi*, 1909. m. 1.20.

Geffcken (J.) Kynika u. Verwandtes. (vii, 156 S.) gr. 8°. Heidelberg, *C. Winter, Verl.*, 1909. m. 5.

Graesse (J. G. Th.) Orbis latinus od. Verzeichnis der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- u. Ländernamen. 2. Aufl., m. neu bearb. v. Frdr. Benedict. (vii, 348 S.) Lex. 8°. Berlin, *R. C. Schmidt & Co.*, 1909. m. 10.

Herakleitos v. Ephesos. Griechisch u. deutsch v. Herm. Diels. 2. Aufl. (xvi, 83 S.) gr. 8°. Berlin, *Weidmann*, 1909. m. 3.20.

Luciani quae feruntur Podagra et Ocypus. Praefatus, ed., commentatus est Johs. Zimmermann. (xii, 82 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 4.

Nelson (Axel). Die Hippokratische Schrift *περί φροῦν*. Text u. Studien. Diss. (III, 119 S.) gr. 8°. Upsala, *A.-B. Lundequistka Bokhandeln*, 1909. m. 4.

Möller (Geo.) Hieratische Lesestücke, f. den akadem. Gebrauch hrag. (In 3 Heften.) 1. Heft. Alt- u. mittelhierat. Texte. (iv, 8. u. 25 Bl.) 36,5 x 26 cm. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs' Verl.*, 1909. m. 4.

Papyrus, hieratische, aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin. 43,5 x 32,5 cm. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs' Verl.* 5. Bd. Texte, literarische, des mittleren Reiches. Hrag. v. Aufl. Erman. II. Die Erzählg. des Sinuhe u. die Hirtengeschichte. Bearb. v. Alan H. Gardiner. 18 Lichtdr.-Taf., Umschreibg. u. Übersetzg. (15 S. Text u. 18 Taf. in Autogr.) 1909. m. 20.

Parīśistas, the, of the Atharvaveda. Ed. by G. M. Bolling and Jul. v. Negelein. Vol. I. Text and critical apparatus. Part 1. Parīśistas I-XXXVI. (xxiv, 234 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *O. Harrassowitz*, 1909. m. 13.

Rigveda, der, in Auswahl, v. Karl F. Geldner. 2. Tl. Kommentar. (v, 242 S.) Lex. 8°. Stuttgart, *W. Kohlhammer*, 1909. m. 9.

Sachs (A.) *De tragicorum graecorum carminibus astrophis et nuntiorum orationibus.* (Diss.) (66 S.) gr. 8°. Berlin, *K. Trenkel*, 1909. m. 2.

Saga-Bibliothek, altnordische. Hrag. v. G. Cederschiöld, H. Gering u. E. Mogk. gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*. 14. Heft. *Hálfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka*. Hrag. v. A. Le Roy Andrews. (viii, 141 S.) 1909. m. 4.

Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen u. römischen Schriftstellern. gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*. Jüthner, Jul.: *Philostatos, üb. Gymnastik.* (viii, 336 S.) 1909. m. 11.

Sudhaus (S.) *Der Aufbau der Plautinischen Cantica.* (vii, 154 S.) 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 6.

Vollgraff (Wilh.) *Nikander u. Ovid.* 1. Tl. (vii, 148 S.) gr. 8°. Groningen, *J. B. Wolters*, 1909. m. 5.

Ziehen (Jul.) *Neue Studien zur lateinischen Anthologie.* (40 S.) gr. 8°. Frankfurt a/M., *M. Diesterweg*, 1909. m. 1.80.

ITALIAN.

Studi italiani di filologia classica. Vol. XVII. Firenze, 1909. 8°. 472 pp. V. 1906 Nr. 1694. L. 20.

Trombetti (A.) *Saggi di glottologia generale comparata.* I. *I pronomi personali.* Bologna, 1900. 4°. 368 pp. L. 18.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Am Ha-Aretz (The). The Ancient Hebrew Parliament. A chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient Israel. Philadelphia, *Julius H. Greenstone*, 1909.

American Journal of Archaeology. Second Series. Vol. XIII, No. 2, April-June, 1909. Norwood, *The Norwood Press*.

— Index to Volumes I-X, 1897-1906. New York, *The Macmillan Co.*

Angus (S.) Hellenistic and Hellenism in our Universities. Connecticut, *Hartford Press*, 1909.

Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry. A revised text, with critical introduction, translation, and commentary. By Ingram Bywater. Oxford, *At the Clarendon Press*, 1909. \$5.25 net.

Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi utgivet genom Axel Kock. 26. B. (N. F. 22. B.) H. 1. Lund, *C. W. K. Gleerup*, 1909.

Arnoldt (Emil). Gesammelte Schriften. Band V, VI. Berlin, *Verlag von Bruno Cassirer*, 1909.

Ἀθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Τόμος εἰκοστὸς πρῶτος. Τεύχ. Α', Β', Γ'. Ἀθήνησιν, Π. Δ. Σακελλάριος, 1909.

Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Paul u. Eduard Sievers hsgb. von Wilhelm Braune. XXXV. Band. 2. Heft. Halle a. S., *Max Niemeyer*, 1909.

Bergfeld (H.) De Versu Saturnio. Gotha, *Perthes*, 1909. 8 m.

Bulletin International de l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie. Classe de Philologie. No. 10, 1908. No. 1 et 2, 1909. Cracovie, 1909.

Bureau of Science (The), Manila. Seventh Annual Report of the Director, Paul C. Freer. For the year ending Aug. 1, 1908. Manila, *Bureau of Printing*, 1909.

Cauer (Paul). Die Kunst des Übersetzens. 4. Aufl. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909.

Certamen Poeticum Hoeufftianum. Amico Monita. Sex Carmina. Amstelodami, *Apud Io. Mullerum*, 1909.

Churchill (William). The Fale 'ula Library Bulletin of the American Geographical Society. Vol. XLI. No. 5. New York, *The Society*, 1909.

— Samoan Phonetics in the Broader Relation (*Journal of Polynesian Society*, Vol. XVII).

Ciceronis (M. Tulli Orationes). Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit A. C. Clark. Oxonii, e *Typographico Clarendoniano*. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, MDCCCCLIX. 2s. 1d.

Dickermann (Sherwood Owen). De argumentis quibusdam apud Xenophontem, Platonem, Aristotelem obvis e structura hominis et animalium petitis. Halis Saxonum, *Typis Wischani et Burkhardtii*, 1909.

Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt (Irshād al-arīb ila Ma'rifat al-adīb). Ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, and printed for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. Vol. II. Leyden, *E. J. Brill*. London, *Luzac & Co.*, 1909.

Diels (Hermann). Herakleitos von Ephesos. Griechisch u. Deutsch. 2. Aufl. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909. 8 m. 20 pf.

Duff (J. Wight). *A Literary History of Rome from the origins to the close of the Golden Age.* New York, *Charles Scribner's Sons*, 1909.

Ebeling (Rudolf). *Mathematik u. Philosophie bei Plato.* Zum Jahresb. des Gymnasiums. *Herman Münden*, 1909.

Eitrem (S.) *Hermes und die Toten.* *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger* for 1908. No. 5. *Christiania, Jacob Dybwad*, 1909.

Englische Textbibliothek, 14. *Shakespeare's Othello* herausg. von M. M. Arnold Schröer. *Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung*, 1909. M. 1.70.

Gaffiot (Félix). *Pour le vrai Latin.* Paris, *E. Leroux*, 1909.

German American Annals. New Series, Vol. VII, No. 4. Old Series, Vol. XI, No. 4. July and August, 1909. Philadelphia, *The German American Historical Society*.

Gildersleeve (B. L.) *Hellas and Hesperia or The Vitality of Greek Studies in America.* New York, *Henry Holt & Co.*, 1909.

Goebel (Julius). *Goethes Quelle für die Erdgeistscene.* Reprinted from the *Journal of English and German Philology*. Vol. VIII. No. 1.

Handbook of Greek Archaeology (A). By Harold North Fowler and James Rignall Wheeler with the collaboration of Gorham Phillips Stevens. New York, *American Book Co.*, 1909.

Harry (J. E.) *Studies in Euripides. Hippolytus.* University of Cincinnati Studies. Cincinnati, 1908.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XX. Cambridge, *Harvard University*, 1909.

Hellenic Herald (The). Vol. III, No. 30. Ed. C. Pouptis. London, 1909. 10s. per annum.

Herwerden (Henricus van). *Euripidis Hypsipylae fragmenta.* Traiecti ad Rhenum, *Apud A. Oosthoek*, 1909.

Hirschy (N. C.) *Artaxerxes III. Ochus and his Reign.* (Born Dr. Diss.) Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1909.

Hoadley (Harwood). *The Authenticity and Date of the Sophoclean Ajax, Verses 1040-1420.* (Columbia Un. Diss.) Lancaster, *New Era Printing Co.*, 1909.

Ibn Miskawayh (The History of). Reproduced in facsimile with a Preface and Summary by Leone Caetani. Printed for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. Vol. I. Leyden, *E. J. Brill*. London, *Luzac & Co.*, 1909.

Inguagiato (V.) *Origine della Vislone dantesca.* Palermo, *Tip. "Gazzetta Commerciale"*, 1908.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Hsgb. von Alois Brandl und Max Förster. 45. Jahrg. Berlin-Schöneberg, *Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung*, 1909.

Jones (Daniel). *The Pronunciation of English.* Cambridge, *University Press*, 1909. 90 cts.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. XXIX. Part I. London, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1909.

Kinnaird (Percy). *The Evolution of Money.* Nashville, *Marshall & Bruce Co.*, 1909. Pamphlet 50 cts., book \$1.00.

Kroll (W.) *Der Ursprung des Dramas.* Sonder-Abdruck aus: *Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen*. LXIII Jahr. Berlin, 1909.

Krumbacher (Karl). *Das Programm des neuen Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache.* (Sonderabdruck aus "Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, u. Technik". 29. Mai, 1909.)

— KTHTP. Ein lexikographischer Versuch. (Sonderabdruck aus Band XXV der "Indogermanischen Forschungen".) Straassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1909.

Laubscher (Gustav George). The Past Tenses in French. (J. H. U. Diss.) Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1909.

Lewis (Lawrence). The Advertisements of The Spectator. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909. \$2.00.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman Family. Part I. General Introduction, Specimens of the Tibetan Dialects, The Himalayan Dialects, and the North Assam Group. Compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1909.

Ludwich (Arthur). Aeschylea. Regimonti, *Ex officina Hartungiana*, 1909.

Marchant (E. C.) Thucydides. Book III. London, Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1909.

Μελέτη (H.) Μηνιαῖον δημοσίευμα. Ἀπρίλιος. Μάιος, Ἰούνιος-Ἰούλιος, 1909. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων. @ 1 δρ.

Meltzer (H.) Gibt es ein rein präsensliches Perfekt im Griechischen? (Sonderausg. aus "Indogermanische Forschungen". Bd. XXV (1909), 338-356.)

Ménandre. L'Arbitrage. Édition critique accompagnée de notes explicatives et d'une traduction par Maurice Croiset. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1908.

Montgomery (James A.) An Aramaic Ostrakon from Nippur and the Greek Obolos. (From the Journal of the Am. Or. Society, Vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 204-209.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik. Hg. von Johannes Ilberg und Bernhard Gerth. 12. Jahrg., 1909. XXXIII. und XXIV. Bandes 4. 5. 6. 7. Heft. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909.

Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. Hg. vom Neuphilologischen Verein in Helsingfors. Nr. 8/4. 5. 1909.

Novatian De Trinitate Liber. Ed. by W. Yorke Fausset. Cambridge, At the University Press. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909. \$2.

Old Testament in Greek. According to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial MSS, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the LXX. Ed. by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean. Part II. Exodus and Leviticus. Cambridge, University Press. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909. 12s.

Oldest Known Writing in Siamese (The). An Address before the Siam Society by C. B. Bradley. Reprinted from the Siam Society. March, 1909.

Oldfather (William A.) Livy I, 26 and the Supplicium de More Maiorum. Extracted from Transactions of the Am. Ph. Ass., Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

Oriental Bibliography. Compiled and edited by Lucian Scherman. Vol. XXI (1907). Second Part. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1909.

Oxford English Dictionary (The). Edited by Sir James A. H. Murray. 8-SAVON. Vol. VIII. By Henry Bradley. Oxford, Clarendon Press, July 1, 1909.

Parīśītas (The) of the Atharvaveda. Edited by George Melville Bolling and Julius von Negelein. Vol. I. Text and Critical Apparatus. Part I. Parīśītas I-XXXVI. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1909.

Pascal (Carlo). Letteratura latina medievale. Novi saggi e note critiche. Catania, Balthato, 1909. L. 8.

Postgate (J. P.) Flaws in Classical Research. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. III.) London, Henry Frowde, 1909. 3s. 6d. net.

Proceedings of The Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. XXXI. Part 5. London, *At the Offices of the Society*, 1909.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905. Division III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria. Section B. Parts 2 and 3. By William Kelly Prentice. Leyden, *Late E. J. Brill*, 1909.

Reitzenstein (K.) Studien zu Quintilians grösseren Deklamationen (= Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, 5).

Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias. Universidad de la Habana. Vol. VIII. Num. 2. Marzo de 1909. Num. 3. Mayo de 1909.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Hrgb. von August Brinkmann. 64. Bandes. 2. 3. Heft. Frankfurt a. M., *J. D. Sauerländer's Verlag*, 1909.

Robertson (A. T.) A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. New York, *A. C. Armstrong & Son*, 1909. \$1.50.

Rodenwaldt (Gerhart). Die Komposition der Pompejanischen Wandgemälde. Mit 38 Abbildungen im Text. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909. 9 m.

Saunders (Catharine). Costume in Roman Comedy. New York, *The Columbia University Press*, 1909. \$1.25 net.

Schlachter (L.) Statistische Untersuchungen über den Gebrauch der Tempora und Modi bei einzelnen griechischen Schriftstellern. II. Herodot. III. Thukydides. (Sonderabzüge aus "Indogermanische Forschungen". Bd. XXIII (1908), 165-204 u. Bd. XXIV (1909), 189-221.)

Schlicher (J. J.) The Temporal Cum-Clause and its Rivals. (Reprinted from Classical Philology, Vol. IV, No. 3, July, 1909.)

Semitic Study Series. No. XI. The Mishnah Treatise Sanhedrin. Edited by Samuel Krauss. No. XII. Selections from the Arabic Writings of Maimonides. Edited by Israel Friedlaender. Leiden, *Late E. J. Brill*, 1909.

Streitberg (Wilhelm). Die Zukunft der deutschen Sprache. Sonderabdr. aus Jahrg. 1909 der Germanisch-Romanischen Monatsschrift.

Τεσσαρακονταετηρίς τῆς καθηγεσίας Κ. Σ. Κόντου. Φιλολογικαὶ διατριβαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ θαυμαστῶν αὐτοῦ προσφερόμεναι. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, Τύποις Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1909.

Thackeray (Henry St. John). A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. I. Introduction, Orthography and Accidence. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1909. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*. \$2.50 net.

Triandaphyllidis (Man. A.) Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur. Strassburg, *Karl J. Trübner*, 1909.

Verslag over den Wedstrijd in Latijnsche Poëzie over het Jaar 1908/9. Overgedrukt uit de Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letter-Kunde, 4e Reeks, Deel X. Amsterdam, *Johannes Müller*, 1909.

Wallstedt (Emil). Studia Plantina. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Afd. 1. Bd. 5. Nr. 3.) Lundae, 1909.

Wilhelm (Adolf). Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde. (Sonder-schriften des öster. archäolog. Institutes in Wien. Band VII.) Wien, *Alfred Hölder*, 1909. M. 85.

— Urkunden des Attischen Reiches. (Aus dem Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Kais. Akad. der Wissensch. Nr. X vom 28. April 1909 separat abgedruckt.)

— Zu den Inschriften des Bundes der Magneten. (Sonderabdruck aus Hermes, 44. Band, 1909.)

— Zu den Inschriften von Priene. (Sonderabdruck aus den "Wiener Studien" 1907, Band XXIX, Heft. 1.)

Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. Das Griechentum als lebendige Kraft. (Sonderabdruck aus "Mitteilungen des Vereins der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums in Wien", 8. Heft.) Wien u. Leipzig, *Carl Fromme*, 1909.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (Ulrich von). Erklärungen Pindarischer Gedichte. Sitzungsber. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. XXXII. 1909. 24. Juni.

Wilmanns (W.) Deutsche Grammatik, Gotisch, Alt-Mittel- u. Neuhochdeutsch. III. Flexion. 2. Hälfte: Nomen u. Pronomen. 1. u. 2. Aufl. Strassburg, *K. J. Trübner*, 1909. 9 m.

Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen. Hsgb. von H. J. Müller. 63. Jahrg. Der neuen Folge 43. Jahrg. Juni. Juli-August. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909.

Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur. Hsgb. von Edward Schroeder u. Gustav Roethe. 51. Bd. 1. Hft. (24. Juni.) Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909.

Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur herausgegeben von Dr. D. Behrens. Band XXXIV. Heft 6 u. 8. Der Referate und Rezensionen drittes und viertes Heft. Chemnitz u. Leipzig, *Verlag von Wilhelm Gronau*, 1909.

— Band XXXIV. Heft. 5 u. 7. Der Abhandlungen drittes u. viertes Heft.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXX, 4.

WHOLE No. 120.

I.—RECOGNITION SCENES IN GREEK LITERATURE.

When father or mother and child, husband and wife, brother and sister are separated by fortune for many years and then brought unexpectedly together again, the problem of mutual recognition is a fascinating one, which taxes the resources of any literary artist who attempts to solve it in a way to satisfy his audience of hearers or readers. Any such recognition, being a surprise, renders the plot of a literary composition complex instead of simple. The lines of action before and after recognition must be totally different. This is an advantage, as Aristotle points out in his *Poetics*. "A perfect tragedy", he says (xiii, 2),¹ "should be arranged not on the simple but on the complex plan", and the same is true of an epic poem (xxiv, 1-2). "The *Iliad* is simple, and the *Odyssey* complex, for recognition scenes run through it", and recognition scenes, according to Aristotle, form one of the three essential parts of any effective epic or tragic plot, the other two being "reversal of the situation" and "tragic incident" (xi, 6; xxiv, 1).

"Recognition", says Aristotle in definition of the term, "is a change from ignorance to knowledge, producing love or hate between the persons destined by the poet for good or bad fortune. The best form of recognition is coincident with a reversal of the situation, as in the *Oedipus*. There are indeed other forms. Even inanimate things of the most trivial kind may sometimes be objects of recognition. Again, we may recognize or discover whether a person has done a thing or not. But the recognition which is most intimately connected with the plot and action is the recognition of persons" (xi, 2-3).

¹The *Poetics* is cited throughout in Professor Butcher's translation.

Such recognition of persons Aristotle, with all Greek literature at his command, thus classifies and arranges in order of artistic excellence (xvi): "First, the least artistic form, which, from poverty of wit, is most commonly employed—recognition by signs (*διὰ τῶν σημείων*). Of these some are congenital,—such as 'the spear which the earth-born race bear on their bodies', or the 'stars' introduced by Carcinus in his *Thyestes*. Others are acquired after birth; and of these some are bodily marks, as scars; some external tokens, as necklaces, or the little ark in the *Tyro* by which the discovery is effected. Even these admit of more or less skilful treatment. Thus in the recognition of *Odysseus* by his scar, the discovery is made in one way by the nurse, in another by the herdsmen. The use of tokens for the express purpose of proof—and, indeed, any formal proof with or without tokens—is a less artistic mode of recognition. A better kind is that which comes about by a turn of incident, as in the *Bath Scene* in the *Odyssey*.

"Next come the recognitions invented at will by the poet, and on that account wanting in art. For example, *Orestes* in the *Iphigenia* reveals the fact that he is *Orestes*. She, indeed, makes herself known by the letter; but he, by speaking himself, and saying what the poet, not what the plot requires. . . . Another similar instance is the 'voice of the shuttle' in the *Tereus* of *Sophocles*.

"The third kind depends on memory, when the sight of some object awakens a feeling: as in the *Cyprians* of *Dicaeogenes*, where the hero breaks into tears on seeing the picture; or again in the 'Lay of *Alcinous*', where *Odysseus*, hearing the minstrel play the lyre, recalls the past and weeps; and hence the recognition.

"The fourth kind is by process of reasoning. Thus in the *Choephoroi*:—'Some one resembling me has come: no one resembles me but *Orestes*: therefore *Orestes* has come'. Such too is the discovery made by *Iphigenia* in the play of *Polyidus* the *Sophist*. It was a natural reflexion for *Orestes* to make, 'So I too must die at the altar like my sister'. So, again, in the *Tydeus* of *Theodectes*, the father says, 'I came to find my son, and I lose my own life'. So too in the *Phineidae*: the women, on seeing the place, inferred their fate:—'Here we are doomed to die, for here we were cast forth'. Again, there is a composite kind of recognition involving false inference on the part of one of the characters, as in the *Odysseus Disguised as a Messenger* . . .

"But, of all recognitions, the best is that which arises from the incidents themselves, where the startling discovery is made by natural means. Such is that in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles, and in the *Iphigenia*; for it was natural that *Iphigenia* should wish to dispatch a letter. These recognitions alone dispense with the artificial aid of tokens or amulets. Next come the recognitions by process of reasoning."

We are fortunate enough to possess the *Odyssey* and three of the twelve tragedies from which Aristotle takes his examples of five degrees of excellence in the literary conduct of recognition. No less than nine recognition scenes in dramatic poetry which he selects for special mention out of the complete repertory at his command have not been preserved for us. We have, however, not only the entire *Odyssey*, with its eleven recognition scenes, from which Aristotle selects only three for the purposes of his illustration, but also four tragedies with recognition scenes of which he makes no mention, viz. the *Electra* of Sophocles, and the *Electra*, *Ion*, and *Helen* of Euripides. We can pass judgment, therefore, upon eighteen recognition scenes in Greek literature, and, since some scenes bring double and even triple recognitions, upon twenty-eight actual recognitions. It is the object of this paper to review and briefly describe all these recognition scenes and recognitions, to state what little is known or may be safely inferred about the nine scenes cited by Aristotle but lost to us, and then determine how far the classification and relative estimate of them by Aristotle is satisfactory and of permanent value.

I.

Aristotle's remark about the *Odyssey* is strikingly true; recognition scenes run all through the poem. There are three in the first half, before *Odysseus* gets back to *Ithaca*, and eight in the second half, after the hero's return. The first two are spontaneous and natural recognitions of *Telemachus* the son of *Odysseus* by *Nestor* first (iii, 75-125), and afterwards by *Helen* (iv, 76-154). This is a recognition of every day occurrence now, and needs no comment, except to point out the simple and pure beauty of the scenes. Old familiars of the father recognize the son because he is so like the father in looks, speech, and motions, although they have never seen the son before. There is a third recognition in this second recognition scene,—that of the slow-witted *Menelaus*, whose curiosity has to be roused by the weeping

of Telemachus at the mention of his father before he is ready to accept the intuitive recognition of that father's son by the nimble-witted Helen. Such simple, direct, spontaneous recognitions as those of Telemachus by Nestor and Helen, are not distinguished by Aristotle, though they may be somewhat arbitrarily placed in his third class (*διὰ μνήμης*), since they certainly "depend on memory". To the same class belongs, according to Aristotle's illustrations of it, the recognition of Telemachus by Menelaus, for Telemachus "recalls the past and weeps; and hence the recognition". The same is true of Teucer in the Cyprians of Dicaeogenes, as we may safely infer, though the play is lost. Returning to Salamis with a company of Cyprians, who constitute the chorus of the play, Teucer weeps at sight of a picture of his father Telamon, and is consequently recognized by his nephew, Eurysaces. So Odysseus, in the 'Lay of Alcinous' (Od. viii, 521 ff.), "hearing the minstrel play the lyre, recalls the past and weeps; and hence the recognition."

This last illustration of Aristotle is taken from the third recognition scene of the Odyssey. The much buffeted Odysseus has reached the charmed isle of the Phaeacians, where he is sumptuously entertained, though still, after the good heroic fashion, incognito. Heroic politeness forbids that hosts should press a guest to break his incognito, though heroic curiosity, like heroic hospitality, is on a grand scale. But twice, at hearing the Phaeacian bard sing of the dooms of the Achaeans who went to Ilium, the unknown guest has burst into tears, and the second time his sorrow is so poignant that the generous host feels justified in demanding the name of his god-like guest. Thereupon follows the annunciation, made at a high point of interest, "I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, known unto all men for my craft", and then the long and immortal tale of adventure. A famous hero, wandering incognito, is recognized by hosts who never saw him before, because his actions indirectly prove him the one he "boasts to be."

The eight recognition scenes of the second half of the Odyssey differ from the three of the first half in that they bring about recognitions between persons who have once been intimately associated and then separated for a long term of years. This distinction is not made by Aristotle, though he speaks of recognition in the broader sense of a "change from ignorance to knowledge in a particular situation", or of "discovery whether a

person has done a thing or not". Odysseus has been twenty years from home; ten in the wars round Ilium, and ten in the adventures of his return. He left an infant son, Telemachus, who has now come to man's estate, and proved himself a worthy son of his father by rebuking the wanton suitors for his mother's hand, assuming the management of his father's realm, and making a long and perilous journey to Nestor and Menelaus in Peloponnesus for tidings of his father. The poem brings the father from his twenty years of wars and wanderings, the son from his first adventures, back to Ithaca at the same time, and both, from fear of the suitors, seek out the secluded hut of the faithful swineherd Eumaeus, Odysseus cunningly disguised as a beggar. Even Eumaeus does not recognize him. But the plot of the poem requires that father and son shall know each other, here in this swineherd's hut, away from palace and all family associations. How shall this double recognition be effected?

The sixteenth book of the *Odyssey* opens with the disguised Odysseus and the swineherd getting breakfast at the lodge. The beggar has given himself out to be a wandering Cretan. Up comes Telemachus from his secretly returning ship. With masterly exposition the poem establishes his identity, and the father, still retaining his own disguise, recognizes his son by what Aristotle calls the best of all recognitions, "that which arises from the incidents themselves, where the startling discovery is made by natural means" (xvi, 8). "As Telemachus drew near,¹ the dogs that love to bark began to wag their tails, but did not bark. Royal Odysseus, noticing, spake these winged words: 'Eumaeus, certainly a friend is coming, at least a man you know; for the dogs here do not bark, but wag their tails, and I hear the tramp of feet'". The exquisitely loyal greetings given the newcomer by the swineherd, and the princely replies, convince the onlooking beggar (and through him the never ending readers and hearers of the poem) beyond shadow of doubt that his son is before him,—the son whom he last saw a babe in arms. The father has recognized the son in the most perfect artistic manner, by means of indirect, not direct proof, and without the use of tokens or signs. But how shall the son be brought to recognize the father whom he has seen only with babe's eyes?

Here the artistic problem deepens, and here the art of the poet

¹ The *Odyssey* is cited in Professor Palmer's translation.

falters, at just the point where, as we shall see, the art of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides falters, viz. in the case of immediate double or mutual personal recognition, where recognition by artificial means follows that by natural means,—the direct and less artistic method of proof the indirect and perfect method. In the case now before us, the stage is cleared, so to speak, for the recognition of the father by the son, when the swineherd is sent up to the distant palace by Telemachus with messages for his mother. Then the patron goddess, Athene, calls Odysseus, all disguised, outside the lodge, and bids him tell his story to his son, and with him plan destruction to the suitors in the palace. With magic wand she then transforms the ragged beggar into a stately hero of such beauty and splendor that at his appearing again inside the lodge Telemachus is awe-struck, "and reverently turns his eyes aside, fearing it was a god". He even prays to the stranger who has been so marvellously transformed. But Odysseus answers: "I am no god. I am your father, him for whom you sighed and suffered long, enduring outrage at the hands of men. . . . But Telemachus, for he did not yet believe it was his father, finding his words, once more made answer thus: 'No, you are not Odysseus, not my father! Some god beguiles me. For lately you were old and meanly clad; now you are like the gods who hold the open sky' . . . Then wise Odysseus answered him and said: 'Telemachus, it is not right, when here your father stands, to marvel overmuch and to be so amazed. Be sure no other Odysseus ever will appear; but as you see me, it is I, I who have suffered long and wandered long, and now in the twentieth year come to my native land. This is the work of Athene,—she has power, she makes me what she will, now like a beggar, and again a youthful man in fair attire. Easily can the gods who hold the open sky give glory to a mortal man or give him shame'. So saying, he sat down; whereat Telemachus, throwing his arms round his good father, began to sob and pour forth tears",—and the recognition is accomplished. The task was such a hard one that the poet felt obliged to resort to miraculous power. It is, to be sure, the same miraculous power that presides over all the marvels of the long romance, saving her hero from all the perils which the poem could only include by associating them with that hero's return; but still it is a *deus ex machina* device. It cuts the knot it cannot loose. It is the marvel of the transformation which forces Telemachus to admit

the whilom beggar's claim to be his father. In this case, then, the marvel becomes a sign (*σημαῖον*) or token (*σημα*), and the recognition must be placed in Aristotle's first and lowest class, since it is brought about by direct and conscious proof. It is, however, a choice specimen of this lowest class.

The fifth recognition scene in the *Odyssey* is of the instantaneous, spontaneous kind for which the classification of Aristotle makes no special provision, like the first two, the recognition of Telemachus by Nestor and Helen. Two old comrades, separated twenty years, at once, on meeting, triumph over time and change and know each other well,—for surely Homer's dog Argus is a person! Still in beggar's disguise and unrecognized by his guide, the good Eumæus, Odysseus comes to the outer gates of his own palace court, whence come odors and sounds of the suitors' banqueting. "But a dog lying near lifted his head and ears. Argus it was, the dog of hardy Odysseus, whom long ago he reared but never used. Before the dog was grown, Odysseus went to sacred Ilios. In the times past young men would take him on the chase, for wild goats, deer, and hares; but now he lay neglected, his master gone away, upon the pile of dung which had been dropped before the gates by mules and oxen, and which lay there in a heap for slaves to carry off and dung the broad lands of Odysseus. Here lay the dog, this Argus, full of fleas. Yet even now, seeing Odysseus near, he wagged his tail and dropped both ears, but toward his master he had not strength to move. Odysseus, noticing, turned aside and wiped away a tear, swiftly concealing from Eumæus what he did; then straightway thus he questioned: 'Eumæus, it is strange this dog lies on the dunghill. His form is good; but I am not aware if he has speed of foot to match his beauty, or if he is merely what the table-dogs become which masters keep for show'. And, swineherd Eumæus, you answered him and said: 'Aye, truly, that is the dog of one who died afar. If he were as good in form and action as when Odysseus left him and went away to Troy, you would be much surprised to see his speed and strength. For nothing could escape him in the forest depths, no creature that he started; he was keen upon the scent. Now he has come to ill. In a strange land his master perished, and the slack women give him no more care; for slaves, when masters lose control, will not attend to duties'. So saying, Eumæus entered the stately home and went straight down the hall among the lordly

suitors. But upon Argus fell the doom of darksome death, at the mere sight of Odysseus, after twenty years" (xvii, 290-327). Each knew the other, then, at once, master and dog, through all the disguises of years and hardship and neglect, and at the knowledge the old dog died of joy. The scene must rank first in its class.

The beggar king then enters his own palace, known only to his son. He is insulted and mocked by the riotous suitors, but shielded and defended by Telemachus and Penelope. The latter has a conference with him in the evening, since she is wont to question all comers for tidings of her husband, in which he tells her a cunning tale of his wanderings, half true, half false, but ending with positive assurances that Odysseus is still alive and will speedily return. Gladdened by these words, Penelope commends the unkempt beggar to her maid-servants for kindly treatment: "wash the stranger's feet, my women, and prepare his bed, and early in the morning bathe and anoint him well, so that indoors beside Telemachus he may await his meal, seated within the hall. And woe to him who persecutes or frets the man". Thus the poem prepares the way for its sixth and most famous recognition scene (xix, 307-507), the "Bath Scene", to which Aristotle twice alludes.

Wise Odysseus declines the comforts offered him by his unsuspecting queen; "hateful to me are robes and bright-hued rugs; here too, as always, I would rest me on a rough bed; baths for the feet give me no pleasure, and foot of mine shall not be touched by any of these maids who serve the palace,—unless indeed there be some aged woman, sober-minded, one who has borne as many sorrows as myself. It would not trouble me that such a one should touch my feet. . . . Then said to him heedful Penelope: 'Dear stranger, I have an aged woman of an understanding heart, who gently nursed and tended that unfortunate one, and took him in her arms the day his mother bore him. She, feeble as she is, shall wash your feet. Come, rise up, heedful Eurycleia, and wash a man as old as is your master. Perhaps Odysseus is already such as he, in feet and hands; for soon in times of trouble men grow old'". Then up rose Eurycleia to wash the stranger's feet, weeping at thoughts of her lost master. She sees that it is to avoid the younger women's taunts the stranger will not let them wash him. "So I will wash your feet, both for Penelope's own sake and for your own, because my

heart within is stirred by sorrow. Yet mark the words I say! Many a way-worn stranger has come hither; but one so like Odysseus I declare I never saw, as you are like him, form and voice and feet!" So the old woman took the basin "which she used for washing feet and poured in much cold water, afterwards adding warm". Then she drew near him and began to wash her master; and presently she found the scar which a boar inflicted long ago with his white tusk, when Odysseus was hunting on Parnassus. "She knew it by the touch and dropped the foot. The leg fell in the basin; the copper rang, and tilting sidewise let all the water run upon the ground. Then joy and grief together seized her breast; her two eyes filled with tears, her full voice stayed; and laying her hand upon Odysseus' chin she said: 'You really are Odysseus, my dear child, and I knew you not till I had passed my hand upon you o'er and o'er'". And then she would have told her discovery to Penelope, but the queen's eyes were holden, and Odysseus clutched his old nurse by the throat and cried: "Why, mother, will you kill me? It was yourself who nursed me at the breast; and now through many hardships I come in the twentieth year to my own native land. Though you have found me out, be silent, lest some other person in the hall may know". And thus another faithful ally is secured for the struggle with the suitors soon to come.

This is recognition by a "sign",—a bodily mark acquired after birth, as Aristotle is careful to distinguish, but we cannot follow him in calling it the least artistic form of recognition. It is on a high, almost the highest plane of artistic excellence, because the proof is conveyed indirectly, "by a turn of incident" (*διὰ περιπετειᾶς*) as Aristotle has it. He recognizes the redeeming quality of this principle, but gives it no force in his classification, so that superlatively good scenes are ranked with superlatively bad ones, and below inferior scenes.

For this scar of Odysseus does service in three out of the eleven recognition scenes of the *Odyssey*. In the seventh, the trusty herdsmen Eumaeus and Philoetius are convinced by it that the seeming beggar is their master (xxi, 188-244). Here the action is summary. The plot of the poem thickens. Penelope has promised her hand to him who shall bend the great bow of Odysseus for a skilful shot, and several of the suitors have vainly tried their powers. The disguised Odysseus feels the need of more allies as the supreme moment draws near, and so

follows his two faithful herdsmen out of doors, tests their loyalty, and, finding it staunch, thus declares himself: "‘Lo it is I, through many grievous toils now in the twentieth year come to my native land. And I will show you too a very trusty sign (*σημα*), that you may know me certainly and be assured in heart,—the scar the boar dealt long ago with his white tusk’. So saying, he drew aside his rags from the great scar. And when the two beheld and understood it all, their tears burst forth; they threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck."

We need no telling that the art is far inferior here. The proof by the scar is direct and formal, not indirect and accidental, as in the case of the old nurse; and the herdsmen need never have been familiar, as she was, with the person of their master. It is easily the least artistic recognition of the *Odyssey*, and that which makes it so is the directness of proof. Whether the proof was direct and formal or indirect and accidental in the other three tragedies cited by Aristotle for this lowest class of recognition scenes, is unknown. But it is difficult to believe that Sophocles, in his *Tyro*, where the mother was led to recognize her grown up children by seeing the ark in which she had exposed them as infants, could have used the direct and formal method. And if Carcinus represented his *Thyestes* as discovered and recognized in the house of Atreus by means of the 'star', or inherited birth-mark on the shoulder of the Pelopids, the discovery was in all probability brought about "by turn of incident". About the method in which the recognition was effected in the unknown tragedy by an unknown author where the descendants of the *Sparti*, or Sown-men of Cadmus, were represented as carrying the birth-mark of a spear, we know and can infer nothing. But it is clear that by making "signs and tokens" the criterion of a class and grade of excellence in recognition scenes, Aristotle has been compelled to group together superlatively good and superlatively bad scenes. This will become even clearer as our survey continues.

The eighth recognition scene of the *Odyssey* is grim but glorious. The beggar asks to try his hand at bending the great bow. The suitors cry out against the profanation, but Telemachus and Penelope insist that the request be granted, and Eumaeus puts the weapon in the beggar's hands. The hour of doom has come. The palace doors are locked by faithful hands, the beggar

strings the bow with scarce an effort, and makes the skilful shot. And now for another mark! The ringleader of the suitors falls with an arrow piercing his neck. "‘Stranger’, the other revelers cry, ‘to your sorrow you turn your bow on men!’ They thought he had not meant to kill the man. But looking sternly on them wise Odysseus said: ‘Dogs! you have been saying all the time I never should return from out the land of Troy; now for you one and all destruction’s cords are knotted!’" (xxii, 1-41). Then they recognized the warrior whose substance they had wasted, whose servants they had outraged, whose son and wife they had mocked and tortured. His prowess with the bow, which is the "sign" or "token" in the case, his partnership with Telemachus, the discarded rags of his false beggary, and above all his awful words proved that he was the one he claimed to be. The proof, too, is brought indirectly, by a turn of incident, and therefore the scene outranks the recognition of Odysseus by Telemachus in consequence of the marvel of the transformation, with which, however, it must be grouped if "signs and tokens" were to be our only criterion.

In the ninth recognition scene of the *Odyssey* it is Penelope who must be convinced that the unsightly beggar whom all have set at naught except herself, Telemachus, and two faithful servants, but who has now slain the whole company of suitors, stands like a lion among the slain, and bids her by the mouth of Eurycleia come to him,—that this man is her lord. She is too dazed, awaking from sound sleep, to believe the assurances of Eurycleia, even though these are reinforced by the story of the scar; but she will "go down to meet her son, and see the suitors who are dead, and him who slew them". She found him who had slain the suitors sitting in the firelight by a tall pillar, looking down, waiting to see if his wife would speak to him when she should look his way. But speak she cannot; amazement so fills her heart. To her son’s chidings for thus holding aloof from her husband she can only say: "My child, my soul within is dazed with wonder. I cannot speak to him, nor ask a question, nor look him in the face. But if this is indeed Odysseus, come at last, we certainly shall know each other better than others know; for we have signs (*σηματα*) which we two understand,—signs hidden from the rest" (xxiii, 1-240). Nor will she yield, even after the gory beggar-claimant has been bathed and clothed in his royal robes, till she has put him to her secret test. "There

is no other woman", he cries, "of such stubborn spirit as to stand off from her husband who, after many grievous toils, comes in the twentieth year home to his native land. So come, good nurse, and make my bed, that I may lie alone. For certainly of iron is the heart within her breast."

"Then said to him heedful Penelope: 'Nay, sir, I am not proud, nor contemptuous of you, nor too much dazed with wonder now. I very well remember what you were when you went upon a long-oared ship away from Ithaca. However, Eurycleia, make up his massive bed *outside* that stately chamber which he himself once built. Move the massive frame *outside*, and throw the bedding on,—the fleeces, robes, and bright-hued rugs'. She said this to prove her husband". And she proved him. How, he cried in anger, could that bed be moved from out the room? No mortal man could do it. He himself had secretly built that chamber round a growing olive tree, and when the room was secret, then had lopped the branches of the olive and fashioned its trunk to be the bed-post of his bed. Starting with this he had fashioned him the bed till it was finished. No one could move it, save the olive trunk were cut asunder. This was a token (*σημα*) which he told. Then did Penelope's knees and soul grow feeble "when she recognized the tokens (*σηματα*) which Odysseus exactly told. And bursting into tears, she ran straight toward him, threw her arms about his neck and kissed his face and cried: 'Odysseus, do not scorn me! do not be angry with me! I feared some man might come and cheat me with his tale. But now, when you have clearly told the tokens of our bed, which no one else has seen, but only you and I and the one servant whom my father gave me on my coming here to keep the door of our closed chamber,—you make even my ungentle heart believe'. . . . And he began to weep, holding his loved and faithful wife. As when the welcome land appears to swimmers, . . . so welcome to her gazing eyes appeared her husband. From round his neck she never let her white arms go."

This is recognition by "tokens", tokens known only to the two who are to recognize each other, a slight variation of the method which Aristotle ranks lowest in his scale. But the Homeric poet uses it so exquisitely as to lift the scene to the highest plane of artistic excellence. This is because the proof is, after all, conveyed indirectly, through the stratagem of Penelope. And in its indirectness lies its artistic charm.

Two more recognition scenes remain in the *Odyssey*. In the tenth, Laertes, the aged father of Odysseus, who has long been living in squalid hermitage on a remote farmstead, where he could grieve for his son and grandson without molestation from enemies,—this aged father must be brought to recognize his long lost son (xxiv, 205-348). Odysseus finds him pottering in his vineyard, and first tries him with a well told tale of having entertained his son some five years since, and of now coming to the land he supposes his former guest to have reached long ago, expecting return of hospitality. Then a great cloud of grief envelopes the old man, as he confesses that his son has not yet returned. His anguish moves Odysseus to declare himself. He throws himself abruptly upon the neck of his father whose grief he has thus roused by a false tale, crying: "Lo, Father, I am he for whom you seek, now in the twentieth year come to my native land". . . . "Then in his turn Laertes answered: 'If you are indeed my son, Odysseus, now returned, tell me some trusty sign (*σήμα*) that so I may believe' ". Odysseus shows him the scar,—the well-used scar from the boar's white tusk, and gives him also a "token", or sign known only to the two, like the immovable bed-stead in the Penelope recognition scene. In this case the "token" is the exact trees of the vineyard which Laertes had given his son, when, being still a little child, he had followed his father about the garden begging for this and that. "You gave me thirteen pear-trees, ten apples, forty figs. And here you marked off fifty rows of vines to give, each one in bearing order". And then, as before with Penelope, "Laertes' knees grew feeble, and his very soul, when he recognized the tokens (*σήματα*) which Odysseus exactly told. Round his dear son he threw his arms".

This recognition scene is on the lowest artistic level of signs and tokens formally demanded and directly given in formal proof. All the inherent possibilities of the situation,—and they are great, are marred by the directness of the method of proof, and so the scene partakes of the inferior quality of the whole of the twenty-fourth book. Far more summary, too, and hasty even than the seventh, is the eleventh and last recognition scene of the *Odyssey*, where the aged servant Dolius instantly recognizes Odysseus on seeing him and hearing him speak (xxiv, 391-399). This scene must, of course, be classed with that of Helen recognizing Telemachus, or Argus recognizing Odysseus,

but it is far beneath them in artistic excellence, indeed, it is evident that no artistic effort has been expended upon it.

Looking back now over these eleven recognition scenes and thirteen recognitions of the *Odyssey*, it is plain that they fall into two classes, according as proof of identity is brought, or not. To one class belong the spontaneous recognitions, without "delay", such as that of Telemachus by Helen. They are not distinguished by Aristotle, and cannot be brought into his scheme of classification. One might be tempted to borrow his designation of *διὰ μνήμης* for them, since such recognition is certainly "dependent on memory" (see p. 374). In Aristotle's third class, however, it is the person to be recognized who so exercises the memory as to lead to his recognition, not the person who recognizes. Another class will include those recognitions where proof of identity is brought, and these will be divided and subdivided according as the proof is brought directly, by means of "signs and tokens"; or indirectly, and either with, or without "signs and tokens". The highest artistic excellence is reached in the second division of this second class, which answers to Aristotle's last and highest class.

EPIC RECOGNITIONS.

I. Spontaneous, without "delay", without proof (*ἀνευ πίστεως*),

Telemachus by Nestor	(1)	p. 373
Telemachus by Helen	(2)	p. 373
Odysseus by Argus	(7)	p. 377 f.
Odysseus by Dolius	(13)	p. 383 f.

II. Induced by proof (*ἐκ πίστεως*),

A. Direct and formal, by means of "signs" (*διὰ σημείων*),

Odysseus by Telemachus	(6)	p. 376 f.
Odysseus by the herdsmen	(9)	p. 379 f.
Odysseus by Laertes	(12)	p. 383

B. Indirect, informal and artistic, *διὰ εἰκότων, ἐκ περιεργίας*,

(a) By means of "signs",

Odysseus by Eurycleia	(8)	p. 378 f.
Odysseus by the suitors	(10)	p. 380 f.
Odysseus by Penelope	(11)	p. 381 f.

(b) Without the use of "signs" (*ἀνευ σημείων*),

Telemachus by Menelaus	(3)	p. 373 f.
Odysseus by the Phaeacians	(4)	p. 374
Telemachus by Odysseus	(5)	p. 375

II.

In five of the seven recognition scenes of the Athenian drama which have come down to us, as in the *Odyssey*, it is the great *passus* of the Trojan war which brings the necessary lapse of time. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, like Telemachus, was a babe in arms when his father set out for the war. Agamemnon left two daughters also at Mycenae: Iphigenia, of marriageable age, and Electra, who must have been eight or ten years old. After ten years absence, Agamemnon captures Ilium and returns in triumph to Mycenae, only to be treacherously murdered by his wife, Clytaemnestra, and her paramour, Aegisthus. Electra rescues her boy brother, Orestes, and sends him, in charge of a faithful paedagogue, to relatives in Phocis. Then she lives on hopes of his return in man's estate to take vengeance on his father's murderers. She waits nearly a decade, and then, under bidding of the oracle at Delphi, Orestes, with his cousin Pylades, secretly returns to do his dreadful work. The guilty pair, as well as the longing sister, are on the watch for his return.

Aeschylus, in his *Choëphori*, first dramatizes for us the recognition scene between brother and sister thus separated for ten years. It is not the main feature of his play by any means. That was the awful matricide, where Apollo's commands and the stern appetite for just vengeance strove with a son's horror at smiting the breast that had given him suck. Toward this fearful climax the action of the play hurries, as it were, and scarcely stays to have the recognition scene persuasive. It must take place somehow, this recognition; but Aeschylus seems too intent upon the deep religious problem of his play to spend himself upon the details of a minor scene.

The scene of the play is in the royal city, before the royal palace, and in the near background is the tomb of Agamemnon. In the dim light of early morning Orestes and Pylades appear at this tomb, and Orestes lays upon it as an offering a long lock of his hair. As the prayers which accompany the offering draw to an end, Electra comes forth from the palace at the head of a train of women slaves, who form the chorus of the play, all robed in black, all bearing vessels with libations for the tomb, all wailing and rending their garments. Orestes at once conjectures that the leader of the mourning band, conspicuous by her grief, is Electra, and that the libations are for the tomb at which he stands

He therefore withdraws to one side with Pylades. From the choral song which follows, and from the dialogue between Electra and her attendants, Orestes learns (and we learn) that Clytaemnestra has had an ominous dream during the night just passed, and has sent this mourning company forth with libations for the tomb of her murdered husband, hoping to propitiate his spirit. On advice of her attendants, Electra pours the libations on the tomb, as directed by her mother, but substitutes for the appeasing formulae given her, prayers to the dead and the powers beneath the earth to bring Orestes home for vengeance. Electra comes back to her attendants from the tomb where she has poured the libations, holding in her hand the lock of hair which she had found there. It is like her own hair! It is offered on Agamemnon's tomb! It must be Orestes' hair! Was it put there by him in person, or sent from afar? Lo, there are footprints also leading to the tomb, footprints of two persons! One of the footprints fits her own foot exactly! Sore bewilderment comes upon her, and pangs of anxious expectation,—when Orestes steps forth and announces himself as the Orestes for whose return she had just prayed.

(Electra) "Art thou indeed Orestes that I speak unto?"¹

(Orestes) "Though thou see'st him, thou'rt slow to learn 'tis I;
Yet when thou saw'st this lock of mourner's hair,
And did'st the footprints track my feet had made,
Agreeing with thine own, as brother's true,
Then did'st thou deem in hope thou look'dst on me.
Fit then this lock where it was cut, and see;
See too this woven robe, thine own hands' work,
The shuttle's stroke, and forms of beasts of chase.

(As Electra starts and would cry out for joy)

Restrain thyself, nor lose thy head for joy:
Our dearest kin within, I know, are foes to us."

Electra hereupon embraces Orestes, the recognition on both sides is complete, and the pair concoct the plot which brings the avenger inside the palace.

Orestes conjectures Electra from her issuing out of the palace at the head of a company of slaves, and his conjecture becomes a certainty when he overhears her prayers for her brother's return. This is indirect and highly artistic proof (*ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*) of the identity of one of the two persons who are to

¹ Aeschylus and Sophocles are cited in Plumptre's translation.

recognize each other. But the proof to Electra of the identity of Orestes is so artificial as to be ridiculous, and easily lends itself to travesty. We can only explain the grotesqueness of it by remembering that the scene is a minor scene, preliminary to the greater scenes to follow, and also that lock of hair, and foot-prints, and woven robe were all, probably, fixed features in the ancient myth which Aeschylus dramatized. He made a dramatic best of cumbersome material. But even such charity cannot make the scene seem less than absurd, and it is astonishing to find Aristotle placing it in a class which he ranks second in point of artistic excellence. But this fourth class of Aristotle,—recognitions “by process of reasoning” (*ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ*), is not exclusive at all. None of the recognitions in his other four classes can be made without “process of reasoning”. And this recognition of Orestes by Electra in the *Choëphori* is certainly made in consequence of “the use of tokens for the express purpose of proof”, and therefore belongs better in his first class. The other three recognition scenes which he groups in his fourth class along with that of the *Choëphori* will best be discussed later (p. 398 f.), when it will be seen that they also belong in another class.

To change the myth for dramatic purposes was questionable freedom for Aeschylus in 458 B. C. But in 413, forty-five years later, Euripides had no fear of the ancient myth before his eyes. For his didactic and psychological purposes all the minor details of the old story might be freely changed, provided he gave due notice of such changes to the audience in his formal prologue. The great cornerstones of the mythic story could not be removed. A son must slay his mother, in league with a sister. So much at least was necessary. But there need no longer be such authority in a divine command to do an unholy deed as to exact obedience. There must be lower and less ideal grounds for the matricide. In developing these grounds, on the basis of pronounced scepticism toward all the apparatus of myth and oracle that was sacred to Aeschylus, Euripides also indulges in much pungent, though highly inartistic criticism of his great predecessor's dramatic art. In his *Electra*, probably of the year 413, the scene is not within the walled city of Mycenæ, for how could Orestes penetrate inside if the guilty pair of tyrants are on the watch against his coming? Nor is the tomb of Agamemnon there in the near background by the palace, but outside the city, in a lonely country place, where the royal body was cast forth with insult.

Electra is not an inmate of the palace. How could her guilty mother endure the sight of her? Worse than cast out, she has been forced to marry a rude and poverty-laden peasant, that no royal scion may be born of her to take up the task of vengeance in case Orestes should be cut off untimely. In this lowly peasant's squalid home the Electra of Euripides does menial labor, while the insults heaped upon her by the murderers lording it in her father's palace slowly ripen in her bosom a hatred so intense that Orestes, when he comes, needs no weak oracle to spur him on to the matricide, but finds sufficient spur in his sister. She would do the deed herself but for feminine lack of strength. The recognition scene between Orestes and Electra, like the action of the whole play, takes place before the hut of Electra's peasant husband. This man, contrary to the plans of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, is full of loyalty to the dead Agamemnon and of reverence for his daughter. He behaves himself to her "as to a queen, so that she continues virgin in his house all the days of her adversity."

The action opens with peasant husband and princess, virgin wife passing to the menial occupations of the day. Enter Orestes and Pylades. Orestes has not dared to go within the city, but has offered a lock of his hair on the distant and neglected grave of his father, and sacrificed there a sheep. He is now bent on reaching safe remove from the tyrants' watchful hate, and above all on finding his sister, in order to learn from her what the state of things in the city is, and to get necessary help from her for the deed of vengeance. Electra returns from the spring bearing on her head the water for the day's uses,—the office of slaves in her father's house. Orestes and Pylades retire, meaning, if all is favorable, to enquire of the approaching servant, as they at first regard her, where Electra dwells. Electra pauses before the hut that is her home, and in long song of lament clearly reveals her identity to the listening Orestes and Pylades, precisely as in the *Choëphori*. A band of maidens from the city, old playmates of Electra, who are to form the chorus of the play, enter the scene here, to invite Electra to join them in celebrating the maidens' festival of Hera. But Electra bitterly declines the invitation, so full of rage and grief is she at thought of her undeserved penury and the riotous iniquities of her father's murderers.

Orestes and Pylades, this indirect and artistic revelation of the identity of Electra now complete, approach. Electra would fly in

terror, but is detained by Orestes, who promises her tidings of her brother. He lives, although an outcast and in straits for daily bread, and would know by messenger how it fares with his sister. Rapid dialogue brings out all the maddening details of Electra's lot, as well as the nobility of her peasant husband. If only her brother would come back to aid her, with her own hands would she slay her mother and then welcome death.

(Orestes) " Ah, were Orestes nigh to hear that word !¹

(Electra) But, stranger, though I saw, I should not know him.

(Or.) No marvel,—a child parted from a child !

(El.) One only of my friends would know him now,—

(Or.) The one who stole him out of murder's clutch ?

(El.) The aged paedagogue in service of my sire.

(Or.) And thy dead father,—hath he found a tomb ?

(El.) Such tomb as he hath found, flung forth the halls !"

Then follows a long and passionate narrative from Electra of the wrongs done her by the murderous pair, and of the insults heaped on Agamemnon's very grave by the drunken Aegisthus:

" Shame, that the sire destroyed all Phrygia's race,
And the son singly cannot slay one man,
Young though he be, and of a nobler sire !"

At this point the peasant husband, returning from his toil, sees his young wife in converse with two strangers, and at first is jealously angry ; but on learning that the visitors bring tidings of Orestes, is all joy and hospitality. He insists on their partaking of his poor fare, and wins a long encomium from Orestes as he and Pylades enter the hut. Electra then, with anxious housewife's trouble, scolds her spouse for asking guests inside where there is naught to eat, and sends him off in haste to the old paedagogue, who has flocks and herds near by, that he may come with store of food. Thus deftly is the presence of the only one who can spontaneously recognize Orestes secured.

After a hymn by the waiting chorus, the old paedagogue comes laboriously in with meat and cheese and wine from his farm. He meets Electra at the door and tells her, as he gives her all the store of food, how, as he turned aside a moment to weep at Agamemnon's tomb, he found there an offering of a ram new-slain, and blood outpoured, and severed locks of hair. He

¹Euripides is cited in the translation of A. S. Way.

brings some tresses of this with him. Haply it is her brother's, who has come in secret to honor his father's tomb:

"Look on the tress; yea, lay it to thine own;
Mark if the shorn lock's color be the same."

But Electra chides the old man a fool for thinking that a young athlete's hair should be like a woman's. And like-hued hair can never argue surely common birth. Some stranger out of pity made the offering. Nay, argues the old man,

"Set in his sandal's print thy tread, and mark
If that foot's measure answer, child, to thine.
(El.) How on a stony plain should there be made
Impress of feet? Yea, if such print be there,
Brother's and sister's foot should never match,—
A man's and woman's; larger is the man's.
(Paed.) Hath he not west of thine own loom, whereby
To know thy brother, if he should return,
Wherein I stole him, years ago, from death?
(El.) Know'st thou not, when Orestes fled the land,
I was a child?—yea, had I then woven vests,
How should that lad wear the same cloak to-day,
Except, as grows the body, vestures grow also?"

Having thus disposed scornfully of the "tokens" by which Aeschylus has his Electra recognize her brother, Euripides sets in motion his own more rational recognition. Orestes and Pylades come out of the hut, and are presented to the old paedagogue as to the faithful servant who saved Orestes on the day of murder. Instantly, and with overwhelming joy the old man recognizes his youthful charge, and calls upon Electra to greet her brother so long desired:

"I see Orestes, Agamemnon's son!
(El.) What token hast thou marked that I may trust?
(Paed.) A scar along the brow:—in his father's halls
Chasing with thee a fawn, he fell and gashed it.
(El.) How say'st thou?—yea, I see the mark thereof!
(Paed.) Now art thou slow to embrace thy best-beloved?
(El.) No, ancient, no! by this thy sign convinced
My heart is. Thou who hast at last appeared,
Unhoped I clasp thee in mine arms",

—and the recognition is accomplished. The paedagogue recognizes Orestes spontaneously and naturally, as Dolius recognizes Odysseus. To enable him to convince the sceptical Electra that

he is right, Euripides substitutes for the worthless "tokens" of Aeschylus a bodily "sign"—a scar, known both to the paedagogue and Electra, and conducts the proof formally and directly. Without the undramatic criticism of his predecessor, the recognition scene of Euripides would be mechanically perfect, though to gain this mechanical perfection he has freely changed the old story, as Aeschylus dared not do. And Euripides loved to criticize Aeschylus more than he cared to keep his art perfect.

A year or more after the *Electra* of Euripides was produced, Sophocles, full of years and crowned with many victories, took the same theme.¹ To him, as to Aeschylus, the myth was a sacred inheritance from the past, and must not be lightly changed. New details might be added to the old, but the old must not be despised and rejected altogether. His faith in a divine ordering of the lot of men was more serene than that of Aeschylus, his art more chaste and severe. Moreover he had nothing but gratitude and respect for his great predecessor. With the innovating scepticism and logical severity of Euripides he had no sympathy. His *Electra* is conducted in the main on the old Aeschylean lines, though cast in new perspective, and enriched by new and striking detail.

Electra lives in the royal palace of her fathers, harshly dealt with by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, and ever hoping against hope that Orestes, whom she had rescued from death and sent away with a trusty paedagogue, would come from Phocis and take vengeance on his father's murderers. Secret messages she had received from him, but still he tarried, and her hopes grew dim. The scene of the play, as in Aeschylus, is before the royal palace, and the tomb of Agamemnon is in the distant background. At early dawn the paedagogue appears before the palace, pointing out to Orestes and Pylades the noble home which the exile has so long yearned to see. Together they concoct their plot of vengeance. The aged paedagogue shall enter the palace pretending to be a messenger from Phocis with tidings of the death of Orestes. His extreme age will shield him from recognition. Shortly after, Orestes and Pylades shall appear at the palace gates with a funeral urn, which will be said to contain the ashes

¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes*, XVIII (1883), pp. 214-249, *Die beiden Elektren*. Jebb did not accept this view. It is, of course, really immaterial for the purpose of this paper.

of Orestes sent home for burial. When they also are admitted to the palace, the deed of vengeance shall be done. Hearing cries of wailing within the palace court,—some handmaid, as the paedagogue suggests, or possibly Electra, as Orestes thinks, they hastily withdraw to obey the strict commands of Apollo and begin their enterprise by offerings on Agamemnon's tomb. They are therefore out of hearing of the scene which follows.

Electra, free, by the happy chance of Aegisthus' absence from the palace for a while, to come out of doors, bemoans with her companions, who form the chorus of the play, the sad fortunes of her house and her own intolerable lot. Cruel treatment, and the constant sight of the murderous pair triumphing in their guilt and mocking at her hopes of Orestes' return, have made her harsh and implacable. To her enters from the palace a younger sister, Chrysothemis, a gentle foil to harsh Electra, such as Sophocles had already created in Ismene to Antigone. She is for yielding to the tyrants, and accommodates herself to their triumph, instead of angering them by hostility and resistance after the manner of Electra. The dialogue brings out in effective contrast the opposing natures of the two sisters, and also the fact that Clytaemnestra has had a portentous dream during the night just passed, and therefore sends Chrysothemis forth with funeral offerings to appease the spirit of Agamemnon. Electra and the chorus prevail upon her to cast away the offerings of Clytaemnestra, and make instead an offering of her own and Electra's hair upon the tomb, accompanied by prayers for Orestes' return. Exit Chrysothemis to visit the tomb of Agamemnon.

To Electra now enters from the palace her mother, Clytaemnestra, with an attendant bearing gifts for the image of Apollo in the immediate foreground of the scene. Mother and daughter hold angry debate, each accusing the other and justifying herself. As Clytaemnestra then makes her offering to Apollo, praying for continued freedom from harm and sorrow, whereby her dread of Orestes' return is uppermost in her mind, to them enters, as the concerted plot requires, the old paedagogue with a plausible tale of Orestes' death in the Pythian games. This seems answer to Clytaemnestra's prayers, and death to Electra's hopes. With ill-concealed joy the queen asks the messenger into the palace for entertainment, leaving Electra outside to bewail her culminated sorrow. To her enters in glad haste Chrysothemis. Orestes has returned, she cries, while yet the

false messenger's tale of Orestes' death is fresh in Electra's ears. What has she seen, Electra demands, to render her so crazed! Whereupon Chrysothemis tells how she had found upon her father's tomb offerings already made of libations and flowers and a tress of hair freshly severed from the head. It called up in her soul the once familiar image of her brother. He alone could have made these offerings of love. This budding hope is shattered when Electra tells the tidings of the messenger, and after a vain attempt to induce her to join in wreaking vengeance on the murderers with their own women's hands, Chrysothemis is dismissed in anger.

After a brief choral song, Orestes and Pylades appear, with attendants bearing a funeral urn. In answer to their enquiries, the chorus point them to the grief-smitten Electra as representative of the palace. Orestes would have her convey within the news that men from Phocis seek Aegisthus. They bring, he says, the ashes of Orestes,

"in one small urn,
All that is left, poor relics of the dead.

(El.) Ah, stranger, now by all the gods I pray,
If this urn hold him, give it in my hands,
That I my fate and that of all my kin
May wail and weep with these poor ashes here.

(Or., to Att.) Bring it, and give it her, *where'er she be*;
At least she does not ask it as in hate,
But is perchance a friend, or near in blood."

Then follows the matchless scene, immortal in art which it inspired as well as in the happily surviving play, where Electra, taking in her hands the urn which she believes to hold the ashes of her brother and so of all her hopes, chants forth her sorrow for that brother and those ruined hopes, and thereby reveals herself to the living brother standing before her:

"O sole memorial of his life whom most
Of all alive I loved! Orestes mine!
With other thoughts I sent thee forth than those
With which I now receive thee!"

Orestes, amazed, assures himself that it is Electra whose sad form thus stands before him, and then of the friendship of the listening chorus. His pity for Electra touches her, whom so few pity now. He pities her because he too suffers! "What!", Electra cries, "can it be thou art of kin to us?"

- (Or.) "Put by that urn, that thou may'st hear the whole.
 (El.) Ah, by the gods, O stranger, ask not that!
 (Or.) Do what I bid thee, and thou shalt not err.
 El. Yet if I hold Orestes' body here—
 (Or.) 'Tis not Orestes, save in show of speech.
 (El.) Where then is that poor exile's sepulchre?
 (Or.) Nay, of the living there's no sepulchre.
 (El.) What say'st thou, boy?
 (Or.) No falsehood what I say.
 (El.) And does he live?
 (Or.) He lives if I have life.
 (El.) What? Art thou he?
 (Or.) Look thou upon this seal,
 My father's once, and learn if I speak truth.
 (El.) O blessed light! O voice! And art thou come?
 Art here within my grasp? O dearest friends,
 Look here on this Orestes, dead indeed
 In feigned craft, and by that feigning saved",

—and the recognition is complete. Most of the old Aeschylean details are still there,—the palace in the city, the tomb likewise, the dream of the guilty queen, the offerings, the lock of hair. But the use of these details shows the most consummate art, and the minor additions do not break violently with tradition, and heighten artistic effect. In both plays Electra is recognized by Orestes without formal proof of her identity, by the indirect and most artistic method; and in both Orestes is recognized by Electra after proof of his identity is conveyed directly to her, in Aeschylus with minute and even ridiculous formality; in Sophocles with brief and even unessential formality.

The abrupt, mechanical appeal, by way of direct proof of his identity, which the Orestes of Sophocles makes to his father's signet-ring, is the sole imperfection in the recognition scene. It comes right in the flow of ardent feeling which is sweeping Electra (and the audience or reader) on to completed recognition,—completed, for the royal bearing, the tender sympathy of the disguised Orestes have already opened her heart's door to the entering in of a loved brother's personality. Indirect persuasion of Electra that the pretended messenger was really Orestes, either by conversation of his with Pylades or the paedagogue which Electra overhears, or, better still, by more emphasis of his crown-princely nature, his tender sympathy with his tortured sister, and his hatred of the foes whom she too hates above all foes, would have better satisfied modern art and a

modern audience. Let Electra say: "What? Art thou he?" and Orestes: "Yea, by my love for thee, O sister, by my mission for the death of both our foes, Electra, I am he!" Surely no modern audience would object if sister embraced long-lost brother after that. For an audience, it must be remembered, wants to have Electra recognize her brother, and knows she must, as surely as lovers in story triumph over obstacles to love. An audience so tolerant of the dramatic convention as was the Athenian audience would surely have tolerated, perhaps even have welcomed a slight *petitio principii* when long-lost brother appeals to a loving sister's intuitions. It is well, however, to remember two things. First, the "token" feature in the recognition was in the original myth. Aeschylus takes it unchanged, to the detriment of his art; Euripides casts it boldly aside and substitutes the "bodily sign",—the scar of the Odyssey; Sophocles, with his more reverent spirit, varies only slightly to "token" of royal signet-ring, and relies on this only briefly and slightly, as if out of deference to tradition. In his Oedipus the King, as we shall see (p. 402), he is able to retain the *motif* of the bodily "sign"—the pierced and swollen ankles, while eliminating completely its importance as proof. Second, Sophocles is more willing to retain the outgrown "token" feature because he knows the fondness of the keen-witted Athenian audience for exact and logical procedure in argument of any sort. For these two reasons, perhaps, Sophocles does not wholly eliminate the element of direct and formal proof by "token" from his most perfect recognition scene. It is hardly necessary to point out that the recognition scene in the Electra of Sophocles is the culminating point of the play, to which all before converges, from which all that follows gently descends to the inevitable and god-ordained issue. In the Choëphori the recognition is a mere preliminary, hastily treated, and leading up to the all-absorbing crisis of the matricide (p. 385).

Euripides probably imitated and at the same time covertly criticized this Sophoclean recognition scene in his Iphigenia among the Taurians. Here he faces a much more difficult problem, artistically speaking, than in the Electra. Iphigenia has not seen her brother since he was a babe, twenty years before, nor heard any tidings of her family or of the Trojan war. Among the savage Taurians of the Crimea she, whom the Greeks believed to have been sacrificed at Aulis, has served as priestess

of Artemis for twenty years when the exigencies of a dramatic action require mutual recognition between her and Orestes. In solving the difficult problem Euripides reaches at one point his highest level of artistic excellence and is faultless so long as he imitates creatively the highest art of Sophocles in the recognition of Iphigenia by Orestes and Pylades. Then, however, in the recognition of Orestes by Iphigenia, he not only does not eliminate the sole fault in the Sophoclean model, but intensifies it in an attempt to improve upon the model.

As priestess of Artemis in barbarian land, Iphigenia is doomed to dedicate to sacrificial death all strangers cast away upon these coasts. One night she dreams that she thus consecrates to death the sole remaining pillar of her royal father's house, which must be Orestes. And thus she reads her dream: "Dead is Orestes, since they die on whom my sacrificial sprinklings fall". As she pours funeral oblations for Orestes with her temple maidens,—Greek captives like herself, tidings are brought her that two youthful Greeks have been captured on the coast and sent to her for sacrificial dedication. These are, of course, Orestes and Pylades. Embittered by the belief her dream inspires that Orestes is dead, and by the remembrance of her betrayal by the Greeks at Aulis, Iphigenia promises herself to show no mercy to the strangers. But their youthful beauty and noble demeanor, when they are led in chains before her, make her bewail their untimely doom. The artful dialogue that follows reveals the name of Pylades to the priestess, and the home of the other,—her own home; his name the second stranger will not tell. Rightly might he be called "Unfortunate". Of the fits of madness falling on him the priestess has already heard. Slowly does she learn also from this anonymous fellow-citizen all the story of her house since she herself passed out of ken as sacrifice at Aulis,—Troy's fate, Agamemnon's murder, and the awful vengeance taken on the mother by the son. But that son lives, the stranger declares, "lives unhappy, nowhere, everywhere", and so "False dreams, avaunt! Ye were but naught! Orestes lives!" the priestess cries, revealing to the doomed youth suspicious interest in the things most near and dear to him. She will spare one of the pair, to carry a letter from her back to her friends at home, begging for rescue from this barbarous land, and goes into the temple to prepare it. After the exquisite "Contest of Friendship", in which it is decided that Pylades

take the letter home, leaving Orestes to the sacrificial death, the priestess reappears, bearing the letter. This she will read aloud, that so, in case of shipwreck and loss, its contents may be graven on the bearer's mind. Then follows the charming scene, so like the funeral urn scene in Sophocles' *Electra*, in which the identity of Iphigenia becomes clear to the listening Greeks. "This letter Iphigenia, slain at Aulis in the seeming only, sends to Orestes her dear brother, begging him to rescue her from out this cruel land where she must do such bloody service. O Orestes, come! This letter, Pylades, as thou hast strictly sworn to do, take thou now to him". "Lo! 'tis an easy oath", cries Pylades, "this letter now I give to thee, Orestes, from thy sister standing here!"

Surely no more exquisite situation,—for even the impending sacrifice cannot give it the mournful solemnity of the funeral urn scene of Sophocles,—no more exquisite scene of unconscious, indirect, informal, and therefore most artistic proof of doubtful identity could be devised. So far the Sophoclean pattern has most perfect copy. But now, when Orestes, perfectly convinced that the priestess who is to sacrifice him is his long vanished sister Iphigenia, rushes forward to embrace her, the chorus interpose in horror, and the priestess turns away in suspicious incredulity, like that of Penelope in the *Odyssey*. "Proofs!" cries Iphigenia, and so Orestes sets out to prove, directly, formally, by unfailing "tokens", and knowledge of their mutual history, that he is the one he claims to be. The proof is not wrung from him indirectly by artful stratagem, as in the Penelope recognition scene, nor is the direct proof condensed, as in the *Electra* of Sophocles, into a single flashing verse,—“look thou upon this seal, My father's once, and learn if I speak truth”,—but is drawn out in wearisome cumulation. Cunning Greek woman will not be outwitted by cunning Greek man. The man must tell,—she will not set the questions even,—of mutual secrets in their mutual lives. The story of the “golden lamb of feud” wrought in embroidery by Iphigenia's hands, he knows about; also what her mother sent to Aulis as bridal gift for her, and what was sent back to that mother by her as death-token from the sacrifice; and this knowledge came to him legitimately from *Electra* in after years, since he was but a babe when Iphigenia left her home; but still the sceptic will not yield. So at last the *coup-de-grace*!

- (Or. "What I *myself* saw, this will I name for proof:
 In our sire's halls was Pelops' ancient spear,
 Hidden it was *within thy maiden bower*!"
- (EL) Dearest Orestes, best-beloved, I clasp thee now;
 Far from thy country, here, O love, thou art",

—and the double recognition is logically and beyond all cavil of sceptic completed. It was artistically perfect as long as the proof was conveyed indirectly and informally; it became chilling, mechanical, and calculating when the proof was brought directly and formally.

Both these recognitions are specially noted by Aristotle. The first, that of Iphigenia by Orestes by means of the letter, is placed by him in his last and highest class, since the recognition arises "from the incidents themselves", and since "it was natural that Iphigenia should wish to dispatch a letter!" The second, that of Orestes by Iphigenia, by means of direct and cumulative proof from signs and tokens, is placed in his second class, among recognitions "invented at will by the poet". Orestes, he says, makes himself known "by speaking himself, and saying what the poet, not what the plot requires". But it is clear that this second class, like his fourth (see p. 387), is not exclusive at all. All recognitions might be referred to it, since all are "invented at will by the poet", and Iphigenia, no less than Orestes, makes herself known "by speaking herself". The difference is that Iphigenia, when speaking, is not trying to prove her identity, but to fix the contents of her letter in the bearer's mind, and so, indirectly, reveals her identity. It is the indirectness of her proof which makes it artistic, and the directness of Orestes' proof which makes it "wanting in art". Similarly Philomela, in the *Tereus* of Sophocles, if we are to trust Aristotle, conveyed directly to her sister Procne by means of a woven story,—the "voice of the shuttle" as the poet calls it, the knowledge that she was not dead, but had been deprived of her tongue and kept in concealment by the tyrant who was husband of both the sisters. This must have led to recognition in the larger sense of the word,—recognition of the fact that a crime had been committed, and that a sister was not dead as supposed. But the proof must have been direct, by means of "tokens".

On the other hand the four recognitions placed by Aristotle in his fourth class along with that of Orestes by Electra in the *Choëphori* of Aeschylus, would seem, judging by what indica-

tions are given of them, to belong in the last and highest class of recognitions arising "from the incidents themselves", where the proof of identity is brought indirectly. The recognition of Orestes by Iphigenia in the play of Polyidus the Sophist, arising from the natural reflection of Orestes "So I too must die at the altar like my sister", must have been on the same level of artistic excellence as that of Iphigenia by Orestes in the play of Euripides, and simpler in its mechanism. But Polyidus doubtless felt compelled to have the other recognition,—that of Iphigenia by Orestes, follow direct proof of her identity. No other course seemed possible in immediate mutual recognition. The first only could be brought about by the indirect method. The consummate artist, therefore, will reduce this element of direct proof to a negligible minimum, as Sophocles does in his recognition of Orestes by Electra. The work of Euripides in conducting this second of two mutual recognitions is lacking in art because he does not minify, but rather amplifies the element of direct proof. In the Tydeus of Theodectes of Phaselis, we infer from Aristotle that Oeneus, the father, is recognized by his son Tydeus in consequence of his natural remark "I came to find my son, and I lose my own life". This also must have been a recognition of the highest type, arising "from the incidents themselves". Similar inferences must be drawn regarding the recognitions in the Odysseus Disguised as a Messenger, and the Phineidae, about which we know almost nothing.

In his *Helen*, a dramatic romance, Euripides follows the lead of Stesichorus, and supposes that the real Helen has been transported to Egypt, and that only her phantom has been at Troy. To Egypt comes Menelaus also, driven from his path homewards after the sack of Troy by hostile winds. Here he finds the real Helen. There is a lively scene of mutual recognition, but both are of the spontaneous, natural order, without proof demanded or given. Menelaus has only to be told by a messenger that the phantom which he has taken to be Helen for ten years has disappeared, when he is ready to embrace the real Helen. Reality and phantom had looked exactly alike:

(Men.) "Thou art very Helen, lady, to mine eyes.

(Hel.) And thou Menelaus! I know not what to say."

There remain two plays with recognition scenes for which it is not the Trojan war which gives the needed lapse of time,—the

Ion of Euripides, and the Oedipus the King of Sophocles. In both a mother recognizes a son removed from her in infancy and now come to manhood, and in both the son acknowledges the mother. In the play of Euripides, Creüsa, daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens, has exposed her child by Apollo, with all the bitterness of a woman wronged. The child is brought mysteriously to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, where it is discovered and taken in charge by the priestess, and becomes a temple servitor. The mother marries Xuthus, bringing the kingdom of Athens as her dowry. Twenty years after the secret exposure of the child, Xuthus and Creüsa visit the temple at Delphi. By command of the god, Xuthus claims the youthful temple servitor, Ion, as his son. Creüsa, in jealous rage, is moved to plot against the life of Ion, but her plot is discovered, and after she has taken refuge at the altar of the god, Ion enters with armed men in pursuit of her. He is bent on slaying his would-be murderess, when the Pythia enters with protest. She carries a cradle with contents carefully wrapped, which Ion is to take with him to Athens :

(Pyth.) " In this I found thee once, a new-born babe.

(Ion) What profit or what hurt hath this for me?

(Pyth.) This hides the swaddling-bands that wrapped thee then.

(Ion) My mother! clues be these for finding her?

(Pyth.) Take them,—rest not until thou find thy mother.

(Cre.) What, O what vision see I, past all hope!

(Ion) Peace!—for thou canst be silent—as the grave.

(Cre.) Not for me silence!—Teach not me my part!

I see the ark wherein I set thee forth,—

Thee, O my child, my babbling baby then,—

In Kekrops' cave, beneath the Long Cliff's brow!

This altar will I leave, yea, though I die",

—and the mother flings her arms round the neck of the son whom she has recognized in consequence of indirect proof by means of "tokens". Compare the case of the Tyro of Sophocles, p. 380. But the angry son will naught of this recognition, and taunts her who claims him as a son:

(Ion) " I thy beloved—whom thou would'st slay by stealth!

(Cre.) Yes—yes! my son!—Is aught to parents dearer?

(Ion) Cease!—I shall take thee mid thy webs of guile—

(Cre.) Take me?—ah take! I strain thereto, my child.

() Void is this ark, or somewhat doth it hide?

(Cre.) Yea, that which wrapped thee when I cast thee forth.

(Ion) Speak out and name them ere thine eyes behold.

(Cre.) Yea, if I tell not, I submit to die.

- (Ion) Say on:—'tis passing strange, thy confidence!
 (Cre.) See there the web I wove in girlhood's days.
 (Ion) Its fashion? Girls be ever weaving webs.
 (Cre.) No perfect work; 'twas but a prentice hand.
 (Ion) The pattern tell:—thou shalt not trick me so.
 (Cre.) A Gorgon in the mid-threads of a shawl.
 (Ion) O Zeus, what weird is this that dogs our steps?
 (Cre.) 'Tis fringed with serpents,—with the Aegis-fringe.
 (Ion) Behold!
 This is the web:—lo, here the oracle!
 (Cre.) O work of girlhood's loom, so long unseen!
 (Ion) Is there aught else? or this thy one true shot?
 (Cre.) Serpents, an old device, with golden jaws—
 (Ion) Athene's gift, who biddeth deck babes so?
 (Cre.) Moulded from Erichthonius' snakes of old.
 (Ion) What use, what purpose, tell me, hath the jewel?
 (Cre.) A necklace for the new-born babe, my child.
 (Ion) Even these be here. The third I long to know.
 (Cre.) A wreath of olive set I on thee then:
 Athene brought it first unto our rock.
 If this be there, it hath not lost its green,
 But blooms yet, from the sacred olive sprung.
 (Ion) Mother! dear mother! glad, O glad, I fall,
 Beholding thee, on thy cheeks gladness-flushed",

—and the triple, culminating, direct proof by means of "tokens" has overwhelmed the sceptic, with the same mechanical impeccability which triumphs in the author's *Iphigenia* where Orestes establishes his identity (see p. 397 f.). There is scarcely doubt that both scenes were popular with Athenian audiences, which enjoyed the play and counter-play of cunning; but the element of directness in the elongated proof robs them of high artistic excellence.

The *Oedipus the King* of Sophocles is again and again instanced by Aristotle as a model in many regards, but especially in its recognition, which is placed in his last and highest class along with the recognition of *Iphigenia* by means of the letter,—the masterpiece of Euripides. The *Oedipus* is a masterpiece of accomplishment by indirect methods. With the single exception of the prophet, Tiresias, all the actors accomplish the opposite of what they seek. "The messenger", as Aristotle says (xi, 1), "comes to cheer Oedipus and free him from his alarms about his mother, but by revealing who he is, he produces the opposite effect". *Mutatis mutandis*, this is true of Creon, Jocasta, and Oedipus himself. Eager to stay the pestilence which is devas-

tating Thebes, Oedipus the King sends Creon to Delphi for advice. Purge the land of murder, is the oracle's command; for, as Creon explains, Laius the King had been slain on the road to Delphi by murderers, as the sole surviving servant of his retinue testified. Oedipus, in prompt obedience to the oracle, makes proclamation against the murderer, laying him under heavy ban and curse. Tiresias, consulted and angered, declares that Oedipus himself is the murderer, and worse. Creon is accused of complicity with Tiresias in a scheme to dethrone Oedipus. Jocasta, intervening to calm the quarrel, attempts to relieve the mind of Oedipus by telling him of the oracle that Laius should die by the hands of his son, in consequence of which her son by Laius had been exposed to death in infancy. And Laius had died at the hands of robbers at a place where three ways met. At a place where three ways met Oedipus had slain a man, and the servant of Laius, who had left Thebes at once on the appearance there of Oedipus, must be summoned to decide whether this man whom Oedipus slew was Laius the King. While he is coming, Oedipus tells Jocasta how, troubled by an accusation that he was not the real son of Polybus and Merope of Corinth, he had sought knowledge of the matter from the god at Delphi, had been denied the knowledge, and threatened with the awful doom of slaying the father who begat him and wedding the mother who bare him. Wherefore he had fled his home of Corinth, and, fleeing, had slain an aged, princely man. Were that man Laius, who so vile as Oedipus!—self-accursed, wedded to the wife of the man he slew, and exiled from his own land, or else he must slay his father and wed his mother. A messenger from Corinth brings to Jocasta tidings of the death of Polybus which she exultantly imparts to Oedipus. Oracles, then, are naught! But the mother of Oedipus still lives in Corinth, and touching her too the oracle made dreadful prophecy. Nay, says the messenger from Corinth, while Jocasta's exultation slowly changes to black despair, Oedipus was not the son of Merope. He himself, the messenger, had once received him, a babe exposed for death, from a servant of the house of Laius. Here Jocasta recognizes the awful truth, even without the slight influence of the "sign" of the swollen ankles, and when the servant of Laius arrives and reluctantly confesses that the babe which he had given the Corinthian was from Jocasta's hands, given up for death, that prophecy of patricide might

be forestalled, Oedipus also recognizes the awful truth. Both recognitions,—that of Jocasta and that of Oedipus, are in consequence of proof indirectly conveyed, and the influence of the “sign” is reduced to a negligible minimum. And both recognitions, when compared, for instance, with those of the *Ion*, are less recognitions of persons than of situations. They are changes “from ignorance to knowledge”, recognitions of “whether a person has done a thing or not.” Nor are the recognitions immediately mutual in the *Oedipus*.

We have seen, then, that of Aristotle’s five classes of recognitions, three,—the second, third, and fourth, must fall away as non-exclusive; and that the principle of directness or indirectness in conveying the proofs of personal identity, admitted to be important by Aristotle, must be made supreme as a principle of classification. Recognitions of the highest art are the result of proof of identity conveyed indirectly, preferably without use of “signs and tokens”, although by no means necessarily so.

DRAMATIC RECOGNITIONS.

I. Spontaneous, without “delay”, without proof (*ἀπὸν πλῶτος*),

(Eur.)	Orestes by Paedagogue	(4)	p. 390
(“)	Helen by Menelaus	(10)	p. 399
(“)	Menelaus by Helen	(11)	“

II. Induced by proof (*ἐκ πλῶτος*),

A. Direct and formal, by means of “signs” (*διὰ σημάτων*),

(Aesch.)	Orestes by Electra	(2)	p. 386 f.
(Eur.)	“ “ “	(5)	p. 390 f.
(Soph.)	“ “ “	(6)	p. 394
(Eur.)	Orestes by Iphigenia	(9)	p. 397 f.
(“)	Creüsa by Ion	(13)	p. 400 f.
(Soph.)	[Philomela by Procne (?)]		p. 398

B. Indirect, informal and artistic, *διὰ εἰκότων, ἐκ περιπλοκής*,

(a) By means of “signs”,

(Eur.)	Ion by Creüsa	(12)	p. 400
(?)	[Odysseus Disguised]		p. 399
(Soph.)	[Her children by Tyro]		p. 380, 400
(Carc.)	[Thyestes by ?]		p. 380
(?)	[<i>Sparti</i> by ?]		“

(b) Without the use of "signs" (*ἀνευ σημείων*),

(Aesch.)	Electra by Orestes	(1)	p. 386
(Eur.)	" " "	(3)	p. 388
(Soph.)	" " "	(7)	p. 393
(Eur.)	Iphigenia by Orestes	(8)	p. 397
(Soph.)	Oedipus by Jocasta	(14)	p. 402 f.
(")	Jocasta by Oedipus	(15)	"
(Pol.)	[Orestes by Iphigenia]		p. 399
(The.)	[Oeneus by Tydeus]		p. "
(?)	[Characters in the <i>Phineidae</i>]		"
(Dic.)	[Teucer by Eurysaces]		p. 374

B. PERRIN.

II.—THE DATE OF THE EXTANT PROMETHEUS OF AESCHYLUS.

The Argument to the Persae of Aeschylus states that in the archonship of Meno (473/2 B. C.) Aeschylus was victorious with the Phineus, Persae, Glaucus, and Prometheus. No identifying epithet is affixed to this Prometheus to tell us which of the several Prometheus plays of Aeschylus it was, but the view seems to prevail that it was not at all events the extant Prometheus. The grounds for this view seem to me to be scarcely adequate and I do not think that it is entitled to the general acceptance which it has received.

This view assumes that the Prometheus mentioned in the Argument to the Persae must, from its position in the list of plays there given, have been a satyric play—which our extant Prometheus is not. It infers from a scholium to line 511 that the extant Prometheus was one of a trilogy dealing with the story of Prometheus. I think it may be shown that neither the assumption nor the inference is reliable, but that on the contrary there are some indications that the extant Prometheus was the Prometheus produced in 472 B. C. and the fourth play mentioned in the Argument to the Persae.

The contention that the Prometheus mentioned in the Argument to the Persae must have been a satyric play, is one that may be challenged for two reasons. In the first place we do not know enough about the practice of Aeschylus in the production of satyric plays to justify us in asserting that a fourth play in any given didascalical list *must* be a satyric play. Indeed it may be said that the extent to which the practice was followed of each poet exhibiting one satyric play along with three tragic plays is commonly over-estimated. According to the Anonymous Life of Aeschylus that poet exhibited 70 tragedies and 5 satyric plays. This does not indicate that he produced a satyric play every time he exhibited. It may be asserted that the figures are unreliable, but a reference to Nauck's Fragments seems to show that they are not far wrong. The Fragments show 81 plays for Aeschylus; only nine are satyric, and of the nine two are

doubtful. We are told that it was Pratinas of Phlius who introduced the satyric drama into Attica (Haigh, *Trag. Dr.*, p. 40). He flourished between 499 and 467 B. C., so far as can be ascertained. If satyric drama was *introduced* as late as this, it is reasonable to suppose that the practice of producing one satyric play with three tragedies did not harden into a custom, or at all events into a very firm custom, by the year 472 B. C. Even Pratinas himself did not exhibit one satyric play to three tragedies. He seems to have exhibited nearly twice as many satyric plays as he did tragedies; that is, he must have exhibited two or three satyric plays in every group of four plays that he may have produced.¹ If we refer to the usage of Sophocles and Euripides we find that even in their time it had not become an invariable practice to exhibit one satyric play along with every three tragedies. Of the 116 or 117 plays of Sophocles that may be obtained by adding Nauck's titles to those of the extant plays not more than 17 can be regarded as titles of satyric plays. According to the theory of 3 to 1 we should find 29 satyric plays. Of the 81 plays of Euripides similarly obtained only eight seem to be satyric.² It would seem then that not much weight can be attached to an argument that presumes that it was the invariable custom of poets to produce a satyric play every time that they exhibited.

The second reason for challenging the view that the Prometheus of 472 B. C. was a satyric play is that it is not called a satyric play in the didascalia. This is a circumstance that deserves attention in view of the fact that in all other extant didascaliae that play of the four which was a satyric play is specifically so designated. Thus we are told in the didascalia to the seven against Thebes that "Aeschylus was victorious with the Laius, Oedipus, seven against Thebes, and Sphinx *a satyric play*". In the didascalia to the Agamemnon it is stated that "Aeschylus was first with the Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Eumenides, and Proteus *a satyric play*". In the didascalia to the

¹ Suidas says that Pratinas produced 32 satyric plays and 18 tragedies. Haigh says that these numbers may represent merely the number of plays which happened to be preserved in the time of the grammarians. But the theory that poets produced three tragedies to one satyric play would make Pratinas produce 96 tragedies. These added to the 32 satyric plays would make 128 in all, a very large number for an activity of some 30 years.

² It is true that the Anonymous Life credits him with 92 plays, but it would be hardly fair to assume that the 11 missing titles were titles of satyric plays.

Medea we are informed that "Euripides was third with the Medea, Philoctetes, Dictys, and Reapers a *satyric play*". Similarly in the didascalia to the Phoenissae and in that for the year 415 B. C. preserved by Aelian (Var. Hist. ii, 8) the satyric plays are denominated as such. In short, in all the extant didascaliae wherever the list of plays exhibited by a poet is given the satyric play is denominated as such—with two exceptions. There are two places where four plays are named without one of them being called a satyric play. These two places are the Argument to the Alcestis and the Argument to the Persae. And in both cases the reason that the fourth play was not called satyric was doubtless the same; in neither case was the fourth play satyric. The Alcestis was not a satyric play and probably the Prometheus was not satyric either. If it were satyric it would have been so styled in the didascalia. Otherwise it would have to stand alone as the one satyric play mentioned in a didascalia which was not specifically called satyric. So much for the contention that the Prometheus of 472 B. C. was a satyric play.

The second argument usually given for not identifying the extant Prometheus with the Prometheus of 472 B. C. is an inference drawn from the scholium to line 511. Lines 507 to 514 are as follows:

ΧΟ. μή νυν βροτοὺς μὲν ὠφέλει καιροῦ πέρα,
 σεαυτοῦ δ' ἀκήδει δυστυχούντος· ὥς ἐγὼ
 εὐελπίς εἰμι τῶνδ' ἐσ' ἐκ δεσμῶν ἵτι
 λυθίεντα μηδὲν μείον ἰσχύσειν Διός.

ΠΡ. οὐ ταῦτα ταύτῃ Μοῖρά πω τελεσφόρος
 κρᾶναι πέπρωται, μυρίαίς δ' ἐπ' ἡμιοναῖς
 δύαις τε καμφθεῖς ἴδε δεσμὰ φυγγάνω.

On the words οὐ ταῦτα ταύτῃ of line 511 we have the following scholium: οὐ ταῦτα οὕτως πέπρωται, ἵν' ἡ τελεσφόρος Μοῖρα ταχέως τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ κρᾶνῃ καὶ πληρώσῃ, δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως λυθῆναι μεμοίραται· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐξῆς δρᾶματι λύεται, ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει Ἀλσχύλος. "It has not been so ordained, that Fate shall quickly accomplish and fulfill my doom. That is to say, it has not been fated that I be yet released. For in the subsequent δρᾶμα he is released and this is what Aeschylus means". From the words 'in the subsequent δρᾶμα' it has been inferred that the play was one of a Promethean trilogy and that it was followed in that trilogy by the play known as the Prometheus Unbound.

But the assumption that the extant Prometheus was one of three plays which constituted a trilogy is not without its hazards. In the first place real difficulty is encountered in arranging the three Prometheus plays, the Fire-bearing Prometheus, the Prometheus Bound, and the Prometheus Unbound—for these are the three that are supposed to have constituted the trilogy—in their proper order within the trilogy. Welcker and others assigned the *Πυρφόρος* to the first place because of priority of action, and this would seem to be excellent ground for so assigning it. But Westphal, Wecklein, and others hold that the extant Prometheus (the *Δεσμώτης*) should come first, because the reasons for the feud between Zeus and Prometheus "are explained in the Prometheus Bound with so much completeness, that it is scarcely conceivable that the same subject had already been treated in a previous play". But in this case the Fire-bearing Prometheus would have to come last, and so it would be out of its natural place. This seems to be something of a dilemma.¹ Then in the second

¹ If the name *Πυρφόρος* meant anything the play must have had to do with the bringing of fire to mortals by Prometheus, and it is difficult to see how the action in the play could have allowed it to be the third play in the supposed trilogy. Westphal, it is true, and others suppose that the play had to do with the introduction into Athens of the worship of Prometheus and the institution of the torch-race. But this is at best an unsatisfying guess. Unfortunately, absolutely nothing is known of what the subject matter of the *Πυρφόρος* was. The scholium to line 94 is often cited as proof that the *Πυρφόρος* was the third play in a trilogy. On the words *διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριετὴ χρόνον ἀθλήτου* the scholiast says: *πολυετὴ ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρφόρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδας φησὶ δεδέσθαι*. It is claimed that the tense of *δεδέσθαι* "shows that the *Πυρφόρος* was the last and not the first of the series". But *δεδέσθαι* would seem to make against, rather than for, this theory. For if it should be strictly construed as 'has been bound', then it would follow that Prometheus was *still bound*, and so the *Πυρφόρος* could not have come after the *Unbound* in which Prometheus must have been released. It may be that we should follow Welcker in emending *πυρφόρῳ* to *λυομένῳ* in this scholium—for similar confusion of the Prometheus plays see fragments 188, 195—but it is more probable that not too much significance is to be attached to the use of the perfect tense here. The scholiast uses the perfect *δεδέσθαι* in another place in the sense of *is bound*, meaning the *continuance of the effect* of the action rather than the past occurrence of the action itself. At the opening of the Prometheus Bound where Prometheus is *being bound* the scholiast says: (post v. 11 in fine paginae leguntur haec, Wecklein I, p. 3) *ιστέον ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον ἐν Καννάσῃ φησὶ δεδέσθαι τὸν Προμηθεά, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς Εὐρωπαϊοῖς τέρμασιν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ*. Supposing a scene at the end of the *Πυρφόρος* in which Prometheus was led off to be punished it is conceivable that the scholiast would speak of that

place the assumption of a Promethean trilogy as existing apart from the Prometheus mentioned in the Argument to the Persae postulates four Promethean plays, and only three are mentioned in the catalogue of Aeschylus' plays in the Medicean MS. Pollux to be sure in two places makes mention of a Prometheus Πυρκαεύς, but this may be after all only another name for the Πυρφόρος. The supporters of the trilogy theory are at pains to draw a distinction between the approximately similar titles Πυρφόρος and Πυρκαεύς, and they claim that the play of 472 was the Πυρκαεύς. But in making this claim they do not explain why the play is not called Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς in the didascalia of 472. Pollux, the only authority for the existence of a Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς, says that Aeschylus himself¹ had so named it. If the author had so named it, why does that name not appear in the record of the contest? In the third place it might be asked why Aeschylus, if he did write a satyric Prometheus play and a Prometheus trilogy, did not exhibit them together as a tetralogy, instead of producing the satyric play in 472 B. C. along with three plays obviously unconnected in theme, and the trilogy later. Furthermore it should be borne in mind that the Πυρφόρος may have been a satyric play for all that we know. The two fragments (206, 207) which are assigned by Nauck to the doubtful Πυρκαεύς may with just as good right be assigned to the Πυρφόρος, as has been done by Dindorf. The sources do not state to which play they belonged.

The doubt that besets the assumption of a Prometheus trilogy of which the extant Prometheus was one, should make us cautious in drawing the inference usually drawn from the scholium mentioned above. The words ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι undoubtedly must refer to the Ανόμενος; but ἐξῆς may have reference to sequence of story rather than to sequence of production—to dramatic sequence rather than to chronological sequence. A commentator on the Henry IV of Shakespeare might say that some of the characters in it appeared ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι, meaning thereby the Henry V. But the "next" play in the order of production was

action in the same terms as those in which he speaks of such a scene here, and so use the perfect tense δεδέσθαι. The scholium may then be translated "For in the Fire-bearer he (the poet) says he is bound for 30,000 years".

¹ Pollux's words are: ὁ δ' ἐμπρήσας τάχ' ἂν Πυρκαεύς ὀνομάζοιτο κατ' Αἰσχύλον καὶ Σοφοκλέα οὕτως ἐπιγράψαντας τὰ δράματα, τὸν μὲν Προμηθεῖα, τὸν δὲ τὸν Ναύπλιον.

not Henry V but the Merry Wives of Windsor. Similarly a commentator on the Kidnapped of Stevenson might refer to the sequel to it, the Catriona or David Balfour, as the next story, although it was far from being the next in order of production. But supposing that the *Λυόμενος* was the next play in the order of production, it does not follow that it was produced in the same year and in a trilogic relation to the *Δεσμώτης*. It is indeed not improbable that the *Λυόμενος* was produced on the next occasion on which Aeschylus exhibited, as its similarity to the *Δεσμώτης* in one of its features would indicate. If this was so, and if the scholiast had the Alexandrian list of Aeschylus' plays, enumerating the plays in chronological order, he might, even in a chronological sense, refer to the *Λυόμενος* as the next play without thereby meaning that it was part of a trilogy.¹

Admittedly it is difficult to find adequate grounds for determining the order of production of the three Prometheus plays, but nevertheless one cannot help feeling that scholars have here been unduly influenced by Welcker's desire to arrange the plays of Aeschylus in trilogies or tetralogies. I believe that it would be more in accord with the indications presented to us to suppose that the extant Prometheus was produced in 472 B. C. and that subsequently—on different occasions as likely as not—Aeschylus produced two more plays dealing with the Prometheus legend. The extant Prometheus would not be called the *Δεσμώτης* originally.² It would be only after the *Λυόμενος* had been produced that the *Δεσμώτης* would be differentiated by the addition of this epithet. This would explain why the play was called simply *Προμηθεύς* and not *Προμηθεύς Δεσμώτης* in the didascalia.

One or two indications may now be noted that tend to show that the Prometheus which we have was produced about 472 B. C. In the first place there is the allusion in line 363 ff. to the eruption of Aetna, which seems to have taken place about 475 B. C.³ It is a natural supposition that this was a recent event when the play

¹ For the doubtful meaning of such a phrase as *ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι* compare Rutherford, Chapter in the History of Annotation, p. 41.

² Line 120 reads *ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτον θεόν*. On this the scholiast says *διὰ τοῦτο δεσμώτης ἐπιτυγχάνται*. This may mean that the title was given after the play was produced.

³ Thucydides, iii, 116 puts the eruption in 475 B. C., the Parian Marble in 479/8 B. C. Christ, *die Aetna in der griechischen Poesie*, Sitzungsber. der k. bayr. Akad., 1888, pp. 349 ff., gives the preference to the date of Thucydides.

was produced. In the first Pythian ode of Pindar a similar allusion is made to the same eruption, and Pindar's ode was composed about 474 B. C. In the second place some indication of date is derivable from a comparison with one of Sophocles' plays. In 468 B. C. Sophocles produced the *Triptolemus*.¹ One of the prominent features of this play was its geographical description, a feature which has been referred to by the geographer Strabo (I, 20). From a reference to the play by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiq.* I 12) we learn that in it *Triptolemus* was instructed by Demeter as to what lands he should traverse while distributing her gifts. This would afford the poet an opportunity of passing many lands in review and describing their most interesting features. This same geographical feature was used, as we see, by Aeschylus in the extant *Prometheus*. Aeschylus represents Prometheus as telling the persecuted Io the sufferings which she is yet to endure and the lands which she has yet to traverse. Also, under pretext of inspiring her with faith in the truth of his prophecy, Prometheus tells her of the lands which she has already passed over. Aeschylus thus devises an opportunity for describing in picturesque language the marvels, physical and mythical, of strange lands, a description in which the Greeks of the time would be greatly interested. They were eager to find out about distant lands. And it was before the age of the mapmakers. Geographical science had not yet

"from Creation's face
Enchantment's veil withdrawn."

For home-keeping ears fascination still lay in the

"traveller's history
Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads
touch heaven,
It was his hint to speak."

If now Aeschylus had produced his *Prometheus* in 472 B. C., we can see where the young Sophocles may have gotten his suggestion of a geographic motive for his *Triptolemus*. Sophocles would not need to describe the same lands as those which

¹ This is an inference drawn from a statement of Pliny's (*Nat. Hist.* xviii, 12, 1). In speaking of different kinds of wheat Pliny says that Italic wheat was praised by Sophocles in the *Triptolemus* one hundred and forty-five years before the death of Alexander.

Aeschylus had already described. Triptolemus would naturally visit the regions which were afterwards famous for the production of grain, such as Sicily, Italy, Illyria, Africa, and the northern shores of the Black Sea (Fragments 541, 543, 544, 545). Hence his route would differ almost entirely from that of Io. The similarity of the device used by Sophocles to that employed by Aeschylus makes it easy for us to believe that Sophocles had heard the tale of Io's wanderings before writing the Triptolemus.

There is a striking resemblance, it may be remarked, between one of the lines of the Triptolemus which has been preserved to us and a line in the extant Prometheus. The line in the Triptolemus reads (Frag. 540):

οἷς δ' ἐν φρεσὶ δέλτοισι τοὺς ἰμοὺς λόγους

while lines 798/9 of the Prometheus read as follows:

σοὶ πρῶτον, Ἰοῖ, πολύδονον πλάτην φράσω
ἢ ἐγγράφου σὺ μῆμοσιν δέλτοισι φρενῶν.

An examination of the fragments of the *Προμηθεὺς Αὐόμενος* reveals the fact that Aeschylus employed this same geographic motive in that play.¹ The extent to which he employed it seems moreover to have been considerable. He represented the Titans as coming to behold the sufferings of Prometheus and giving a catalogue of the lands which they had traversed: *ἵππετα καταλέγουσιν ὅσην χώραν ἐπῆλθον*.² Then again Hercules was introduced and according to Strabo (sub Frag. 199) Prometheus informed him of the route which he would have to travel from the Caucasus to the lands of the west: *φησὶ γοῦν Προμηθεὺς παρ' αὐτῷ καθηγούμενος Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ὁδῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς ἐσπερίδας*. The fact that Aeschylus did so employ this geographic motive in the *Αὐόμενος* makes it unlikely that he produced that play immediately after the *Prometheus Bound* in a trilogy. It seems improbable that he should have used the same device, and to such an extent, in two plays exhibited at one and the same time.³ On the other hand it is easily conceivable that Aeschylus, having found the

¹ See especially fragments 190, 191, 192, 195, 196, 199.

² Arrian, quoted by Nauck sub Frag. 190.

³ E. A. J. Ahrens called attention to this objection to the trilogy theory. Wecklein I 568 says "ex fragmentis colligit tantam fuisse Prom. vincti et soluti similitudinem ut si una doctae fuerint tragoediae, taedium non movere non potuerint."

geographic motive to be successful in the Prometheus Bound, might have produced another Prometheus play the next time that he exhibited, say in 470 or 469 B. C., using the geographic motive again in it.

Some indeed have contended that the Prometheus was one of the latest plays of Aeschylus, but the grounds for this contention do not seem very convincing. It is claimed for instance that "the general structure of the play, in which the choral odes are completely overshadowed by the dialogue, proves that it came after the Septem (467 B. C.), and was one of the poet's latest works" (Haigh, *Trag. Dram.*, p. 109). But the validity of arguments drawn from 'general structure' is somewhat doubtful. Arguing from 'general structure' we could as well claim that "the extreme simplicity of the plot" (Haigh, *ib.* 113) proved that the Prometheus Bound was one of Aeschylus' earliest plays. Moreover, that the ratio of the choral parts to the dialogue is not a very exact criterion of date is shown by the fact that in two plays that were produced five years apart, the Septem and the Persae, the ratio is about the same. Also in two plays that were produced as far apart as the Persae (472) and the Choephoroi (458) the difference in the ratio is not very marked.

Arguments derived from metrical peculiarities are equally inconclusive. Wecklein considers that the structure of the trimeter on the whole favors the supposition of an earlier rather than a later date. Of more significance is the apparent use of three actors in the first scene. Aristotle (*Poetics*, iv), Diogenes Laertius (iii, 56), Suidas (*Τριταγωνιστής*), and the Anonymous Life of Sophocles credit the introduction of the third actor to Sophocles. Also in the Anonymous Life of Aeschylus, Dicaearchus the Messenian, a pupil of Aristotle, is quoted to the same effect. As Sophocles seems to have exhibited for the first time in 470 B. C., it would appear that the Prometheus was later than this date.¹ But in regard to this, opinions are divided as to whether

¹ The first appearance of Sophocles is usually assigned to 468 B. C. But if we trust the testimony of Eusebius, he exhibited in 470 B. C. Eusebius says under OL 77, 2 (Armenian Version): *Sophocles tragoediarum scriptor primum apparuit*. Syncellus has *Σοφοκλῆς τραγωδοποιὸς πρῶτος ἐπεδείξατο*, and Hieronymus says *Sofocles tragoediarum scribtor primum ingenii sui opera publicavit* (Schoene-Petermann, p. 102). The only objection that can be brought against this date is that Plutarch (*Cimon*, viii) says that Sophocles was victorious when he exhibited *for the first time* two years later in 468 B. C.

Aeschylus did actually use three actors in the first scene. Many believe that he employed a lay-figure¹ for Prometheus. And even if he did admit three actors, it may be pointed out that their appearance is restricted to one scene, that only two of them actually take part in the dialogue (Prometheus remaining silent throughout), and that we may regard the matter "as an experiment foreshadowing the later usage"² of Sophocles and perhaps suggesting it. The matter of the number of actors would thus appear not to operate seriously against the assumption of the date 472 B. C. The Anonymous Life of Aeschylus, it may be added, while citing Dicaearchus as above, claims the invention of the third actor for Aeschylus himself. Also in one of the orations of Themistius (xxiv) Aristotle is cited as authority for the same statement. The basis of this claim may be just such a partial use of a third actor as we have here to deal with.

In the matter of stage-setting the Prometheus is to be grouped along with the three oldest plays of Aeschylus, the Suppliants, the Persae, and the Septem, the latest of which was produced in 467, rather than with the Oresteia produced in 458 B. C. The Prometheus demands only a "primitive stage-setting". There is nothing in the play to suggest the more elaborate back-ground of the later plays. So that in this respect also the date 472 is free from objection. In this connection we may note that there is a discrepancy between the scene of the Prometheus Bound and that of the Prometheus Unbound which the upholders of the trilogy theory have never very satisfactorily reconciled. The scene of the extant Prometheus is Scythia, "a wild, rocky, desolate region, at the ends of the earth, in the north of Scythia close to the Ocean" (Wecklein's Prometheus, trans. by F. D. Allen, p. 24). The scene of the Prometheus Unbound on the other hand is the Caucasus. How could this discrepancy have been tolerated if the two plays followed one another in a trilogy? No really satisfactory explanation has ever been given.³

But as it is only a subordinate part of Plutarch's statement that it was Sophocles' first appearance, we may regard this part of his statement as an error. Sophocles would be about twenty-six years old in 470 B. C., and so there would be nothing intrinsically improbable about this date for his first appearance.

¹ Dignan, *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus*, Chicago, 1905, p. 28, note.

² Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ Schneider (1834) proposed a subterranean journey whereby the rock on which Prometheus was bound, was transferred to the summit of the Caucasus,

By way of summary of the considerations which I have attempted to present, I would say that the position of a play as the fourth in any didascalical list is no warrant for assuming that it was a satyric play unless it is so called; that the Prometheus mentioned in the didascalia to the Persae was probably not satyric since it is not called a satyric play; that the attempt to arrange the Prometheus Bound and the Prometheus Unbound in a trilogy involves us in a difficult dilemma and makes us assume one more Prometheus play than we have certain knowledge of; that Aeschylus, if he wrote a satyric Prometheus and a Prometheus trilogy would most naturally have produced them together; that it is possible that the *Πυρφόρος*, a necessary member of the putative trilogy, was itself a satyric play; that the reference to the eruption of Aetna makes it likely that the play was produced when the memory of that disaster was still fresh; that there are resemblances discernible between the Prometheus Bound and the Triptolemus of Sophocles which was produced in 468 B. C.; that it is unlikely that Aeschylus would use the same geographic motive in two plays exhibited in immediate succession on the same day; that the discrepancy between the scene of the Prometheus Bound and the scene of the Prometheus Unbound also makes it hard to suppose that they followed one another in a trilogy; that no good grounds have been advanced for claiming that the Prometheus Bound was one of Aeschylus' latest¹ plays.

It is not claimed that a conclusive case has been made out for the production of the extant Prometheus in 472 B. C., but the considerations adduced should, I believe, make us cautious in accepting positive statements that the Prometheus play mentioned in the didascalia of 472 B. C. was a satyric play and not the extant one.

D. A. MACRAE.

OSGOODE HALL, TORONTO.

a theory which provoked surprisingly little dissent in view of its fantastic character. Welcker rejected it as not in accord with his trilogy theory, claiming that the Caucasus was the scene of both plays. Allen (A. J. P. XIII 51 ff.) also pointed out that it was not very consistent with the trilogy theory, but instead of questioning the trilogy theory, he tried to argue that Scythia was the scene of both plays. He claimed that Cicero's *saxa Caucasi* (Frag. 193) represents only a simple *πέτραι* in the original, and that Cicero himself stuck in the *Caucasi*. But as pointed out by Wecklein, not only Cicero but Hyginus and others who seem to have taken their account of the myth from Aeschylus, mention the Caucasus as the scene.

¹For the revision theory see Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters*, p. 159; Wecklein's Prometheus translated by Allen, p. 26. This theory we may let take care of itself, as any evidences it sets up for a later date than 472 B. C., it explains on the theory of a later revision.

III.—LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE SHĀHBĀZGARHI AND MANSEHRA REDACTIONS OF ASOKA'S FOURTEEN-EDICTS.

SECOND PART.

3. THE HISTORY OF INDIC *rdh*.

Since Indic *rdh* remains in the dialect of the Mansehra redaction, written of course *thr*, we naturally should expect *rdh* likewise to remain. And that is what actually occurs twice, being written *dhr*: *vadhrite* (Sanskrit *vardhita-*), iv. 15; *vadhrayisati* (Sanskrit *vardhayisyati*), ibidem. But more often 'Magadhan' *qdh* (written of course *qh*; *qdh* shown by Pali *vaḍḍhito* which corresponds to Sanskrit *vardhitas*; etc.) takes the place of the native sounds: *vaqhite*, iv. 12, iv. 14, *pavaqhayisanti* (note too 'Magadhan' initial *p-* for native *pr-*), iv. 16, *vaqhayati*, xii. 4. That these are 'Magadhisms' is demonstrated by the fact that Indic *rdh* becomes *qdh*, written *qh*, in the dialects of the Dhauli and Jaugada redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, the Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, and Mathia recensions of the Pillar-Edicts. And there are no other correspondents in these dialects. Examples are: Dhauli *vaqhite*, iv. 12, iv. 16, *vaqhayis(a)ti*, iv. 16, *pavaqhayisanti*, iv. 17; Jaugada *vaqhite*, iv. 14, iv. 18, *pava(qhayisanti)*, iv. 19; Delhi-Sivalik (i. 6), Allahabad (i. 3), Radhia (i. 4), *vaqhita* (Sanskrit *vardhita*); Mathia *vaqhita* (i. 4, Sanskrit *vardhita*); Delhi-Sivalik (iv. 20), Delhi-Mirat (iv. 15), Allahabad (iv. 19), Radhia (iv. 23), Mathia (iv. 27) *vaqhati* (Sanskrit *vardhati*), etc. (I remark that in the Rāmpurvā redaction of the Pillar-Edicts we have lacunas where we would otherwise find correspondents, but we may infer with absolute certainty that this dialect agreed with those of the other recensions of the Pillar-Edicts; for the history of Indic *rdh* is the same in all six redactions of the Pillar-Edicts.) It is, of course, rather curious that in the case of *rdh* we find this nearly ousted by 'Magadhisms' in the Mansehra redaction, but that we never find 'Magadhisms' taking the place of native *rdh* (written *thr*) in this recension; yet it should be observed that in the Girnār text a

similar, but more exaggerated, state of affairs exists; native *ddh* (written *dh*) for Indic *rdh* occurs but once, namely in *vadhayisanti*, iv. 9; otherwise 'Māgadhan' *qdh* (written *qh*) usurps its place; note *vaqhito*, iv. 1, *vaqhile* (observe also 'Māgadhan' -e), iv. 5, iv. 7, *vaqhayisati*, iv. 7, *vaqhayati*, xii. 4 (Skt. *vardhayati*). Yet it cannot be doubted but that the single dental *ddh* represents the true native sounds; the history of Indic *rt* in the dialect of this recension make this certain, and the history of Indic *rt* (which we will take up later) confirms it. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in Kālsī version, corresponding to Indic *rdh*, we find *ddh* (written *dh*) and *qdh* (written *qh*): this is to be interpreted that dental *ddh* is the native product, and *qdh* a 'Māgadhism': compare my remarks in the second study.

In the Shāhbāzgarhi recension, we nowhere find the native equivalents of Indic *rdh*, 'Māgadhisms' taking the place of these forms, except in one word discussed below. Thus: *vaqhito*, iv. 7, *vaqhile*, iv. 8 (note too 'Māgadhan' -e), *vaqhilam*, iv. 9, *vaqhiṣati*, iv. 9, [*vaqhe*]*ṣanti*, iv. 9. If it is objected that as we never find *rdh* (which would be written *dhr*) in the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction, *qdh* (written *qh*) must be the true dialectic sounds corresponding to Indic *rdh*, I reply: it is agreed that the language of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi texts is essentially the same, and so if *qdh* in the Mansehra recension is a 'Māgadhism', the presumption is strongly in favor of considering it a 'Māgadhism' also in the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction; and if it is allowed that certain 'Māgadhisms' in the Mansehra text have completely ousted the true native forms, the proof consisting in the evidence of the Shāhbāzgarhi version, why should we not admit the same for the Shāhbāzgarhi text when the evidence of the Mansehra redaction distinctly points to this conclusion? See the Introduction.

We will now consider the very difficult [*diyadh*]*amatre* at Shb. xiii. 1 (Skt. *dvyardha*-). The dental *dh* (i. e. *ddh*) is to be observed. It cannot be a 'Māgadhism', for we would then have *aqha*-, cf. Kālsī *diyadhāma*[ā]*le*. Yet the 'Māgadhan' final -e is noteworthy. It is possible that *dh* is a pure blunder for *qh* or a misreading: for it will be noticed that the *dh* is not clear according to Buehler's method of indicating this. Or it may be that the *dh* is a careless writing of *dhr* as *ḥ* in Mansehra *dhramaniṣiti* for *ṣr* (Shb. *dhramaniṣrite*), influenced possibly by 'Māgadhan' *dhramaniṣite* (so the Kālsī redaction). The *dh* then would be a reminiscence of the native form. But another possibility must be

considered, namely that the *dh* might be due to the dialect of the engraver of the inscription. The chances for errors in our text are not small. The following must be taken into consideration: errors made in reducing the original edicts to writing; errors made in translating this 'Māgadhaṇ' text into the local vernacular; errors made in reducing this translation to writing; errors made by the stone-mason in copying on the rock this written translation. All we can say is that the *dh* of the word in question at all events does not represent the vernacular sounds corresponding to Indic *rdh*.

Johansson treats the history of Indic *rdh* in the passages cited in the second study, and comes to different conclusions than those we have. These are that *rdh* became *rdh* but that the *r*, not being full sounded, was graphically omitted (see ii. 25 especially). The evidence of the Mansehra version is completely passed by as in his conclusions concerning the history of Indic *rlh* in the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction. As I could not agree with his views on the history of Indic *rlh*, so I cannot agree with his views on the history of *rdh*. I may add that Johansson regards the *dh* of [*diyadha*-] as being a change from an original lingual. That is not at all likely. For this one case is the only one where such a change might be admitted; *dh* remains elsewhere.

4. THE HISTORY OF INDIC *rl*.

Franke (Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 111) already was on the right track in stating that in certain cases where we find *ḥ* (i. e. *ḥḥ*) as the product of Indic *rl* in the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions this *ḥ* is a 'Māgadhism'.¹ Only he did not see that *all* cases in which *ḥ* for Indic *rl* is found in these texts are 'Māgadhisms'. Apparently he thinks that where Pāli also shows a lingual *ḥ* that this *ḥ* is native to the dialects of Mans. and Shb.; and similarly regarding *ḥh* (i. e. *ḥḥḥ*) and *dh* (i. e. *dhḥ*).² Respect-

¹ To this extent credit should be given him for seeing that Johansson's view was untenable. Incidentally I remark that Shb., Mans., and Gīrnār *paṭi* is not for **paṭi* as in this case we would have Pāli **paṭṭi* and not *paṭi*, but is a 'Māgadhism' and corresponds to Sanskrit *prati*. Shāhbāzgarhi and Gīrnār *prati* is the true native word. Shb. *prati* is a blend of the *dhraṭṭma*-type, and *paṭri* (found in the sixth edict only) is simply a careless writing of this. See my 'Notes on the Pillar-Edicts of Asoka', IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241.

² See also pp. 95, 97. He there says the change of *r*+a dental to a cerebral (lingual) is a Pan-Middle-Indic characteristic (the caption of the chapter is

ing the last two, see my exposition above, especially p. 297. From the history of Indic *ṛh* and *rdh*, we legitimately may infer that Indic *ṛ* phonetically should remain in the dialects of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts. In reality this never occurs. But we find *ṛ* (a blend of native *ṛ* and 'Māgadhan' *ṛ*) once in the Shāhbāzgarhi version and once in the Mansehra redaction, though graphically expressed differently in each case: note Mansehra *kraṭaviye* from a native **kṛatavo* (i. e. **kṛatavo*; Sanskrit *kṛatavyas*; cf. Shb. *kaṭavo*) and 'Māgadhan' *kaṭaviye* (so the Jaugada, Dhauri, Kālsī redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, the Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Mirat, Radhia, and Mathia recensions of the Pillar-Edicts; see the Introduction), and Shāhbāzgarhi *kiṭri* from native **kiṛiṇi* (i. e. **kīṛiṇi*; final *ṇ* is graphically often omitted) and 'Māgadhan' *kiṭiṇi* (i. e. *kiṭiṇi*; cf. Dhauri and Jaugada *kiṭi*; Sanskrit *kīṛti*). Otherwise—with the exception of a special case (discussed in the next paragraph) in which dental *ṛ* is found for native *ṛ* (i. e. *ṛ*)—'Māgadhan' *ṛ*¹ has wiped out the native forms entirely.

Very difficult to explain absolutely satisfactorily is *anuvāṭatu* at Shb. v. 13.² The Mansehra correspondent *anuvāṭatu* with lingual *ṭ* would seem to indicate that the 'Māgadhan' original had lingual *ṭ*. But the Dhauri correspondent is *anuvāṭatu*. Note too that the Delhi-Sivalik, Radhia, and Mathia redactions of the Pillar-Edicts have *pavāṭayevā-ti* (Skt. *pravartayeyur iti*) twice on the fourth edict; and the Delhi-Mirat version in the corresponding passage to the second occurrence has [*pa*]vāṭayevā-ti. (In the first instance where we should otherwise have a corre-

¹ 'Die allgemeinen Grundzüge des gesamten Pāli'). Excepting *ṇṇ* (written *ṇṇ*, *ṇ*) for *ṇṇ*, earlier *ṇṇ*, this phenomenon is foreign to the dialects of the Gīrnār, Mansehra, and Shāhbāzgarhi redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts; all apparent exceptions are 'Māgadhisms'. Franke is apparently in doubt as to whether *ṛ* when attached to an adjacent consonant in these dialects was actually pronounced or was merely graphical: see p. 115. Per contra, see Johansson, *Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-redaction*, ii, pp. 24–26, and my exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants. On the assimilation of *ṇṇ* to *ṇṇ* in the dialect of Shb. and Mans., see my forth-coming paper, 'The Etymology of Sanskrit *punya*'.

² It should be noticed that though *ṛ* is assimilated to an immediately following *ṛ* in the dialect of the Gīrnār recension, yet the *ṛ* is never lingualized.

³ This is the only certain case in Shb. where we have *ṛ* for Indic *ṛ* that is certain according to the text in EI.; in Mans. there is no certain case according to the text in EI.

spondent in DM., there is a lacuna.) Now as Indic *r* otherwise invariably in the dialects of these texts lingualizes an immediately following dental mute, we have the same phonetic difficulty. The simplest solution seems to be the following. Although historically we find original *r* assimilated to an immediately preceding mute as well as to an immediately following one, it is by no means necessary to assume that these assimilations were synchronous. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the first assimilation was subsequent to the second, for the first assimilation is foreign to the dialect of the Girnār redaction, but the second native to it. (All apparent exceptions are 'Māgadhisms'.) If this difference in chronology is allowed, an acceptable solution can be readily found. In a case like Indic **pravart-* the first *r* may have prevented the lingualization of the *t* by the second *r*, and the result then would be **pravatt-*, whence *pavatt-*; or if an intermediate stage **pravatt-* be preferred we can suppose this to have been dissimilated to **pravatt-*,¹ whence *pavatt-*. From such cases the forms with dental *tt* may have been analogically extended, and given rise to *anuvatt-* (*anuvattatu* cited above is merely graphical for *anuvatt-*). In this way the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original may have had both *anuvatt-* and (phonetic) *anuvatt-* (cf. Mansehra *anuvattatu*, i. e., *anuvatt-*).

5. THE HISTORY OF INDIC *r*.

The previous problems that we have taken up differ from the present one in that definite solutions could be found with comparative ease. The difficulty in finding a solution of the history of Indic *r* in the dialects of Shb. and Mans. is due to the fact that readily recognizable 'Māgadhisms' have for the most part usurped the place of the true native forms in both the texts, and that the remaining material contains few forms which we can be positive in pronouncing to be true vernacular ones. Under these singularly distressing circumstances a final solution is perhaps immature, and this paper only a slight step in advance.

The first thing is to exclude the cases in which 'Māgadhan' influence is patent. The cases in which we find Indic dental mutes converted into lingual mutes are the most easy to recognize. For Indic *r* converts immediately following dental mutes to lingual ones invariably in the dialects of the Dhāuli and Jaugada

¹ It will be recalled that Indic *r* was a lingual consonant.

recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts, and the Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, and Mathia versions of the Pillar-Edicts. (It chanced that we have lacunas in the Rampurva redaction of the Pillar-Edicts where we would otherwise find correspondents to cases in point, but we can infer with certainty that the dialect of Rā. agreed with the other recensions of the Pillar-Edicts.) In the dialect of the Gīrnār version of the Fourteen-Edicts Indic *ṛ* does not lingualize immediately following dental mutes, the few apparent exceptions being 'Māgadhisms'. Thus Sanskrit *ṛta-*, Gīrnār *kaṭa-*, Dhāuli, Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, and Mathia *kaṭa-*; Skt. *vyāṛta-*, G. *vyāṛta-*, Dhāuli and Delhi-Sivalik *viyāṛta-*; Skt. *viṣṭa-*, Gīrnār *viṣṭa-*, Jaugada *vith(a)ṭa-*. From one or two forms it would seem as if the dialect of the Kālsī redaction agreed with that of the Gīrnār text; cf. also my remarks above in the history of *ṛk* and *ṛh*. But the great bulk of forms agree with the dialects of the Dhāuli recension, etc.; e. g., *kaṭa-*, *viyāṛta-*, *vithaṭa-*. So we can make use of this text also in showing 'Māgadhan' influence in the forms of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra recensions. Hence we can be positive that the following are due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original: *kaṭe*, Mans. v. 19 (Dh. K. *kaṭe*); *sukaṭa*, Mans. v. 20, (K. *sukaṭam*, Dh. (*suka*) *ṭam*); *dukaṭa*, Mans. v. 20, [*du*] *kaṭam*, Shb. v. 11 (K. *dukaṭam*, Dh. (*d*) *ukaṭam*); *kaṭa*, Mans. v. 21 (Dh. *kaṭā*, K. [*ka*] *ṭā*); *bhaṭamayeṣu*, Mans. v. 23, *bhaṭama[ye]ṣu*, Shb. v. 12 (Sanskrit *bhṛta-*, K. *bhaṭamayesu*, Dh. *bhaṭi[maye]su*); *viyāṛta*, Mans. v. 25, Shb. v. 13 (Sanskrit *vyāṛtās*, K. Dh. *viyāṛṭā*); [*usa*] *ṭena*, Mans. x. 11, *usaṭe* (read *-ena*), Shb. x. 22 (J. *u(sa)ṭena*, Dh. *usa(ṭe)na*; Skt. *utsṛlena*); *vaḍhi*, Shb. iv. 10 (twice), *dharmavaḍhiy[e]*, Shb. v. 12; *śālavaḍhi*, Shb. xii. 2 (twice: *v[a]* once), Mans. xii. 2, Shb. xii. 8, Mans. xii. 7 (note 'Māgadhan' *l* for native *r*); *atapaṣaḍavaḍhi*, Shb. xii. 9; *atmapaṣaḍavaḍhi*, Mans. xii. 9 (cf. Dhāuli *vaḍhi*, iv. 18; *dharmavaḍhiye*, v. 23; Kālsī *dharmavaḍhiyā*, v. 15; text wrongly *dhamma-*; *śālavaḍhi*, xii. 31 [twice]; *śālavaḍhi*, xii. 34; *atapaṣaḍavaḍhi*, xii. 35; observe also *dharmavaḍhi* at Delhi-Sivalik vi. 3, Radhia vi. 15, Mathia vi. 17 [2], as well as *dharmavaḍhiyā* at Delhi-Sivalik vii.¹ 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, vii.² 1). That is to say that all cases in which Indic *ṛ* apparently develops as *a* and an immediately following original dental mute is thereby converted to a lingual mute, are 'Māgadhisms'. It is quite true that Johansson (Shb. i, sections 27a, 47) judges these forms entirely

differently, holding them to be phonetic products. As his theory concerning the history of Indic *r̥h*, etc., in the dialects of our texts is untenable, so is his view in the present matter. Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 111, was on the right track but did not go far enough. He thought that when Pāli also had a lingual mute, that the lingual mute was also native to the dialects of the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi texts, but when Pāli showed a dental mute that the lingual mute in our texts then was a 'Māgadhism'. This theory would include many of the forms cited above, but it should be noticed that in Pāli we have doublets occasionally as *vuddhi* and *vaḍḍhi* (Skt. *vr̥ddhi*-), *vatta*-, *vaṭṭa*-, *vulla*- (Skt. *vr̥tta*-) exactly as *attha*- and *aṭṭha*- (Skt. *ar̥tha*-). As the last are certainly due to dialect-mixture (see my exposition above), so are the other doublets. I must add that Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 110, previously saw that the vowel *a* as the correspondent to Indic *r̥* in Sanskrit *kṛta*- was a 'Māgadhism', though this is implied only, not stated. I go but a step further in considering every *a* in Shb. and Mans. as the correspondent to Indic *r̥* to be a 'Māgadhism'. For the general proposition that 'Māgadhisms' are to be found in the vowels of words as well as in their consonants, see the Introduction. Accordingly *gahathani*¹ at Mans. xii. 1 may be classed among the obvious 'Māgadhisms'; cf. Kālsī *gahathāni*. A trifle less clear is *ananiyam* at Shb. vi. 16, Mans. vi. 31: the lingual *ṇ* is the sole trace of the native word exactly as is the *ṇ* of Mans. *kayaṇa*- (a blend of native *kalāṇa*-² and 'Māgadhan' *kayāna*-: so Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 117, footnote 28; Sanskrit *kalyāṇa*-; cf. Jaugada [*āna*] *niyam* ([*āna*] by conjecture only), Dhaulī *ḍ[na]niyam*, Gīrnār *ānaṇṇam*, Sanskrit *ānṛṇyam*. (Kālsī [*ḍ*] *naniyam* is probably a mistake for *ā*-; cf. *andthesu*, etc.) It will be recalled that lingual *ṇ* is foreign to the 'Māgadhan' dialects; corresponding to Sanskrit *ṇ* they have *n*. (It may be mentioned in this connection that in the dialects of G., Mans., Shb. *ṇ* in case-endings has been replaced by *n* through analogy; for the last two see Johansson, *Der dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-redaktion*, i, p. 166 (52 of the reprint); but his *ka[lanam]* has vanished in Buehler's ed. in EI. vol. ii; Gīrnār *kāranam* is only a misprint: see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 53; on Shb. *Tambapāṇni*, Shb., Mans. *Tambapāṇniya* see Michelson, l. c., p. 55; *-garana* at Shb. xii. 3 is a blunder

¹ Observe also 'Māgadhan' *ṭh* for native *ṣṭh*.

² On this word see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 54.

for *-garaha* according to Buehler; Shb. *aparakaranasi* at xii. 3 in Buehler's ed. in EI. vol. ii, is only a misprint as is shown by his editions of this edict in ZDMG. xliii, p. 159 and EI. i, p. 17 ff.; on Shb. *pranatika* see next part). *Gaṇanasi* at Mansehra iii. 11 and [ga]ṇanasi at Shāhbāzgarhi iii. 7 are to be judged the same way, cf. Kalsī *gananasī*. We have not a direct check in Sanskrit in this case as Skt. *gaṇana-* is simply a Middle-Indic word, as has long been recognized.

Before pointing out less obvious 'Māgadhisms', it is necessary to show what the true native correspondents are to Indic *ṛ*. It is convenient first to take up the history after labials. In this position *ṛ* becomes *ur*; the proof of this is *mrugo*, Shb. i. 3 (twice) as compared with Sanskrit *mṛgas*; *mrugaya*, Shb. viii. 17 with Sanskrit *mṛgayās*; *vudhreṣu*, Mans. v. 23, *vudhrana* (final *ṁ* graphically omitted), Mans. iv. 15 contrasted with Skt. *vrddha-*. It should be especially noticed that the dental *dh* is not lingualized, exactly as in the case of Mansehra *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (= Skt. *vardhitas* and *vardhayisyati* respectively). The writing *mrugo*, etc. should not be misleading: cf. my remarks in my exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants. Pischel consistently considers *pruva-*, *dhrama-*, *mruga-*, etc., as representing the actual pronunciation; Buehler inconsistently considers *pruva-* as merely graphical for *purva-*, *dhrama-* for *dharma-*, but *mruga-* as representing the real pronunciation.¹ Doubtless the latter was struck by the fact that the position of the *ṛ* in *mrugo* is different than it is in Mans. and Shb. *vagreṇa* (Skt. *vargeṇa*) and Mansehra *spagraṁ* (Skt. *svarga-*). If he wishes to make capital out of this, he must explain why Indic *ṛ* develops differently before guttural than dental mutes after a labial, and as he acknowledges that the history of Indic *ṛ* is the same before dental mutes and guttural mutes,² it is hard to see why he should make a distinction in the case of Indic *ṛ*. Another point may be brought forward in support of considering *mrugo* as merely graphical for *murgo* is the following. Corresponding to Sanskrit *vrddhi-* we should expect **vudhri* in accordance with the analogy of *vudhreṣu* and *vudhrana* (Skt. *vrddha-*). Now at Mans. xii. 2 we have *salavrudhi* (Skt. *sāravṛddhi-*). We have seen above that the lingual *ḍh* is a 'Māgadhism' as is also the *l* for native *ṛ*. That is to say the native form should be **saravrudhi*. Now why should we have **vrudhi*

¹ See ZDMG. xliii, pp. 134, 282.

² See ZDMG. xliii, p. 285.

corresponding to Sanskrit *vrddhi*- but *vudhra*- corresponding to Sanskrit *vrddha*-? The only satisfactory explanation is that the position of the *r* in both cases is merely graphical, i. e., that *vudhra*- stands for *vardha*- and *vruḍhi* for *varḍhi*.¹ Buehler himself previously saw this, and transcribed *vruḍhi* as *varḍhi* in devanāgarī letters.² But I ask why does he transcribe *vruḍhi* by *varḍhi* and not *mrugo* by *murgo*? I must mention that Johansson agrees with me regarding the position of *r* in all cases, though he has never—as far as I know—given his reason at length but has simply referred to the previous literature on the point at issue.

Being now assured as to the real history of Indic *r* in our dialects after labials, we will take up some 'Māgadhisms' that are not readily to be recognized. *Mruige* at Mans. i. 3 is peculiar; it is a blend of native *mrugo* (so the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction) and 'Māgadhan' *mige* (so the Kālsī and Jaugadā recension). In the Introduction I cited Gīmar *susrāsā* in proof of the proposition that 'Māgadhan' influence may be found in the vocalism of medial syllables, and above some examples of cases in which 'Māgadhan' *a* for Indic *ṛ* is found. Buehler gives the word as *mrige* in the text but in a footnote acknowledges that the true reading is *mrūige*. He styles the form 'nonsensical', and so it is; but it is a help in interpreting *mrige* at Mansehra at i. 3. In this the 'Māgadhan' vocalism has gone so far as to entirely expunge the native *u*. The same is true regarding *mrigaviya*, Mans. viii. 34, a blend of *mrugaya* (so Shb.; Skt. *mṛgayās*) and 'Māgadhan' *migaviyā* (so the Kālsī redaction; Skt. *mṛgavya*-); note especially 'Māgadhan' *-viy-*. Similarly we find native **vurdhi* which we inferred above from Mansehra *vruḍhi*, altered to *vardhi* (written *vadhri*) by 'Māgadhan' *vaḍhi*: thus *dhramavadhriya* (cf. Kālsī *dharmavaḍhiyā*, etc.), Mans. v. 22, *vadh[r]i*, Mans. iv. 17 and *vadhra* (read *vadhri*), Mans. iv. 18. The dental *dh* of these three forms are important in supporting the view that the lingual *ḍh* of *vruḍhi* is a 'Māgadhism', and the position of the *r* is useful in showing that the consonant to which it is attached is only a matter of graphic caprice. [*Vadhrana* at Mans. viii. 35 is a blunder for *vudhrana* (cf. *vudkreṣu* and *vudhrana*, above; and Jaugadā *vuḍhānath*, Dhauli *v(ṛ)ḍhanam*, Shāhbāzgarhi *vu[ḍh]anath*).] If anyone is perplexed that in the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction 'Māgadhisms' have usurped the place of native *dhr*, i. e., *rdh*,

¹ A blend of the *aḥra*-, i. e., *aṛḥa*-, type.

² See ZDMG. xliii, p. 293.

³ Possibly *mige* is the true reading; if so, we have a very patent 'Māgadhism.'

without any exception whatsoever, let him remember that in the Shb. text we have *ʃ* (written *ʃ* of course) invariably as the product of Indic *ʃm* which is retained 7 times in Mans., and is replaced by 'Māgadhan' *ʃʃ* (written *ʃ*) but once. Yet the invariable *ʃ* of the Shb. recension must be considered a 'Māgadhism' (so too Johansson). Moreover, the 'Māgadhism' *ʃava-* is common in Shb. but unknown to Mans. And 'Māgadhan' *ʃʃʃ* (written *ʃʃ*) for native *ʃʃʃ* (written *ʃʃʃ*) is found in Shb. almost to the entire exclusion of the latter, but never occurs in Mans. Per contra, 'Māgadhan' *paʃi* has completely usurped the place of native *prati* in the Mansehra text, occurring over a dozen times; but in the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction native *prati* has held its own fairly well. So that it is not proper to say that as lingual *qʃ* invariably takes the place of dental *dʃ* in the combination *qʃʃ*, it must be the form native to Shb. But to return to 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of words. Another example is Shb. *Vajri* in the compound *Viṣa-Vajri-Yona-Kamboyeṣu*, xiii. 9, and Mans. *Vaj[ri]* in *Viṣa-Vaj[ri]-Yona-K . . ṣu*, xiii. 10. As Buehler saw, *Vajri* is for *Varji* and corresponds to Sanskrit *Vṛji*.¹ The

¹ This is on the assumption that we really have *Vajri* in both our texts. According to Senart, JRAS. 1900, p. 340, Shb. *Vajri* can quite as easily be read *vasi* (or *vaspi*, as we should transcribe it); the *Vajri* of Mans., he thinks, need not be taken into consideration as Buehler admits the *jr* is unclear; likewise he thinks Kālsī *Vaji* should be read *vasi* (or *vaspi* as we should transcribe). I fear his zeal to make the other versions agree exactly with Gīrnār *Idharājavisayamhi* has led him astray. On consulting the drawing in ZDMG. xlili, I am convinced that the symbol in question is *jri* and not *si* (or *spi*); that the Kālsī version may be read *vaspi*, I do not deny: but *Vaji* has nearly as good claims. One advantage for the proposed readings claimed by Senart, is that it enables us to strike out Shb. and Mans. *Viṣa* as the name of a people, and thereby avoid assuming *ṣ* is for *ʃ* in the word. But as far as I am aware the only alleged proof that *ṣ* of *Viṣa* is for *ʃ*, is Kālsī *Viṣa*; but the *ʃ* of this word is of no more weight than the *ʃ* of *yeṣu* (Skt. *yeṣu*). Another point is that even if we should join Shb. and Mans. *viṣavaspi*, and Kālsī *viṣa-vaspi*, we could not equate them with Sanskrit *viṣaya-*; for the (apparent) change of *y* to *v* is specifically 'Māgadhan' (see Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 89), and in those dialects it is due to an immediately following *ṣ*; cf. also Pāli *āvudha-*. It is true that in the Kālsī text the 3rd pl. of the optative ends in *-evu* and *-eyu*, e. g., *var[ṣ]evu*, vii. 21; *ṣuneyu*, *ṣuṣuneyu*, both at xii. 33. But this is to be interpreted that *-yu* alone is native to the true dialect, and that *-evu* is a 'Māgadhism': for the principle involved see Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 109 (similarly regarding the dialect of the Jangada 'Detached-Edicts').

Pāli *Vajji* with *jj* is difficult; corresponding to Skt. *Vṛji*—we should rather expect *Vaji*-. It may be that Prākṛit *Vairi* is to be connected with Shb. and

only point at issue is its vocalism. According to our theory we should expect **Vujri*, i. e., *Vurji*. The native form has been altered by 'Māgadhan' *Vaji* (so the Kālsi redaction). As parallels we have *mrige* and *vadhri*. Moreover we are very apt to find 'Māgadhisms' in the names of peoples, countries, etc., examples are *Tambapāṇni*, Shb. ii. 4, *Aṁdhā-*, Mans. xiii. 10, *Pitinikāṇaṁ*, Shb. v. 12, *Pitinikāna*, Mans. v. 22, *Pitinikeṣu*, Shb. xiii. 10, *Pitiniṣu*, Mans. xiii. 10: see Michelson, IF. xxiv, pp. 54, 55. So even if we did not have a direct check in Kālsi *Vaji*, we would rightly view *Vajri* with suspicion. As it is, perhaps *Vajri* will help to convince those who may be sceptical concerning our explanation of *vadhri*. Incidentally I remark that *Vajri* can be adduced as an argument to show that *mrugo* is only graphical for *murgo*. We have seen that the native form of *Vajri* is **Vujri*. Now if Buehler allows that *Vajri* is merely a graphic caprice for *Varji*, he must concede that a **Vujri* is for **Vurji*. I ask why should Indic *r* develop as *ru* in *mrugo* but *ur* in *Vurji*? Taking *vrudhi* into consideration I can see no loophole to escape our conviction.

We next come to the correspondents to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta-*. According to the analogy of *vudhreṣu* and *vudhrana*, we should expect **vaputra-*, i. e., *vapurta-*. As a matter of fact, however, this never occurs. The following table shows the equivalents of Sanskrit *vyāpṛta-* found in both Mans. and Shb., the figure denoting the number of occurrences:

in Mans.	in both	in Shb.
	<i>viyapaṭa</i> 1	
	<i>viyaparṭa</i> 1*	
		<i>vapaṭa</i> 2
<i>vapuṭa</i> 3	<i>viyapuṭa</i> 1	<i>vapaṭra (?)</i> 1

Mans. *Vajri*; if so Shb. and Mans. *Vajri* need not correspond to Skt. *Vrji* at all, but represent Indic *Vajri*-. But I leave this phase undecided and simply try to show how to interpret the accepted equation of *Vajri* with Skt. *Vṛji*-. I add that Kālsi *Vaji* is not a decisive argument one way or the other; graphically it can represent *Vajji* as well as *Vaji* (in this case it would correspond to Skt. *Vṛji*).

Finally it should be observed that frequently the different recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts do not agree absolutely in the wording. For example, in the list of peoples in the fifth edict the Kālsi redaction has no correspondents to the *Risika-* (or *Rā-*) of the Gīrnār text, the *Rastikanāṇaṁ* of the Shb. version, the *Raṭṭaka-* of the Mans. recension, the *Laṭhika-* of the Dhāuli text; nor one to the *Pitenikāṇaṁ* of G., *Pitinikāṇaṁ* of Shb., *Pitinikāna* of Mans. This would excuse the omission of a couple of names in the list of peoples in the thirteenth edict of the Gīrnār redaction.

In Mans. written *viyapraṭa*; in Shb. *viyapaṭra*.

That is to say that there are six forms corresponding to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta-*, for it is agreed that the dialects of Shb. and Mans. are practically identical. But observe that only once do the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra texts have the same form in the corresponding passages as can be seen from the following table :

Shb. <i>viyapaṭa</i> , v. 13	(Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , v. 25)
Mans. <i>viyapaṭa</i> , v. 25	(Shb. <i>viyapuṭ[a]</i> , v. 13)
Shb. <i>viyapaṭra</i> , v. 13	(Mans. <i>viyapraṭa</i> , v. 24)
Mans. <i>viyapraṭa</i> , v. 24	(Shb. <i>viyapaṭra</i> , v. 13)
Shb. <i>viyapuṭ[a]</i> , v. 13	(Mans. <i>viyapaṭa</i> , v. 25)
Mans. <i>viyapuṭa</i> , v. 23	(Shb. <i>vapaṭa</i> , v. 12)
Shb. <i>vapaṭa</i> , v. 12	(Mans. <i>viyapuṭa</i> , v. 23)
Shb. <i>vapaṭa</i> , xii. 9	(Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , xii. 8)
Shb. <i>vapaṭra</i> (?)	(Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , v. 22)
Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , v. 22	(Shb. <i>vapaṭra</i> ? v. 12)
Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , v. 25	(Shb. <i>viyapaṭa</i> , v. 13)
Mans. <i>vapuṭa</i> , xii. 8	(Shb. <i>vapaṭa</i> , xii. 9)

Only one agreement in six corresponding passages! And six different forms totally, four in Mans., five in Shb.! That these are all phonetic (as Johansson assumes) is incredible. Contrast with them the invariable correspondents *vyāpata-* in the Girnār redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts, *viyāpaṭa-* in the Dhauli and Kalsi version of the Fourteen-Edicts as well as the Delhi-Sivalik recension of the Pillar-Edicts. Above we have seen that Shb. and Mans. *viyapaṭa* is a 'Māgadhism' of the most patent sort (it will be remembered that vowel-quantities are not graphically expressed in the alphabet that these texts are written in). In my judgment not a single form quoted in the table above entirely represents the true native form. The very great divergency between Shb. and Mans. distinctly favor such a view: for the principle involved see Franke, *Pali und Sanskrit*, p. 109, footnote 2. First of all I remark that the initial *viy-* is certainly a 'Māgadhism'. According to Johansson Shb. i, p. 152 (38 of the reprint), *viy-* and *v-* (from *vy-*) represent inherited doublets. This is highly improbable for the reason that Mans. and Shb. are not in substantial concord in the usage of *viy-*. The Girnār dialect has only *vy-*, and the 'Māgadhan' dialect only *viy-*; why should the dialects of Mans. and Shb. alone preserve the doublets? The fact that Shb. has gerundives in *tava-* and *taviya-* (Skt. *tavyā-*) is of no avail in this connection; for the gerunds in *taviya-* are

'Māgadhisms' as Franke has correctly recognized; see also Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 265, 266. Secondly, *a* from Indic *ṛ* is a 'Māgadhism' as I have shown above, and likewise the lingual *ṣ* is open to the same suspicion. Now as Shb. *aṭha-* stands for native *athra-* (i. e. *artha-*), *vaḥhila-* for native *vadhṛila-* (i. e. *vardhila-*), Mans. *kiṭi* for native **kitri* (i. e. **kirti*), so Mans. *vapuṣa* stands for native **vaputra* (i. e. **vapurta*) as we inferred from *vudhṛeṣu* and *vudhrana*. Shb. *viyapaṭra* is a blend of the *aṭha-* and *kiṭri* type; similarly Shb. *vapaṭra*, if this reading be accepted. Mans. *viyapraṭa* is to be compared with Mans. *kraṭaviye* (i. e. *karṭ-*) and *vruḍhi* (i. e. *vurḍhi*) for the position of the *r*. The character of the blend is the same; the only difference is the manner of graphical expression. To sum up, none of the forms actually found in Mans. and Shb. corresponding to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta-*, represents the true vernacular word, but all show more or less 'Māgadhan' influence in consonants or vowels; or both (*viyapaṭa*).

Now although we never find the native word corresponding to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta-*, yet the fact that all the forms show 'Māgadhan' *ṣ* in a total of 12 occurrences, is not without value in so far as it shows that we should be more surprised if other isolated words were to show true native forms, instead of 'Māgadhisms' which, as a matter of fact, are found to the exclusion of native forms. Even Franke excludes *muṣe* at Shb. xiii. 1 (note especially also 'Māgadhan' final *e* for native *o*) and *muṣ[ṣ]* at Shb. xiii. 6: cf. Kalsi *maṭe* in the corresponding passages in contrast with Pali *mato*. *Muṣo* is on an exact par with *vapuṣa*, i. e., it stands for **mutro* (that is **murto*). It is but a step further to include the following, and this is not bold as 'Māgadhisms' other than the lingual *ṣ* are to be observed in all of them: *nivuṣaspi*, Shb. ix. 19, *nivuṣasi*, Mans. ix. 6 ('Māgadhan' *-v-* for *-vr-*, i. e. *-rv-*, in both, and *-asi* for *-aspi* in the latter; Sanskrit *nirvṛtta-*), *nivuṣiya*, Shb. ix. 19, *nivu[ṣ]iya*, Mans. ix. 6 (*-v-* for *-vr-*, i. e., *-rv-*; Sanskrit *nirvṛtti-*). The analogy of these show that *dhramavuṣam* (Skt. *vṛtta-*) at Shb. xiii. 10 should also be included. It should be noted that contrary to the opinion of Johansson, *dhramavuṣam* at Shb. x. 21 does not correspond to Sanskrit *vṛtta-*. This is shown by the Gīrnār correspondent *dhramavuṣam* which in that case would necessarily appear as **-vaṣam*; for Indic *ṛ* develops regularly as *a* even after labials in this dialect; e. g., *mago* (Skt. *mṛgas*), *vyāpata-* (Skt. *vyāpṛta-*). Our *vutam* is merely graphical

for *vuttam* which is the counterpart of Sanskrit *uktam*, 'word'. Translated into Sanskrit the expression would be *dharmoktam*. The Kālsī correspondent *dharmavutam* is merely graphical for *-vuttam* (cf. Pāli *vuttam*), and is the equivalent of Sanskrit *vṛtta-*. The Kālsī expression [*dharm*]*mavutam* at xiii. 11 is the exact correspondent to Mansehra *dhramavutam* at xiii. 11 which is the true native form of Shb. *dharmavutam*; see the Introduction. For the etymology given above cf. Buehler, ZDMG. xl, p. 138. Buehler in ZDMG. xlii, p. 175 considers Kālsī [*dharm*]*mavutam* at xiii. 11 as the equivalent of Skt. *dharmavṛttam*; but this is not at all probable in view of Kālsī *dharmavutam* and Gīrnār *dharmavutam*. Shb. *dhramavutam* with lingual *ḥ* no doubt represents Skt. *dharmavṛttam*; we have a slight difference in the wording of this redaction.

Before considering the history of *ṛ* when not immediately preceded by labials, we must examine Mansehra *dhramaparipucha* and Shāhbāzgarhi *dhramapa[ri]pucha*, both in the eighth edict. Of course the Sanskrit equivalent is *dharmaparipṛcchā*. The question is solely, does the *u* represent phonetically Indic *ṛ*? An isolated case is indecisive; see above. As is shown by the Kālsī correspondent *dhamaṣalipuchā*, the *u* might easily be a 'Magadhim': the *ṛ* is the only trace of the native word as is the case with Gīrnār *sāravadhī*¹ (3 times in the 12th edict; per contra note the true native *vadhī* in the 4th edict) = Sanskrit *sāravṛddhi*; Mansehra *mṛige*, Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhi *viyapaṭa*, and (as I shall show below) Shāhbāzgarhi *pranatika* (Mans. *paṇatika*) are parallels; the same principle is involved in Shb. *spagām* (for *spagrām*) and Mans. *kayaṇa-* (for *kalāṇa-*). I add that the *m* of Kālsī *dhama-* is merely graphical for *mm*; the same combination can also be spelt *ṁm*: see Buehler, Epigraphia Indica, ii, p. 91. On Shb. *puṇām*, etc., see my forth-coming paper, 'The Etymology of Sanskrit *puṇya-*'.

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

THE HARVARD CLUB, NEW YORK CITY.

¹ An error: final *-i* is also a trace. November.

IV.—THE SATURNIAN METRE.

[Bücheler, *Rheinisches Museum* XXX 441 ff., XXXIII 274 ff., XXXV 73, 495; Deecke, *ib.* XLI 199; Fitzhugh, *Prolegomena to the History of Italic-Romanic Rhythm*, Charlottesville, 1908; Kauffmann, *Deutsche Metrik nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Marburg, 1897; Lindsay, *American Journal of Philology* XIV 139 ff., 305 ff., *Captivi*, Introduction; Leo, *Der saturnische Vers*, Berlin, 1905; W. Meyer, *Anfang u. Ursprung der lateinischen u. griechischen rhythmischen Dichtung*, in *Abhandlungen der Münch. Akad. philos.-philol. Classe*, XVII 265 ff.; Radford, *American Journal of Philology* XXV 418 ff., Stolz, *Wiener Studien* VIII 149 ff.; Westphal, *Allgemeine Metrik*, 1892; Heath, *The Old-English Alliterative Line* in *Transactions of Philological Society*, 1891-94, p. 375 ff.; Stokes, *On the Metre Renard and the Calendar of Oengus as Illustrating the Irish Verbal Accent*, *Revue Celtique* VI 273 ff.; Thurneysen, *Zur irischen Accent- u. Verslehre*, *Revue Celtique* VI 309 ff., *Sur l'accentuation de l'ancien verbe irlandais*, *ib.* 129 ff.; Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, 2. Heft, *Über altirische Betonung u. Verskunst*, Berlin, 1884.]

In a short article on the present subject in the *Classical Quarterly*, April, 1908, I drew attention to what, at the time, I believed to be a hitherto unnoticed resemblance between the Latin Saturnian and the metre of the Irish poem known as *Fiacc's Hymn*. The article was written down at a distance from an adequate library, and it was only after its publication that I discovered that the connection of the Irish metre referred to with the Saturnian was hinted at by Professor Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II, p. 162, "in diesem Versmass ein altindogermanisches Erbstück vorliegt, die vedische und avesta Anastubhstrophe, die doppelte germanische Langzeile, sowie ital. Saturnier"; and that Professor Lindsay, *American Journal of Philology* XIV, p. 329, n., referred to the comparison of the Latin metre with the Irish only to reject it as "useless, though tempting". As this remark of Professor Lindsay had I known of it beforehand, would have probably deterred me from the attempt to connect the two metres, I shall begin by showing why, on further consideration, I consider Lindsay's rejection of the comparison insufficiently justified by the facts of the case.

Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique* VI, attempts to prove that the metre of certain Irish hymns was derived from or based on that

of the late Latin hymns, which in turn he supposes to have been variations of the popular trochaic tetrameter catalectic. But he makes, so far as I have been able to discover, no single reference to the metre of Fiacc's hymn; and it would be surely somewhat rash, from the fact that Thurneysen *supposes some* Irish metres to have been modifications of popular Latin metres, to conclude that *all* Irish metres *must* have had the same origin. Still this appears to have been one of the reasons which led Professor Lindsay to reject the comparison with the Irish metre in his discussion of the origin of the Saturnian, *American Journal of Philology* XIV, 331. Over and above the assumption that Thurneysen's theory disposes of the claim of the Irish metre to native origin and, consequently, to possibility of kinship with the Latin Saturnian, Lindsay suggests that the structure of the Irish metres was based on rhyme; and, naturally, if it could be shown that rhyme was an original element in these metres, we should have at once to allow that they were indeed useless for our purpose. But is it? As we find them, to be sure, rhyme is an essential element, but consideration of one or two analogical cases will perhaps be sufficient to show that rhyme may become the guiding principle of a metre in which it had originally no part. In old Teutonic verse, for example in two of the oldest German poems, the Hildebrandslied, and Muspilli, both of the 9th century, Friedrich Kauffmann, *Deutsche Metrik*, p. 7, the metre is based, as is well known, on alliteration:

westar ubar wentilseo | dat inan wic furnam, Hild. 43.

dat du habes heme | herron goten, ib. 47.

But in the 9th century in Germany, as a century later in England, final rhyme began to compete with alliteration as the guiding principle of metre, and even in the two poems referred to we find verses with rhyme but without alliteration, Hild. 15, 46, Musp. 61 f., 79, Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 29, those verses being otherwise, i. e. apart from the substitution of final rhyme for alliteration, precisely identical in structure with the alliterative verses. This fact in itself is sufficient to show that the use of rhyme is no ground for supposing that the type of verse in which it is used may not have been at an earlier period governed by entirely different principles. We are led to the same conclusion by an examination of the Langzeile of Otfrid, the earliest writer to employ rhyme consistently. This Langzeile consists of two half verses,

the final syllable or syllables of which are similar in sound, e. g.

Lúdwíg ther snéllö, thes wísdúames féllö.

with four chief verse-accents. If with this we compare the metre of the Hildebrandslied we can scarcely doubt that the Langzeile arose through the combination of two lines of the earlier type after rhyme had begun to take the place of alliteration. Here again, then, the objection that Otfrid's metrik was based on rhyme would not be a convincing refutation of an attempt to connect his Langzeile with a metre acknowledged to be connected with the Hildebrandslied type. Further, and this case is probably more convincing, in the leonine hexameters of Walafrius Strabus Kauffmann, op. cit., p. 34, e. g.:

cum splendor ~~lunae~~ fulgescat ab aethere ~~purae~~,
tu sta sub ~~diis~~ cernens speculamine ~~mirae~~
qualiter ex ~~luna~~ splendescat lampade ~~purae~~,

the fact that rhyme may be superimposed on an old metrical form without causing any change in its original structure is sufficiently obvious. Probably the first modification which the introduction of rhyme would bring about would be a strophic in place of stichic arrangement, and that we have in Fiacc's hymn. From this we are, I think, justified in assuming that though rhyme in the Irish hymns was taken from Latin, as the Latin poems of the Carolingian period were the source of rhyme in Otfrid, yet the type of verse in Fiacc's hymn may be much older than the rhyme. And if this is allowed, there appears to be no reason why the Irish metre should not be used in an attempt to explain the structure of the saturnian.

Before going on to a more detailed exposition of a theory of the Saturnian which traces the Italic and the Irish metre to a common origin, it may be in place to make a few general observations regarding the quantitative theory of the Saturnian recently set forth by Leo, *der saturnische Vers*.¹ What perhaps strikes one most of all in Leo's theory is the vast number of metrical variations which it postulates. Thus to take the first colon, it may be:

1. ∪ — — | ∪ — —

partim errant nequiont . . . Liv. 14, *Der saturnische Vers*, p. 39.

¹ For a detailed criticism see Lindsay, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XII.

2. — ∪ — | ∪ — —
postquam axem aspexit . . . Naev. 3, 1, ib., p. 40.
3. — ∪ — | — ∪ —
quei soneis <f> autieis . . . Coc. 3, ib., p. 42.
4. ∪ — ∪ — | ∪ — ∪ —
sacra in mensa Penatium . . . Naev. 7, 2, ib., p. 44.
5. ∪ — ∪ — | — ∪ —
celsosque ocris aruaque . . . Liv. 18, ib., p. 44.
6. ∪ — — | ∪ — ∪ —
Romanus exercitus . . . Naev. 37, 2, ib., p. 44.
7. ∪ — — | — ∪ —
Amicum cum uides . . . App. 2, 1, ib., p. 45.
8. — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ — —
luque mihi narrato . . . Liv. 6, ib., p. 46.
9. — ∪ ∪ — | — —
quando mari saenon . . . Liv. 22, 2, ib., p. 47.
10. — ∪ ∪ — | — ∪ —
Mercurius cumque eo . . . Liv. 23, ib., p. 47.
11. — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ — ∪ —
condecorant saipisume . . . Coc. 4, ib., p. 47.

Now if anything can with certainty be said about the Saturnian, it is that it represents a primitive metrical form, and with regard to primitive metrical forms one expects to find a condition which Professor Heath, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1891-93, p. 377, postulates for the Old English alliterative line, apply to them all; i. e., that no explanation can be held satisfactory which does not give us a prosody which a poet could easily carry in his head. It would be interesting to know if a Roman vates, not yet turned poeta, say of the fourth century B. C., was equal to the task of carrying in his head all the metrical details, a knowledge of which Professor Leo would make necessary for the successful execution of a poem in the Saturnian metre. If he was, then the current ideas as to the artistic, or shall we say, mathematical, capacity of the old Romans require thorough and immediate revision.

Again, in his general argument for the quantitative character of the Saturnian, Leo, op. cit., p. 4, remarks that the acknowledged fact that in popular metrical forms at least some regard was paid to the word-accent must not lead us to the conclusion

that Old Latin verse was accentual in character, for the point of prime importance is the means employed by the poet to attain rhythm, and in Plautus as in Vergil this is quantity. It is difficult to see what force such an argument as this can be supposed to have. Till it has been clearly shown that in metres other than Latin admittedly based on quantity the accent too was taken into account, the fact that e. g. Plautus—in spite of the attempt of Meyer, *über die Beobachtung des Wortaccents in der altlateinischen Poesie*, Abhl. d. könig. bay. Akad. d. Wiss.'philos.-philol. Classe, XVII, to prove the contrary—carefully avoids the clashing of the verse ictus and the accent, cf. Lindsay, *The Captivi of Plautus*, Introduction, surely suggests that for the earlier Latin poets a quantitative metre such as they borrowed from the Greeks was unfamiliar. Is not this avoidance of a conflict between ictus and accent just an attempt to effect a compromise between a new and an old system? Plautus and Vergil, as Leo says, did pay some regard to the accent in their quantitative metre, but that proves nothing for the Saturnian which unlike the iambic senarius and the dactylic hexameter was not borrowed from the Greek. Further, Leo holds, *op. cit.*, p. 5, that it is absurd to conclude from the importance of the accent in Old Latin verse that the Saturnian was accentual. Possibly, but not nearly so absurd as to conclude that it was *not* accentual. Finally—and this may be regarded as Leo's strongest argument for the theory that the Saturnian was a quantitative metre—he points out, p. 9, that Varro and Stilo considered the Saturnian to be of the same nature as the other Latin verse-forms. But even if they did, we may question whether they were in a position to judge. When we remember that the Romans evidently took the accent of their own language to be the same as that of Greek, and described it as such, there does not seem to be any strong reason why we should not believe them capable of a similar confusion between quantitative and qualitative verse. And against the opinion of Varro and Stilo we may place the remark of Servius, Vergil, G. 2, 385 '*uersibus incomptis ludunt*': *id est carminibus saturnio metro compositis; quod ad rhythmum solum uolgaes componere consueuerunt*. If Servius means anything at all, he must mean that the Saturnian differed in principle from the hexameter: *ad rhythmum solum* must be taken as Servius' way of saying that the Saturnian was not quantitative.

There remains one general consideration which must be allowed

some weight in the discussion of a matter where, from the nature of the case, hypotheses have, to a large extent, to take the place of facts, and probability is all that we can reasonably hope to establish. In those languages where we know that the accent was a pitch or musical one ; e. g., in Greek and Sanskrit, we find quantity to be the basis of metrical form ; while, on the other hand, in languages known to have had a stress accent ; e. g., in the Teutonic, the accent and not the quantity is important. The difficulty which a language with a pronounced stress accent, such as Latin certainly was, has in adapting itself to a quantitative metre is sufficiently well illustrated from the history of the various attempts to introduce Latin metres into English. The success of Latin in a similar innovation, as we claim it to have been, is unique, but it becomes less striking when we consider the utter poverty of the Romans in literary matters at the time when the change from accentual to quantitative metre was made, and the infinite superiority of Greek civilization in almost every respect. This will explain the success of the Latin language in the adoption of a hitherto unfamiliar metrical principle ; and, on the other side, the fact that the principle of quantitative metre was unfamiliar and alien to the spirit of the Roman language, will help to explain the artificial nature of Roman poetry and its failure ever to become the expression of popular feeling.

These are the general objections which an examination of Professor Leo's elaborate theory suggests. Than that theory none could be more satisfactory if it were once for all admitted that the Saturnian was quantitative and not accentual. Indeed, if we treat the remains of Saturnian verse as we would the newly discovered fragments of, say, an exceptionally reckless Greek dithyrambic poet, scarcely any other scansion than Leo's is possible. But the comparative success of Leo's method is not in itself sufficient to prove that it is the right one ; and the question as to whether the Saturnian was accentual or quantitative must be still regarded as an open one.

In putting forward, diffidently enough, what is, so far as I know, a new theory, I intentionally leave out of account the remarks of the Roman grammarians bearing on this metre. Their evidence, as might be expected, is not very clear and not very consistent ; and if it were as clear as possible and as consistent as possible we might, I think, have reasonable scruples in

accepting it as conclusive. Metrik is not a science in which either the capacity or the knowledge of the Roman grammarians was calculated to enable them to excel. Therefore instead of trying to bring the notices of Stilo and Bassus into line with my theory, I shall rather endeavour to support it by showing that the Saturnian, if taken as an accentual metre, is identical with an accentual metre of another people whose language is, as is well known, much more closely allied with the Italic language than any other of the Indogermanic family.

Briefly put, the Saturnian line, according to the theory which this article is intended to substantiate, is the development of a line originally consisting of two half-lines identical in structure, each of them bearing three accents, these accents being identical with the accents borne by the words in everyday speech. Cf. Meyer, loc. cit., p. 274. A comparison of a few Saturnian lines scanned in this way which I gave in the *Classical Quarterly*, April, 1908, with Professor Lindsay's treatment of the Saturnian, *The Saturnian Metre*, A. J. P. XIV 139 ff., 305 ff., and *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1891-93, p. 405 ff., will show that as far as the first half-verse is concerned, my scheme is for the most part identical with his. In the second half-verse, on the other hand, Lindsay postulates only two accents, in this respect agreeing with Thurneysen, *der Saturnier u. sein Verhältniss zum späteren römischen Volksverse*. I shall, therefore, deal mainly with the second half-verse, trying to show that it too, as well as the first, is entitled to three accents.

How Professor Lindsay succeeds in securing three accents for the first half-verse while at the same time limiting the second half-verse to two becomes clear after examination of his scheme for the various verses. In a very large proportion of the first half-verses he operates with the secondary accent. This is quite natural; we should expect the secondary accent to take a place in a metrical system such as the Saturnian. But, so far as I can see, in not a single one of the second half-verses is a secondary accent called into requisition. This of itself would be sufficient to arouse suspicion that Lindsay's metrical scheme occasionally requires violence to be snugly adapted to the words. The following are a few of the cases where the secondary accent is made use of in the first half-verse:

1. *dūlōnórō óptumo* | *fuise uiro*.
2. *Lúciom Scípiōne*, | *fíliom Barbáti*.

3. *dédet Tèmpestátebus | aïde mēreto <d>.*
4. *Còrnélius Lúcius | Scípío Barbátus.*
5. *Taùrásia Cisáuna | Sámnio cēpit.*
6. *máгна sàpiēntia, | mullásque uirtútes.*
7. *aèlāti quom párua | pósidel hoc sáksum.*
8. *dúctu, aùspicio, | impériogu(e) eius.*
9. *Àcháïa cápta, | Corinto deléto.*
10. *pópuli prìmárium | fuise uirum.*

Side by side with these examples of what is clearly a perfectly legitimate use of the secondary accent in the first half-verse, let us place an equal number of examples where the second half-verse could, to judge from the above examples, be reasonably provided with a secondary accent in addition to the two chief accents which Professor Lindsay has allowed :

- 1'. *héc cēpit Còrsica | Alériaqu(e) úrbe.*
- 2'. *Gndiuod pátre prognátus | fórtis-uir sapiēnsque.*
- 3'. *quòius fòrma uirtútei | parisuma fúit.*
- 4'. *hónos fàma uirtúsque | glóri(a) atque ingénium.*
- 5'. *hèrculis uictóris | imperátor dēdicat.*
- 6'. *úno còmplúrimae | conséntiont gēntes.*
- 7'. *prim(a) incédit Céreris | Prosérpina púer.*
- 8'. *uirum práetor aduénit, | aùspicat auspícium.*
- 9'. *sùpèrbiler comtémnim | cónterit legiónes.*
- 10'. *régis frátrem Neptúnum | regnatórem márum.*

An examination of the above verses with Lindsay's accentuation will show that whatever merits may be claimed for L's scheme consistency cannot be said to be one of them. In 5 *Taùrásia*, being in the first half-verse has two accents; in 1' *Alériaqu(e)*, being in the second half-verse, has one accent. In 10 *prìmárium* has two accents, *parisuma* in 3' has only one. Similar inconsistencies meet us in *aèlāti*, 7, as compared with *mullásque* in 6, *Còrnélius* in 4 compared with *conséntiont* in 6', *còmplúrimae* in the same line but *Prosérpina* in 7'. Most curious and most significant of all is the difference in treatment of the same word according as it occurs in the first or in the second half-verse. In 8 we have *aùspicio* with two accents in the first half, in 8' *auspícium* with only one accent in the second.

These examples are taken at random and could without difficulty be multiplied. Those given, however, will probably be

sufficient to show that Lindsay's theory of the Saturnian is capable of amendment.

In the article on the Saturnian in the *Classical Quarterly* I suggested that "the Saturnian verse represents the fusion of two primitive verses, each of which bore three chief accents, and consisted normally of seven syllables". This statement should be modified to this extent that instead of giving each half-verse three *chief* accents, we should give them simply three accents whether chief or secondary; stated in this way our metrical scheme will be found to answer the purpose tolerably well.

Whether more weight should be attached in this matter to the literary verses, as Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 12, thinks, or to the inscriptions, with Ritschl, it is difficult to decide. On the one hand the verses produced by the Collegium Coquorum, notwithstanding Fitzhugh's mild applause, *Prolegomena*, p. 12, distinctly suggest that the author felt more at home in the kitchen than on Parnassus; and, on the other, it is easy to see that in the literary style the *Naeuio poetae* type of second half-verse would tend to oust earlier but less neat endings. For the present the question may be left open.

The following are the extant Saturnian lines with a few exceptions, accented according to the theory indicated above. A secondary accent is used not only in words of five and more syllables, a limitation made by Thurneysen in his discussion of the Saturnian, but also in words of three syllables. That such words in Latin could and did bear a secondary accent may be inferred from the accentuation of such English words as *understand*, *excavate*, cf. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 102. The readings, for the most part, are those of Lindsay, A. J. P. XIV.

SCIPIO INSCRIPTIONS.

1. *hónic oíno ploírume | conséntiðnt R<ómai>.*
2. *dùonóro óptumo | fûise uiro.* For *fûise* cf. Lindsay, A. J. P. XIV, p. 158.
3. *Lúciom Scípíone | fíliom Bàrbáti.*
4. *cónsol cênsor aidilis | híc fuèt apúd uos.* For *híc fuèt* cf. Radford, A. J. P. XXV, p. 261.
5. *hêc cêpit Córscia | Aléríðqu(e) úrbe.*
6. *dêdel Têmpestátebus | aíde mêretò<d>.*
7. *Còrnêlius Lúcius | Scípío Bàrbátus.*

8. *Gnauod pâtre prognatus | fortis uir sapiensque.*
9. *quodius forma uirtutei | parisumà fuit.*
10. *consol, censor, aidilis, | quēi fuit apud uos. For quēi fuit*
cf. Radford, A. J. P. XXV, p. 261.
11. *Taurasia, Cisauna, | Samnid cepit.*
12. *Subigit omne Loucanam | opsidesqu(e) abducsit. For*
subigit cf. Fitzhugh, op. cit., p. 13.
13. *mors perfecit tu(a) ut essent | omnia breuia.*
14. *honor fama uirtusque | glori(a) atqu(e) ingenium.*
15. *quibus sei in longa licuisset | tibi utiuer uita.*
16. *facile facileis superases | gloriam maiorum.*
17. *qua re lubens t(e) in gremiu | Scipid recipit.*
18. *Terra, Publi, prognatum | Publio Corneli.*
19. *magna sapientia | multasque uirtutes.*
20. *atlati quom parua | possidet hoc saxum.*
21. *quodiei uita defecit, | non honos honore. For honos cf.*
Lindsay, A. J. P. XIV, p. 158.
22. *is hic situs qui nunquam | uictus est uirtutei.*
23. *annos natus uiginti | is l<oc>eis mandatus.*
24. *ne quairatis honore | quēi minus sit mandatus. Cf. Rad-*
ford, ib., p. 263.

INSCRIPTION OF THE VERTULEII.

25. *quod re sua discedens | asperè adflēcta.*
26. *parens timens heic uouit, | uoto hōc soluto.*
27. *decuma facta, poloucta, | libereis lubentes.*
28. *donu dānunt Hērcolei | maxsume meretōd.*
29. *semol te orant se uoti | crebro cōndēmes.*

INSCRIPTION OF MUMMIUS.

30. *ductu auspicio | imperidqu(e) eius.*
31. *Achaia capta, | Corinto delēto.*
32. *Romam redieit triumphans | ob hasque res bene gestas.*
33. *quod in bello uouerat | hanc aedem et signu.*
34. *herculis uictoris | imperator dēdicat.*

C. I. L. I 1006.

35. *hoc est factum monumētum | Mdarco Caicilio.*
36. *hospes, grat(um) est qu(om) apud meas | restitistei sedes.*
37. *bene rem geras et ualeas | dormias sine cura.*

INSCRIPTION OF THE COLLEGIUM COQUORUM.

38. *gonlégium qudd est aciptum | aèlāti agédai.*
 39. *opipar(um) ad ueitam quolúndam | fèstósque dies.*
 40. *quèi soùeis laùtieis | opidque Vðlgáni. lauticis, so Leo.*
 41. *gòndécorant saipisume | còmuíuia loidósque.*
 42. *Qúquei hùc dedèrunt | impèratóribus sùmmeis.*
 43. *úlei sèse lubéntes | bèneiduent optántis.*

INSCRIPTION OF ATILIUS CALATINUS.

44. *úno còmplúrimae | consèntidnt gèntes.*
 45. *pópuli primárium | fùise uirum.*
 46. *fúndit, fúgat, prostérnit | máxumas lègiónes.*
 47. *mágnum númerum triúmphat | hóstibus dèuictis.*
 48. *duèllo mágno dirimèndo | régibus sùbigèndis.*

LIVIUS.

49. *Uirum mihi Camèna | insece uèrsútum.*
 50. *mèa pùera, quid uèrbi | èx tu(o) óre súpra fugit.*
 51. *nèque tam tè oblitus sum | Làértie nòsler.*
 52. *àrgénteo polúbro | aúreo éclútro.*
 53. *tú quae mihi narráto | ómnià disèrtim.*
 54. *málrem <próci> procitum | plúrimi uènèrunt.*
 55. *quándo dies aduéniet | quèm profáta mórt(a) est.*
 56. *<àut> in Pýlum deuénies | aut ibi òmméntans.*
 57. *túncque rémos iússit | rèligáre stúppis.*
 58. *ibidémque uir sùmmus | àdprimus Patróclus.*
 59. *pártim érrant, nequínont | Grdeciam redire.*
 60. *àpud nýmpham Atlántis | filiam Càlypsónem.*
 61. *igitur dèm(um) Ulixi | cór fríxit prae pauóre, or as Lind-
 say would transpose | cór prae pauóre fríxit.*
 62. *Célsosqu(e) ócris áruaque | pútria et máre mágnum. For
 célsosqu(e) cf. Lindsay, A. J. P. XIV, p. 161.*
 63. *útrum génu(a) amplóctens | uíginém dráret.*
 64. *tibi mánenens sedéto | dónicùm uidébis.*
 65. *mè carpénto uehénte | meám domum uènisse.*
 66. *simul ac dácrumas de óre | noégeo dèlèrsit.*
 67. *námque nùllum peius | mácerat hùmánum.*
 68. *quámde máre saéuom, | uís et cùí sunt mágnae.*
 69. *lópfer cònfríngent<im> importúnae úndae. Lindsay*

proposes to read <cum> *confringent*. I suggest <im> which could easily have fallen out by dittography.¹

70. *Mercūrius cūmqu(e) eo | fīlius Lātōnas*. Cf. Radford, l. c., p. 152.
 71. *nēxerant mūlta īter se | nēxu nōdōrum*.
 72. *nām diuīna monētas | fīlia mē docuit*.
 73. *tōpper fācit hōmines | ūt prius fūērunt*.
 74. *tōpper cīti ad aēdes | uēnimūs Cīrcae*.
 75. *cārnīs aūtem uinūmq̄ue | quōd libant ānclabātur*.
 76. *sāncta pūer, Satūrni | fīlia rēgina*.

NAEVIUS.

77. *ēorum sēctam sequōntur | mūlti mōrtāles*.
 78. *ūbi fōras cum aūro | illīc dēxībant*.
 79. *mūlti ālii e Trōia | strēnuī uīri*.
 80. *iāmque eius mēntem fortūna | fēcērāt quīētem*.
 81. *īnerant sign(a) exprēssa | quōmodō Titāni*.
 82. *bīcōrpores gigāntes | māgniqu(e) Atlāntes*.
 83. *Rūncus atque Porpūreus | fīlii tērras*.
 84. *Mārcus Valērius cōsul | pārtēm dēxērciti*.
 85. *sīluicōlae hōmines | bēllīque inērtes*.
 86. *blāndē et dōcte pērcōntat | Aēneam quō pācto*.
 87. *p̄rīm(a) incēdit Cēreris | Prōsērpina pūer*.
 88. *dēinde pōllens sagittis | īclutus ārquīlenens*.
 89. *sānctus Dēlphis prognātus | Pýthiūs Apōllo*.
 90. *īsque sūs(um) ad cāelum | sūstulit suās rēs*.
 91. *pōstquā ōuem aspēxit | in tēmplo Anchīsa*.
 92. *sācr(a) in mēnsa Penātium | ōrdine pōnūntur*.
 93. *īmmolābat aūream | uīctimām pūlcrām*.
 94. *trānsit Mētītām Romānus | īnsulām īntēgram*.
 95. *uīrum pāstor aduēneit | aūspicat aūspīcium*.
 96. *cēnsent dō uentūrum | ōbuiūm Pōenum*.
 97. *supērbītēr contēmtim | cōnterit lēgiōnes*.
 98. *sēptimum dēcimum ānnum | īllico sēdēntes*. *sedentes*, L. Müller; *sedent*, Lindsay.
 99. *Sīciliēnsis pacīscit | ōbsidēs ut rēddant*.
 100. *ēi uēnit in mēntem | hōminum fōrtūnas*.
 101. *rēs diuīnas edīcit | prāedicīt cāstus*.
 102. *sēnex, frētus pietāti, | ādlocūtus sūmmi*.

¹ I find that the same emendation is proposed by Lindsay, A. J. P. XIV, p. 322.

103. *régis frátrem Neptúnum—règnalorem márum.*
104. *súmme dëum regnátor | quítanam gènuísti.*
105. *séseque ìi pèrìre | máuolùnt ibídem.*
106. *quàm cum stúpro redire | ád suos pòpuláres.*
107. *sín illos dëserant | fòrtíssimos úiros.*
108. *mágnam stúprum pópulo | fíerì per gèntes.*
109. *nóctu Tróiad exítant | cápítibùs opértis.*
110. *fléntes ámbae abeúntes | lácrimìs cum múltis.*
111. *férunt púlcras cretèrras | aúreàs leptístas.*
112. *mágnae mètus tumúltus | pèctora pòssidet.*
113. *nóuem Íouis concórdes | fíliæ soróres.*
114. *pátre m sùum supréum | óptimum àppéllat.*
115. *scópas átque uerbénas | ságmina sùmpserunt.*
116. *símul álius aliúnde | rúmitànt inlér se.*
117. *mílli(a) áli(a) in ísdem | inserínúntur.*
118. *dábunt Málum metélli | Næuid poétæ.*
119. *immortáles mortáles | sî fóret fas flére.*
120. *flérent díuæ Caménæ | Næuidm poétam.*
121. *ítaque pósiqu(am) est Orci | tráditus thènsáuro.*
122. *òbliti sunt Római | loquíer latína língua.*

Besides the Saturnians of the inscriptions, and of Livius and Næuius we have: (1) the charms given by Varro *de re rustica*, 1, 2, 27 (quoted by Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 62) which may be accented as Saturnians thus:

*égo tui mēmini | medēre mēis pēdibus
tērra pēstem tenēto | Sālus hīc manēto,
in meis pedibus.*

(2) the lines recorded by Paulus, Leo, *ib.*, p. 63:

hibérno pūluere uérno | lúto grándia fárta.

Camille Meles.

It seems very doubtful whether *in meis pedibus* and *Camille meles* can be parts of a Saturnian verse any more than the repeated *triumphus* of the *Song of the Arval Brethren*. Such tags may have served the purpose of rounding off a rhythmical movement just like the *Adonic* of the *Lesser Sapphic stanza*, or the *Paroemiac* at the close of a system of anapaestic dimeters.

(3) the *Song of the Arval Brethren*:

1. *énos, láses, iuuáte, | énos, láses, iuuáte.*
2. *néue lue rùe, mármor, | sîns incúrre(e) in pleóres.*

3. *sdlur fu, fere márs | lîmen salî stâ bërber.*

4. *semûnis àlternei | àduocápit cúnclos.*

5. *énos, mármor, iuuáto, | énos, mármor, iuuáto.* Cf. Fitzhugh, *Prolegomena*, pp. 9, 10.

Various solemn formulae given by Livy may also be treated as Saturnian; e. g., the *Clarigatio*, Liv. i. 32., cf. Fitzhugh, *ib.*, p. 10.

aúdi Iúpiler, audite | fínis pópuli Albáni

and the *belli denuntiatio*, Liv. *ib.*:

quòd pópulus Albánus | hómînesque Albáni,

and doubtless many others. For the purpose of arriving at the earliest form of the Saturnian—and that rather than the establishment of the rules which governed it in the hands of Livius or Naevius is the aim of this paper—these isolated specimens of the metre have a certain advantage over the remains of literary Saturnians. They are much older, in the first place, for though our actual authorities for them may be late, yet such *carmina* as that of the Arval Brethren are precisely those which would be most carefully preserved in their original form. The fact that *pleores*, for example, in the *carm. Arval.* must be comparatively late, does not, of course, in the least invalidate the force of this argument. And, in the second place, the verses of Livius and Naevius must be supposed to represent, to some extent, the result of literary development to which the *Song of the Arval Brethren* and such a formula as the *belli denuntiatio* would not be exposed. That being so, we can scarcely be far wrong if we take the *Song of the Arval Brethren* for our starting point.

The text of this invocation as handed down by tradition has each line thrice repeated, the half-verses *enos, lases, iuuale* and *enos, marmor, iuuale*, with the rest. It is somewhat unlikely that these two half-verses should have been thrice repeated as they stand. For a threefold *enos, marmor, iuuale* there would have been some excuse if it had closed the invocation, but it is followed by *trumphe* five times repeated. I think it, therefore, highly probable that the prayer began with a complete saturnian verse, and also closed with one—followed by the repeated *trumphe* expressive of confidence in the war-god's power—thus:

énos, lases, iuuáte | énos, lases, iuuáte,
énos, mármor, iuuale | énos, mármor, iuuáte,

with three accents and seven syllables in each half-verse. Thus, originally, the two half-verses were identical in respect of both number of syllables and accents. Cf. Leo, *Der saturnische Vers*, p. 61. Hence it is almost certain that the counting of syllables was an element in early Italic verse, cf. Lindsay, *A. J. P.* XIV, p. 305. In the literary Saturnians, however, that was manifestly not the case, for in the second half-verse we have seven, six, or five syllables, while the number of accents, as has been shown above remains the same. Why the number of syllables in the second half-verse was cut down may probably be explained from consideration of a similar phenomenon in the dactylic hexameter. The object of the regular substitution of a spondee or trochee for a dactyl in the sixth foot of the hexameter was, doubtless, to round off the verse, cf. Christ, *Metrik der Griechen u. Römer*, p. 110, and the same unconscious dislike of the *ἀνέπαος* must have been the motive in the case of the Saturnian as well. The above Saturnians, then, in the second stage of development would be:

énos, láses, iuuáte ; | énos, láses, iúuant,

and as soon as it had become customary to allow a difference in number of syllables between the first and second half-verses, further shortening of the second would meet with no obstacle save the necessity of having three accents, either primary or secondary. Cf. Lindsay, *l. c.*, p. 331.

From the extant remains of Saturnian verses it does not appear that alliteration can have been anything more than an ornament, as Lindsay says. It occurs, apparently with more regularity in the Oscan Saturnians as reconstructed by Bücheler, *Rheinisches Museum* XXX, p. 442, XXXIII, pp. 274, 276, and its more systematic use in early Teutonic and Celtic verse suggests a connection in metrical development between these peoples. Cf. F. Allen, *KZ*, pp. 556 ff. For the present I shall confine myself to insisting once more on the possibility that the Saturnian and the metre of Fiacca's hymn have had a common origin. As Kauffmann says, *op. cit.*, p. 8, there is no proof, and probably, we may add, little possibility of proof, that the Indo-germans had a common primitive metre. It is more likely that the invention of metre came at a comparatively late period. But that the Italic and the Celtic branches should have had a common metre is not only possible but probable. For long after the Italic and Celtic languages had ceased to form a unity, the two

peoples themselves, dwelling between the Danube, Rhine and Po, must have been in sufficiently close communication with each other to allow a certain community of civilization. There can be, therefore, nothing *à priori* unreasonable in supposing a Celtic and an Italic metre to be identical in origin.

A detailed examination of the metre of Fiacc's hymn would be out of place here; and I shall, on that account, simply state what it has in common with the Saturnian, giving, first of all, a few actual examples of the metre.

1. *Génair Pátraic in-Némthur | isséd adféd hi-scélaib.*
42. *prídchaiss trífichte bliadan | croich Críst do thátháib Féne.*

Stokes prints this verse with four accents on the second half-verse, but *croich Críst* (*crucem Christi*) would come under one accent; so Zimmer, *Kelt. Studien* II, p. 165.

48. *dofáid fadís co-Victor | bahé aridrdlastár.*
68. *Pátraic cenáirde núabair | bamór domáith roménair.*

Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique* VI, p. 331, expresses the opinion that this metre depends entirely on rhyme and the number of syllables. As against this Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II, p. 159 argues that as the stress accent in Irish must have been much stronger than anything we are accustomed to in the Teutonic languages Irish metre cannot have been anything but accentual. This seems a more reasonable theory than Thurneysen's, and one can only wish that in the practical application of his theory Zimmer had been more successful. His verse-scheme is

— ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ | — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘,

but this is to a certain extent vitiated by his theory of the accentuation of the simple verb which Thurneysen and Stokes, *ll. cc.*, have conclusively shown to be false. Stokes' own accentuation, *Revue Celtique* VI, p. 295 ff., is, apart from a few cases where he has given two accents to a genitive and its governing noun, much preferable and shows that in either half-verse the movement could be iambic or trochaic indifferently.¹ This verse, then, consisted of two half-verses consisting each of seven syllables—elision was probably allowed, Stokes, *l. c.*, p. 303—and either iambic or trochaic in movement. The strophic arrange-

¹ For convenience terms properly applicable to quantitative metre are here applied to accentual, an accented syllable counting as a long syllable.

ment is a direct consequence of the introduction of rhyme, Kauffmann, op. cit., p. 30, and this like alliteration must be regarded as a secondary development, cf. Zimmer, op. cit., p. 160. There is just one detail in which the similarity of this metre with the Saturnian is not complete. Both Thurneysen and Lindsay maintain that in the Saturnian the first syllable always bears the accent. In the vast majority of the extant verses the first syllable, undoubtedly, is accented; it is more doubtful whether from this we can deduce that the first syllable has a preferential claim on a secondary accent when such is required. In l. 7 *sup.*, for example,

Cornelius Lucius | Scipio Barbatus,

it seems just possible that we should accent *Cornélius* and not *Còrnélius*, so in l. 39, *opípar(um)* not *ópípar(um)*, and in l. 58, *ibidémq̄ue uír súmmus* instead of *ibidémq̄ue uir súmmus*. But even if it be allowed that in the Saturnian the first syllable does always bear an accent, this in itself need not prevent us from allowing the original identity of the two metres. In Latin, where words of more than three syllables are concerned we may see in the secondary accent on the first syllable; e. g., in *Còrnélius*, a reflex of the prehistoric Latin accent. In the Irish metre, on the other hand, the enormous extent to which the composite verb for example took the place of the simple verb, together with the tendency to put the verb first in the sentence made it often difficult or impossible to begin the verse with an accented syllable.

The main points, proof of which has been attempted in this article, are the following:

1. That the fact of a metre being, at a late stage in its history, based on rhyme and alliteration should not be taken to imply that rhyme and alliteration were the original guiding principles of such a metre.
2. That the Saturnian has an equal number of accents, i. e., three, in each half-verse.
3. That the Saturnian verse originated in the combination of two short verses, each of seven syllables, and each bearing three accents.
4. That we are justified in considering as probable the original identity of the Saturnian with the verse of Fiacc's hymn which consists of two parts, each of seven syllables, and each bearing three accents.

J. FRASER.

KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

La Poésie Latine (de Livius Andronicus à Rutilius Namatianus)
par FRÉDÉRIC PLESSIS, Professeur-Adjoint à la Faculté des
Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Paris, Klincksieck, 1909.
Pp. XLV+710, 12 francs.

This volume, like those previously published in the same excellent series, has a practical purpose. The Roman poets from Livius Andronicus to Rutilius Namatianus, a period of over six hundred years, are taken up in regular order and the arrangement and development of topics is precise and systematic. The treatment is simple and clear and considering the magnitude of the subject, remarkably concise. Finally, its evident value as a handbook is enhanced by a good index and the notes, though brief and not especially numerous are quite sufficient for the purpose.

It is not, however, an exhaustive book of reference like the great histories of Roman literature by Schanz or Teuffel-Schwabe. There is no attempt to cite all the authorities or to weigh and discuss all the literature of the subject. On the contrary, the author may even choose to ignore certain theories and investigations just now in evidence or else, as for example, in his chapter on Vergil, to betray his cognisance of their existence only by an unusually careful exposition of the contrary opinion.

But a history of Roman poetry by Frédéric Plessis is likely to be quite as thorough as it is readable. Those who already know his charming *Étude sur Properce* will be prepared to find his scholarship extensive and accurate, his judgement sane, his criticism sympathetic and penetrating, his own mastery of the art of expression in harmony with the importance and variety of his subject. The combination is one which represents French criticism at its best and when we find it—which is by no means often—there is no critic of Roman poetry like a French critic. The close intellectual and aesthetic affinity along certain lines between Rome the mother and France the daughter is an inalienable portion of his heritage and it gives him a coign of vantage, the importance of which is not always appraised at its true value. It leads him, just because he is a Frenchman, to appreciate the distinctively Roman point of view more readily and, even unconsciously, to set it before us more clearly than is apt to be the case with critics whose interpretation of the Latin spirit is a matter of acquisition, not of inheritance.

For that very reason, his attitude even when we are not in sympathy with it, is none the less instructive and stimulating. To select a single example from the number that might be cited,

we find that Plessis seems to look with a certain suspicion of disfavor (p. II) upon the Hellenic conservation of dialects in the different departments of poetry and prose. Now speaking as a Latinist—but not as a Latin—I should certainly urge in reply that the prolonged opportunity for cantonal development and the characteristic persistence of it among the Greeks, the centrifugal force, so to speak, of Hellenic life, in itself, produced and preserved that amazing variety of artistic forms which was destined to be so beneficial not only to Rome herself but partly through Rome to the entire western civilisation of today. But could anything be more French and at the same time more Roman than the inborn passion for unity, uniformity, and order from which his objection is no doubt, so largely derived? In consequence of it I see more clearly than perhaps I might otherwise have done just why the Roman Empire of the West so soon became and so long persisted an empire of one law, one language, and one literature, I gain a more adequate idea of what Italy of the Middle Ages must have passed through in the way of violence, bloodshed, and confusion worse confounded before she became the bundle of dialects, local interests and petty principalities that passed under the sway of Victor Emanuel, I am impressed more deeply with the persistent survival of that old Roman spirit which has enabled her in less than fifty years to take her place again among the foremost nations of Europe.

One of the most common faults of even our best and otherwise most stimulating historians of Roman literature, has been that after making every effort to give a thoughtful and detailed judgment of Vergil, Horace and their fellow immortals, they have more than once yielded without a struggle to the labour-saving device of passing sentence upon poets having no particular standing at the bar of criticism with some conveniently indefinite phrase of general condemnation, or, worse yet, with an epigram. To hang a poet with an epigram is equivalent to lynching him. Furthermore, the epigram then reverts to its original function and like many other epitaphs presently becomes for the world at large the sole record of the departed. Scaliger's '*Silius Italicus et tous ces garçons-là*' is a vivid phrase and therefore, only too well adapted to take the place of articulate criticism. But it does not explain why Silius was evidently held in so high esteem by his contemporaries, it never led us to the discovery that among '*ces garçons-là*' was one that in his *Argonautica* has given us the most interesting and sympathetic portrayal of a feminine character in Roman literature.

The reader will find practically no traces of this method in Plessis. He is not afraid of a telling phrase whenever it illuminates the subject under discussion but one of the striking features of his book is the thoroughness and at the same time the symmetry of his treatment. No one is neglected. On the other hand, the proper perspective of values is carefully maintained.

He holds no special brief for the real or supposed victims of critical neglect.

Plessis takes unusual pains to recover an adequate conception of the genius and the personality of those authors whose works are known to us only in fragments or by hearsay. Sometimes merely a shrewd comment on human nature suggested by the evidence under discussion carries us with him straight to the heart of the matter. A case in point occurs in his chapter on Pacuvius. Gellius tells us in a well-known anecdote that Accius, after writing his *Atreus*, paid a visit to Pacuvius, then living in retirement at Tarentum, and submitted the play for criticism. After hearing it read the judgement of Pacuvius was,—*Sonora quidem esse et grandia, sed videri tamen ea sibi duriora paulum et asperiora*. "Now, if we pause to consider," comments Plessis, "that as a rule, the qualities we most admire in the works of others are those which we ourselves possess and that we have far less appreciation of those which we do not ourselves possess, we have good reason to believe that the poetry of Pacuvius was elevated and eloquent <*sonora et grandia*—the qualities he possessed and admired> but that it lacked somewhat in vigour and energy <*duriora et asperiora*—pejoratives of the qualities he did not possess and did not admire>." This shrewd interpretation of the old gentleman's polite reply to the vulgar little parvenu who had asked his opinion is amply borne out by all the surviving evidence at our command.

In line with the preceding is the care and attention with which Plessis usually discusses and explains the criticisms passed by the Romans themselves upon their great poets. He is amply justified in doing so by the fact that all of them are brief, many are misapplied or misunderstood, some, owing to time, change, literary losses and other causes, are far from clear.

Owing to the complete loss of Menander for example, Caesar's famous criticism of Terence was anything but lucid. After all, what did he mean by his 'Dimidiate Menander'? The recent discoveries—which strange to say, Plessis does not seem to mention or to take into account—give a new aspect to the matter, and Mazon's illuminating discussion (*Extraits d'Aristophane et de Ménandre*, Paris, 1908, p. 276) of Menander's genius lead us to a clearer comprehension of what Caesar probably had in mind. One wishes that Plessis of all men had chosen to discuss this point at some length.

Again, some dark place is lighted up as never before by a rare touch of human sympathy. Discussing, for example, the lost elegies of Calvus to the memory of his Quintilia Plessis says, "*Son amour pour Calvus chétif et petit au point d'en être presque ridicule, sans cesse appliqué au travail et qui, avec le cœur ardent et l'esprit opiniâtre, ne devait avoir aucun des dons extérieurs qui plaisent à des yeux vulgaires, cet amour suffit pour nous faire entrevoir son caractère; sérieuse, instruite, fidèle et*

tendre, toujours présente au foyer domestique, avide de se dévouer, se prenant aux grands sentiments et aux grandes pensées, telle devait être cette Quintilie, morte bien jeune encore, touchante figure sur laquelle demeure assez d'ombre pour la rendre tout à fait poétique et dont les traits peuvent cependant se détacher du passé avec quelque netteté."

But considering the purpose and general character of Plessis' book the most interesting portion of it (pp. 1-16) is his comparison of Greece and Rome in the field of literary art. Few questions of the sort have been so frequently discussed, few have been so frequently misunderstood. Yet why should we miss the meaning of such a famous contribution to this subject as,

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Cedo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Haec tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos,

the inspired vision of a great Roman poet which sets before us once and for all the place and the mission of his country in the history of mankind. It is clear enough here that in the realm of the aesthetic Vergil awards the primacy to Greece, in the realm of the practical, to Rome. What competent critic could deny the essential truth of this view? Vergil does not say, however, that Rome lacked the gift of poetry and that her literature at its best is merely an excellent imitation. He was himself a striking proof to the contrary. Much less does he say that the Greeks had no vocation at all for the practical side of life. He knew better. Since then, however, the constant intrusion of these two assumptions upon the discussion has really transformed the Vergilian formula into something very like this, 'The Romans could rule, therefore, they could not write; the Greeks could write, therefore, they could not rule'. A statement all the more eagerly adopted because it confirms the popular impression that no man of affairs can enjoy a good book and that no man of letters can keep his accounts straight.

"The truth is", says Plessis—and his discussion will be read with especial interest by those already acquainted with Leo's brilliant essay on *The Originality of Roman Literature*,—"that the Romans had a great literature for the very reason that they were a great people". One may reply that a great literature has always been the work of a great people. It is true, nevertheless, that the genius which formed the Roman Republic of Laws and the genius which formed the Roman Republic of Letters were more nearly akin than has usually been the case in other great nations.

The Roman talent for poetry was late to develop but this does not prove that it was any the less genuine. It is true, too, that

the Roman poets complain occasionally that the general public does not appreciate literary art. But after all, this tells us nothing definite. Appreciation of art is comparative, and when, pray, did the general public ever reach the standard of appreciation set for it by the irritable genius? The truth is that as compared with the world of today the Roman public was unusually sensitive to the charm of real literary art. This is pointed out by Plessis himself and Abbott has discussed the same question at length in one of his charming essays just published. Indeed, to this day, a public reading of Dante in one of the Italian cities is likely to command a larger and more appreciative audience than can be assembled for a similar purpose in any other part of the world.

So far as the originality of Roman poetry is concerned it is well to agree upon what we mean by originality. In literary art form and content go hand in hand. From either point of view Roman poetry is distinctly national as well as undeniably great. It is no paradox to say that Vergil is never less Homeric than when he follows him most closely. So the Roman hexameter, for example, is essentially different from the verse from which it was derived.

Readers of Plessis' own discussion might, perhaps, get the impression that he occasionally betrays a slight tendency to exalt Rome at the expense of Greece. If this were actually the case he might well reply that as a lover of Rome he had certainly had provocation enough. The great Roman poets, however, need no such support as this and in these days of acute specialisation any family jar calculated to destroy the ideal rule of *doctus sermones utriusque linguae* would be a mortal blow to any Classical scholarship really worthy of the name. Neither Greek nor Latin can afford to stand alone.

In conclusion it should be observed that one of the most notable features of this book as a whole is the constant emphasis upon the intellectual, moral, and aesthetic valuation of the poets and poetry of Rome. After all, this is the heart of the matter. However valuable the great Roman poets may be for other purposes we must not lose sight of their universal art, their essential humanity, their spiritual message to our modern world. This is the real issue, and judged by this standard their title to immortality is indefeasible.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

Society and Politics in Ancient Rome; essays and sketches by
FRANK FROST ABBOTT. New York; Charles Scribner's
Sons, 1909. 267 pages.

During the past dozen years we have learned to expect of Professor Abbott accuracy of scholarship, breadth of view, and perfect lucidity of presentation, and when we read the book now

before us we are not disappointed. The essays included in the volume have been written at intervals during the last ten or fifteen years and in all but two cases have been published previously in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, the Classical Journal, Classical Philology, Modern Philology, and other periodicals of a more general character. The author's aim cannot be better expressed than in his own prefatory words: "The social, political, and literary questions which are discussed in them—the participation of women in public life, municipal politics, the tendencies of parliamentary government, realism in fiction, the influence of the theatre, and like matters—were not peculiar to Roman civilization, but they are of all time, and confront all civilized peoples. We are grappling with them to-day, and to see what form they took at another time and what solutions of them or attempts at solving them another highly civilized people made may not be without profit or interest to us. The common inheritance of difficult problems which we thus share with the Romans has led the writer to compare ancient and modern conditions in some detail, or to contrast them, as the case may be. In fact, most of the papers are in some measure comparative studies of certain phases of life at Rome and in our own day."

In a book of this sort the apparatus of the scholar was not to be expected and is present only to a slight extent. Indeed, the specialist might sometimes wish for fuller indication of the sources, but he must remember that these papers were not written for him alone. And while he will not find here very much that is so new as to be startling, he will find a clear, straightforward, and thoughtful discussion of subjects which are of perennial interest, leading up to conclusions with which he will not often feel obliged to disagree.

Of the two articles now published for the first time one deals with "Women in the Trades and Professions." In this the author points out that the tendency toward social equality between the sexes which first made woman a factor in political life, gradually brought her into some of the vocations which had previously been reserved for men. Finding his evidence chiefly in the inscriptions he discusses the extent to which women were engaged in medical, legal, and religious practice and then considers the achievements of women in the field of literature. Here Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, Sulpicia, Agrippina the Younger, and the author of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* (?) come in for special attention. On the stage, however, and in commercial life the women are usually of Greek extraction and belong to the lower classes. The striking exception to this rule is in connection with the business of making brick to which some of the most prominent ladies of the Empire devoted their energies.

The other paper not previously published is entitled "Literature and the Common People of Rome." Here the author's

purpose is to find out how far the common people of Rome knew and appreciated literature. Under the Republic an excellent test is furnished by the drama, which, though written for the masses, attains a higher standard than the average modern play. Under the Empire literary education became more general so that practically every boy learned his Vergil and his Horace at school, and numerous public libraries were founded. Common people who could appreciate the wall paintings with all their abundance of mythological detail or in idle moments could scratch lines or phrases from the poets on house walls at Pompeii were not quite devoid of literary knowledge and appreciation. Metrical epitaphs, too, most of which are the work of common people, show not only familiarity with the classical poets but in many cases some creative power of their own. "Had I a facile pen," writes Professor Abbott (p. 185), "I should try to render a few of them into English verse, but I shall have to content myself with turning three or four of them into plain prose". One of those selected for translation into "plain prose" is the famous epitaph of Claudia, a typical Roman matron of the early days, which appears twice in the volume (pp. 42 and 185). The only rendering of this charming poem into English verse with which I am familiar is one made several years ago by my friend and colleague, Professor Kirby Flower Smith, who perhaps has the facile pen which Professor Abbott too modestly disclaims. The metrical form seems to preserve the antique homely flavor of the original so much better than plain prose that I cannot refrain from reproducing it here.

Stay, stranger, stay, and read what I have said—
 'Tis but a word—of her that lieth dead
 Within this tomb,—alas, unsightly site¹
 Of a most sightly lady, Claudia hight
 By parents dear. In wedlock she was joined
 And loved her lord with all her heart and mind.
 Two boys she bore. Of these she left one brother
 Above the ground, beneath it laid the other.
 Her sprightly converse never failed to please,
 Her every movement told of grace and ease,
 She span and kept her house. Stranger, pass on;
 I've said what I would say of her that's gone.

Four of the twelve essays deal with political subjects and in these we see the author at his best. "Municipal Politics in Pompeii" is mainly a study of the painted notices on the house walls and of their bearing on elections and in general on questions of city government. "The Story of Two Oligarchies" is a comparison of the ancient Roman Senate with the Senate of the United States, a comparison which brings out many striking points of similarity in their constitution and history. But the

¹This translation of *sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrae feminae* is of course directly suggested by Lane's "Site not sightly of a sightly dame": *Latin Grammar*, 1898, § 1450. K. F. S.

writer is not so rash as to predict for the American body the final loss of prestige which resulted from the class prejudice and inefficiency of the Roman Senate. He wisely contents himself with pointing out that up to the present time similar conditions prevail and that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The third of these essays, "Women and Public Affairs under the Roman Republic," is one of the most interesting of all, dealing with the influence of women in politics either directly or through their husbands, brothers, or other relatives. After referring to the women of early tradition and legend, the author gives a dramatic presentation of the concerted action of the large body of women which brought about the repeal of the Oppian Law in 195 B. C. and mentions the vigorous protest of the women in the face of the financial demands of the Second Triumvirate. He then analyses in detail the political influence of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; Clodia, whom he holds responsible for Cicero's banishment; Julia, Caesar's daughter; Octavia, the unfortunate wife of M. Antonius; Scribonia, wife of Octavianus; Servilia, mother of Brutus, the conspirator; and Fulvia, wife successively of Clodius, Curio, and Antonius. If it is not ungracious to criticize so delightful a chapter as this, we may point out that the author is scarcely justified, especially in the light of recent topographical studies, in calling the Rome of Servius Tullius, or indeed the Rome of any subsequent period, "the city on the Palatine" (p. 43). We may also express the feeling that he goes somewhat beyond the warrant of his evidence at times and exaggerates the importance of the feminine influence. If we are to accept at full value all his deductions, we are bound to believe that men like Clodius and M. Antonius were little more than pawns upon the political chessboard moved hither and thither by the strong hand of a female player. It is perhaps putting the case too strongly, notwithstanding the statements of Cicero, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio, to say that Fulvia "made herself mistress of Rome and ruled Italy with a capricious tyranny which surpassed even that of the triumvirs" (p. 72) and "at her instance, Antony took possession of Caesar's papers, forged documents to suit his own purpose, . . . stirred the populace to indignation at Caesar's murder, and began the hasty recruiting of troops" (p. 74). Then, too, Professor Abbott has not exhausted the available evidence on this point. He might with good effect have cited the case of Praecia, who was the virtual ruler of the state through her tool, Cethegus. At least this is the statement of Plutarch (Lucull. 6):
 παντάπασιν εἰς ἐκείνην περιῆλθεν ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπράττετό τι δημοσίᾳ Κεθήγου μὴ σπουδάζοντος οὐδὲ Πραικίας μὴ κελευούσης παρὰ Κεθήγου. Even Lucullus, seeking the command against Mithridates in 75 B. C., was obliged to win the favor of Praecia as a preliminary to gaining the support of Cethegus. The other paper which deals with a political question is on "The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Re-

public." This is in the main an examination of Cicero's statement (*pro Sest.*, 106-127) that of the three places where the Roman people could make known their judgment on public questions, namely, the *contio*, the *comitia*, and the games, public opinion found true expression only at the theatrical performances and the gladiatorial contests. With this view of the great orator our author after a study of specific recorded cases fully agrees.

Two literary essays follow, "Petronius: a Study in Ancient Realism" and "A Roman Puritan" (Persius), in which Professor Abbott enters with sympathy and discernment into the spirit of these two writers so utterly dissimilar. Most serious students of Petronius, however, would probably not agree with his charitable statement that two *good* translations into English of the *Cena Trimalchionis* have lately appeared (p. 115). "Petrarch's Letters to Cicero" here published in translation are of especial interest because they show the effect on the great humanist of the first perusal of Cicero's Letters which he himself had discovered at Verona in 1345. "The Career of a Roman Student" is a fascinating biography of Cicero's son, which gives in particular a graphic picture of student life in Athens. The materials of course are drawn mainly from the Ciceronian correspondence.

The two remaining essays deal with subjects which properly lie outside the field indicated by the title of the volume. In "Some Spurious Inscriptions and Their Authors" the author does not profess to give a complete survey of epigraphical forgery but merely "to show the development of the art and to illustrate the methods of some of its most famous, or infamous, promoters." Most of his space is devoted to Roselli of Grumentum, the Spaniard Trigueros, and the Neapolitan Ligorio, and to some of the most interesting inventions of anonymous forgers, such as the inscription set up by Hannibal to Aemilius Paulus at Cannae, the passport given by Caesar to Cicero, and the fragments of the *Acta Diurna*. The paper contains little that is not familiar to advanced students of Latin epigraphy but is none the less valuable as a brief statement of the most essential features of an art which was extensively practised for centuries and which has given the editors of the *Corpus* so much trouble. The last essay in the volume is in the field of pure palaeography and treats of "The Evolution of the Modern Forms of the Letters of our Alphabet." Its main thesis is that "in the development of writing the working of the principles of evolution is shown more fully and more simply than in any one of the biological sciences" and this thesis is illustrated by the history of A, B, D, G, H, N, Q, and R. The parallel is drawn between the facts of biology and those of palaeography by showing that from an original single species there is a tendency to produce in course of time slightly varying types of the same species and that of these varying types those fittest to survive *will* survive. The main factors that determine fitness to survive in the case of graphical forms are

legibility, beauty, economy of effort, and economy of space. In the course of twenty-five pages these principles are applied to the actually attested forms of the letters in question in such a way as to show clearly the historical development of form from the original capital to the modern printed or cursive form.

A useful index concludes this interesting and suggestive volume of essays which will stand as a mute protest against the too prevalent notion that a successful appeal to the larger audience must necessarily be unscholarly and that good scholarship means boredom.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

TOLMAN, HERBERT CUSHING: *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions transliterated and translated with special Reference to their recent Re-examination.* XII+134 pp. New York, 1908. \$1.25.

The book under consideration presents, in compact form, a most valuable summary of nearly all accessible data on the Old Persian inscriptions, a theme to which Prof. Tolman has devoted himself for many years, and in which he must be regarded as the leading American authority. The new collation of the text of the Behistun inscriptions *in situ* by King and Thompson and a similar, though more partial, examination by Jackson have placed Old Persian studies on a far firmer footing than ever before, though a like collation of the remaining texts still remains an urgent necessity, and problems are yet found in unwelcome abundance. Tolman's book appears at a happy moment, for the edition of King and Thompson, like the final installment of Weissbach and Bang's *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, is in many respects disappointing to the Old Persian scholar. The work naturally falls into two divisions: text and translation, and lexicon, an order which the title unfortunately reverses. The texts are admirably transliterated, the only errors noted being *tyⁿa* for *tyⁿā* (Bh. i, 23), and *adamšām* for *adamšā[m]* (Dar. NRa, 18). The translation is equally careful, though the reviewer cannot assent to the following details: *ā]mātā* (Bh. i, 7, Bh. a, 11) means "valiant" rather than "of ancient lineage" (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.*, 1165f.); *hauv adakaiy naiy [a]vadā [āha]* (Bh. ii, 24) (for the supplement cf. Tolman, p. 69) means "he then [was] not there" rather than "did not there [withstand]"; *avaššām hamaranam kartam* (Bh. ii, 36f. and often) would more literally be translated "then their battle [was] made" than "then the battle [was] fought by them"; *frākaⁿjam* (Bh. ii, 78) is "hanged", not "haled" (cf. Bartholomae, 1743); *višāpatiy* (Bh. iii, 26) is rather "at home" (cf. Tolman, p. 125) than "in the palace"; *pasā* (Bh. iii, 32) is "behind", not "with"; *hamahyāyē barda* (Bh. iv, 4f. and often) is "in like fashion", not "in the

same year", despite the arguments on p. 96 (cf. Turfān 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 "similar", Bartholomae, *Zum Altiran. Wb.*, 233, Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i, 81); *Asagartiya* (Bh. iv, 20 f.) is "Sagartian", not "in Sagartia" (cf. Tolman, p. 71); *avaθā di[š akunavam]* (Bh. iv, 36, v, 17, 33) means "so I made them" rather than "so I did unto them"; *tya manā kartam varnavatām θuvām* (Bh. iv, 42 f., cf. 53 f.) should be rendered "let what was done by me convince thee" rather than "let it convince thee [as to] what [was] done by me"; *[pasāva ya]θā* (Bh. v. 3) is "after that", not "when"; *aniyam* (Bh. v, 26; so also i, 86 f.) seems to mean "one man . . . another man" rather than "one part." The reviewer is also unable to accept the reading *ušašma* (Bh. i, 75, 89), which is certainly, as Jackson holds (see Tolman, pp. 14, 16, 75), the word-divider *plus šašma*; and in Bh. iv, 46 *ap]imaiy* is to be read, with Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.*, 83, *utāmai*, "by the grace of Ahura Mazda and myself" (cf. *vašnā Auramazdāhā manāčā*, "by the grace of Ahura Mazda and me", in *Dar. Pers.* e, 9 f.).

In his preface Prof. Tolman fails to make clear that the Koldey fragment (ed. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, pl. ix, pp. 24 ff.) parallels the Babylonian rather than the Old Persian or New Susian text, and in his notes the giving of the meanings of the Turfān words would have aided the beginner, e. g., "awakens" for *viḡarānēd* (p. 5, note 3), "deceit" for *drōzanīy* (p. 25, note 1), "of gods the most godly" for *bagān bagīstēm* (p. 37, note 1) and "contentment" for *hānisandēst* (p. 95). In p. 3, note 2, an allusion might have been made to the Persian *rā* as an accusative sign and to the Slavic *radi*, as in Old Church Slavic *togo radi*, "therefore" (cf. Vondrák, *Vergl. slav. Gramm.*, ii, 387). In p. 9, note 1, the Avesta series (e. g., *Yasht* x, 18) *nmānōpaiti, vīspaiti, zantupaiti, danhupaiti* is more important than their later Turfān equivalents; and the same remark applies to the Avesta *ava-harəz*, "renounce", (Skr. *ava-sarj*) as compared with the Turfān *hərz* (p. 70), while the Pāli and Prākṛt *idha*, "here", should have been mentioned along with Avesta *ida*, Skt. *iha* under Old Persian *idā* (p. 73). The Skt. *paṭhi* is a closer analogue to the Old Persian *paṭhi*, "way, path", than is *panthan* (p. 108); but the Middle Persian (Turfān) 𐭥 cannot be derived from *tya* (p. 94; cf. Caland, *Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Avesta*, p. 24), nor can the New Persian *nun* (p. 107) be directly compared with the Old Persian *nūram*, "now."

A number of details might be added from the Turfān manuscripts, which Tolman gives the great weight which they deserve. Citation may accordingly be made of the following points, the references being to Salemann's *Manichäische Studien*, i: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Salemann, p. 49) for *Auramazdāh* (p. 60); with the reading *up]āyam* (Bh. i, 91 f.) compare 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, which seems to be a causative of *upa-i* (Salemann, p. 47); with *ubarta*, "well esteemed", contrast the Turfān antonym 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 "mistreated, unfortunate" (Salemann, p. 66); to the New Persian *kār-zār*, "battle-

field" (p. 82), add the Turfan **כאריצאר** (Salemman, p. 88); with the reading *ha^mgmalā* (p. 87) compare Turfan *hanzāmāy*, "con-cites" (Bartholomae, *Zum Altiran. Wb.*, p. 161 f.); **ויס**, "village", is a closer parallel to the Old Persian *viθ* (p. 124) than *visbēd* (Salemman, p. 75); **ויספזאנ** may be the Turfan equivalent of the Old Persian *vispazana*, "possessing all kinds of people" (Salemman, p. 75); and the Old Persian *hamiθiya*, "rebellious", is represented in the Turfan fragments by **חמיס** (Salemman, p. 84).

A few misprints call for notice: *va]rtiyaiy* instead of *va]rtiyaiy* (pp. 26, 122; cf. WZKM. xxii, 69); *mama* instead of *mana* (p. 62, line 31); 623 instead of 613 (p. 91, line 15); and "afterwards", representing a deleted *pasāva* (Bh. ii, 49), has inadvertently been overlooked (p. 13, line 30). It is unfortunate that the inscription Xerx. Sus. (p. 1) was not repeated in its proper place on p. 47 f., and it is still more unfortunate that the texts and translations fail to face each other almost throughout the book.

The addenda et corrigenda recorded in the preceding lines must in no wise be construed as condemnatory, and the reviewer may perhaps be permitted to repeat from his briefer notice of this volume in the *Nation* (July 16, 1909) his general impression that the work under consideration "must be regarded for many years to come as the best edition thus far made, not only of the Behistūn texts, but of the entire body of Old Persian inscriptions. . . . The *cruces* in the text are treated with the utmost care, and the few *lacunae* which can reasonably be supplied are filled with plausible conjectures."

LOUIS H. GRAY.

REPORTS.

HERMES XLII.

Fascicle I.

Ethnika und Verwandtes III (W. Dittenberger). See A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 469, 470. In the pre-Roman period gentilia, subst. or adj., denoted a person as to his origin, tribal or political relationship; derivatives in *-κός*, a thing as belonging, or somehow related, to a people, country or city. And yet the usage is somewhat complex and many exceptions occur. Thus *Ἀλικός* for *Ἀλιεύς* avoided the suggestion of 'fisherman', *Ποντικός* originally meant one who reached his country by way of the *Πόντος*. Often derivatives in *-κός* supplied neuter forms that were lacking in gentilia, as *γύναιον Ἑλληνικόν, μαιράκιόν τι Μεγαλοπολιτικόν*. Again in military usage (Xenophon, Polybius, etc., not Thucydides and Herodotus) *-κός* forms were applied to parts of the army as things (cf. the Latin instrum. abl.). Through the development of the city-state gentilia came to signify citizenship, as *Ἡρόδοτος Θούριος*; hence women were called *ἡ Ἀττική, Χαλκιδική*, etc. (*Ἀθηναία* in Pherecrates *Γράες* is comic), and likewise slaves; and although the Laconian perioeci were often called *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* (cf. Thuc. IV 53, 2), yet Xenophon uses *Λακωνικός* of an Asinaean (Anab. VII 2, 29) and *-κός* forms in inscriptions refer probably to the non-citizen class. They were used even of rulers (*βασιλεῖς, στρατηγοί*, etc.) who were not citizens or when their citizenship was disregarded. Again schools of philosophy, guilds of artists, poets, cooks might be called *Μεγαρικοί*, etc. The *ξῖνοι* Lysias, Isaeus and Dinarchus were *Ἀττικοὶ ῥήτορες* owing to the language employed; whereas the subject matter gave Fabius Pictor the title *ὁ Ῥωμαϊκὸς συγγραφεύς*. Finally may be mentioned the characterizing force of derivatives in *-κός*. These distinctions began to disappear in the Hellenistic poets of the iii century B. C. (cf. Callimachus, Theocritus); but in prose not until the beginning of the Christian era.

Nochmals die Ciris und Vergil (F. Leo). This is a rejoinder to Skutsch's *Gallus und Vergil, Aus Vergil's Frühzeit II Theil*. 1906 (cf. A. J. P. XXIV 344). In seeking to establish the priority of the *Ciris*, S. now lays stress on the relative fitness of the common passages. He objects, viz.: to *aera auribus captat* (Aen. III 514) and to the position of *suo* in Aen. VI 780; but the testimony of sea-faring men justifies the former and the tendency for pronouns to congregate the latter. Leo makes some concessions, but maintains that not a single passage favors the priority of the *Ciris*. On the contrary many passages individually prove the

originality of Vergil. Moreover, Macrobius and the scholia teach us that Vergil never borrowed more than a single verse at a time, whereas S. would have us believe that he took blocks of three and four verses from the Ciris. A detailed examination of the last four verses of the Ciris (=Georg. I 406-409) vindicates them for Vergil. It is true the style of the Ciris points to an earlier period; but the fact of its dependence on Vergil shows that a new style for the Hellenistic epyllion had not yet been created; this was done by Ovid in his Metamorphoses.

Topographische Probleme der Ilias (C. Robert). The name 'Scaean' implies two or, perhaps, three city gates (resp. *Σκαίαι*, *δεξιαί*, *μίσραι*). Accordingly the identity of the sixth city with Homer's Troy and the correctness of the topography in the oldest parts of the Iliad assumed, we must recognize the important VI S (Dörpfeld's map) as the 'left' gate. This eastern situation is made probable by A and II, and is conceivable in *rex*. Further we must picture the field of battle as bounded by the Scamander (Mendere) on the west, the Simois and Troy on the east. Of course late and clearly interpolated passages have no value in deciding topographical questions. All passages bearing on these matters are thoroughly discussed.

Die Überlieferung des interpolirten Textes von Senecas Tragödien (Th. Düring). The text of Seneca's tragedies depends mainly upon the Etruscus (E) s. xi/xii; but as many of its original readings are erased or illegible recourse must be had to another, inferior, tradition (archetype A), preserved in a large number of MSS of the xiv and xv centuries, which present the tragedies in a different order from E, and contain the spurious Octavia. The oldest tradition of A is found in the readings found in the commentary of Nic. Treveth (1308-1321 A. D.). This commentary shows that Treveth's MS contained certain lacunae, and as Peiper found them in a small group of German MSS, both he and Richter accepted this A^r group as preserving the oldest tradition of A. F. Leo considered this result as insecurely supported and emphasized the value of Laurent. 37, 6 and Vat. 1647. Düring has now discovered that the aforesaid lacunae already existed in the archetype A itself, as they occur also in many Italian MSS and as the rest have clearly been supplied from E. This new criterion eliminates as authoritative the group A^r as well as Leo's L1 (contaminated with E), and shows the value of the uncontaminated Neapolit. iv D 47 and Laurent. 24 sin. 4, etc. Düring promises a description of A on this basis.

Die *doxai* des Anaxagoras (J. Geffcken). The charge of impiety preferred against Anaxagoras is generally attributed to his regarding as natural phenomena, what in the popular religion appeared divine (viz. *τὸν μὲν ἥλιον λίθον φησὶν εἶναι* Plat. Apol. 26 D, cf. Plut. Per. 6), and not because he openly attacked the popular

belief, and yet Anaxagoras, who included lightning in his discussion of *μετέωρα* (cf. Diels Vorsokrat.² 308, 84), seems to have given currency to the observation that Zeus' thunderbolts are not directed against the wicked; but ohne Wahl zuckt der Strahl. This is shown especially by combining Arist. Nub. 398-402 with Luc. Timon 10, and we recognize the keenness of the ancient Voltaire's sarcasm, who lets the divine bolt miss the arch-heretic himself and strike a temple. Anaxagoras, then, is the source of the arguments which Cynics, Academicians and Epicureans used against the Stoic attempts to defend this popular superstition. The *ψήφισμα* of Diopithes (Plut. Per. 32) was, in a measure, justified.

Nochmals der *λόγος* des Königs Pausanias (E. Meyer). Diodorus' (vii 12) account of the legislation of Lycurgus is from Ephorus (cf. Polyb. VI 46, 10 and Strabo X 4, 16 ff.). Its distinctive feature is the citation of Delphic oracles, which Ephorus derived from the exiled Spartan king Pausanias, whose work Ephorus cites in his criticism of Hellanicus (Strabo VIII 5, 5, p. 366). Meyer formulates his main thesis anew (cf. A. J. P. X 242); because B. Niese (Nach. der Gött. Ges. d. W. 1906, p. 139 ff.) rejects it.

Zur Hippokratischen Schrift *περί φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* (E. Höttermann). This Hippokratean work contains a series of excerpts, doubtless made by a physician from a large work *περί φ. ἀ.*, which included the seven chapters *περί διαίτης ὑγείνης* (Littré).

Miscellen: F. Münzer shows that the daring words: *Cur ego te habeam ut principem cum tu me non habeas ut senatorem?* which the famous orator Cn. Domitius Afer addressed to the emperor Claudius 48 A. D. (Festschr. f. O. Hirschfeld, Berlin, 1903, 42, 2) were an application of an oft repeated enthymeme, coined by the orator L. Crassus 91 B. C. (Cic. de Or. III 4). Münzer adduces a number of occurrences, even a possible parody in Juvenal II 21 f. An interesting note is added on the repetitions of Fab. Maximus' retort Cic. (Cato 11, Livy XXVII 25, 5).—K. Praechter prints column I of papyrus Berol. N. 8 (=Plat. Phileb. 16 D. E.) with textual comments, and shows how this with column II (Phaedr. 265 C D) furnishes with the anonymous commentary to Theaetetus (Berl. Klass. Texte II) a new illustration of the way in which in the middle Platonic period Aristotle's logic was introduced into Platonic doctrine.—F. Leo emends Reitzenstein's edition of Photius' Lexicon: p. 39, 9 ἀπεπλον for ἀμπελον (MS); p. 48, 18 ἄιδῃ τέκνα τέκνουςαι for αἰδῇ τ. τ. also p. 49, 12 and p. 137, 1.—M. Ihm calls attention to two leaves of a Paris glossary (Délisle, Bibl. de l'École des chartes III 5. sér. 1862, p. 510), in which the glosses: *diptica duae tabulae*, *dyptongus dualis sonus*, etc., but especially *dipsa situla serpens* (cf. Isidor orig. XII 4, 13, etc.) may show its value.—B. Warnecke calls attention to Varro's note on Plaut. Pseud. 955 (de l. l. vii 81):

vestibulum, quod est ante domum, etc., overlooked by Lundström (Eranos Vol. I, p. 105/6) and Dörpfeld-Reisch (Gr. Th., p. 208, etc.)—M. Pohlenz combines the unintelligible *ισογραφία* in Diog. Laert. vi 15 (cf. Lid. & Sc.) with Isocrates' love of *παρισώσεις* (Panath. 2 etc. cf. Hermog. II, p. 437 Sp. τὰ παρὰ Ἰσοκράτει ἴσα) and reads Diog. Laert. l. c. *Περὶ τῶν δικογράφων. Δεσίας* (i. e. *Λυσίας*, non Solutor sed Ligator i. e. reos circumveniens) ἢ Ἰσογράφης. Herewith falls the only support for the friendship of Antisthenes for Lysias (cf. Rh. M. XXXV, p. 142 ff.).—K. Praechter observes that Boethius de cons. phil. 2, 7, to which Büchmann (Gefl. W.^m, p. 512) traces the bon mot: O si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses, refers merely to the fact of breaking silence, whereas the usual application to content is found in the homily bearing the name of Greg. Thaumaturgus (Migne Patr. graec. X, p. 1197), but which is more likely by Greg. of Antiocheia (vi century). A theologian was more readily influenced by Proverbs 17, 28, of which source Büchmann thought.—K. Joel, in response to Dittenberger (A. J. P. XXIX 490), says he merely meant that Plutarch says more about the superstition of Nicias than he could have derived from Thucydides and promises a further discussion of Plato's Laches.

Fascicle II.

Ethnika und Verwandtes iv (W. Dittenberger). This paper completes the series (see above, III); a summary of the results has not been found. We have seen the encroachments of derivatives in *-κός* on gentilia, here is shown the reverse tendency. Primitives like Ἑλλήν, Θράξ, Ἀνδός and derivatives in *-εύς* were used of things in poetry with more or less of personification; also in Herodotus, Xenophon and the artificial prose of the Roman period; but were strictly avoided in pure Attic prose. In dramatic poetry masc. primitives occasionally combine with fem. nouns (cf. *Αἰθίοπα φωνήν*, Aeschyl.), which was probably due to many gentilia being originally gen. com., like *θηλυς, ἡδύς κ. τ. λ.* in Homer and Hesiod. Phoenician and Cilician ships were always *παῦς Φοίνισσα* and *Κίλισσα* and the Malian gulf *Μηλιεύς κόλπος* down to the ii century A. D.; Thuc. III 96, 3 should read *Μηλιᾶ*. Derivatives in *-ίς* were applied to things oftener than to persons, even in prose, especially countries, lakes, ships, coins, languages and writings; so always *Φωκαῖς ἔκτῃ*; very commonly *διάλεκτος Ἀτθίς, Δωρίς, Ἰάς, Αἰολίς, Ἀτθίς* (συγγραφή), further *Ἰλιάς*, etc.; but usage always required *Φωκαϊκὸς στατήρ* and *μνᾶ, δραχμή Ἀττικὴ*. Gentilia in *-της* and *-τις* are frequent with Aegyptian *νομοί* (cf. *Ἡρακλεώτης*), bodies of water, especially oriental (*Παγασίτης, Αἰλανίτης κόλπος*) and natural products (*Μασσαλιώτης οἶνος, Μαγνήτης λίθος*). This usage is commoner in poetry; but forms in *-κός* occur in all these cases (ἡ *Μεγαρικὴ* as well as ἡ *Μεγαρίς*). Derivatives in *-ιος* are not strictly gentilia; they differ from those in *-κός* by indicating that a person or thing originated in a place or was essentially and originally

connected with it; whereas the latter designate activities, relationships, etc., that come from the outside. The former are especially common as names of territory, like ἡ Ἀργεῖα, ἡ Κορινθία, and of wines as θάσιος, Δείσιος, and in general of foods, dress, weapons, implements, warships, coins, measures, weights, human characteristics and mental products. In all these cases -κός forms are rare except that Ἀττικός, Λακωνικός, Ῥωμαϊκός and in less degree, Ῥοδιακός are regular with things. Where a place or body of water was to be designated with reference to another locality, both -ιος and -κός forms were used like Θερμαῖος and (late) Θερμαϊκός κόλπος. On the other hand in external relationships, derivatives in -ικός (ιακός) are in almost exclusive use with things; thus Αἰγυπτιακός θρίαμβος designates the triumph over the Egyptians, Ἀκτιακὴ νίκη the victory at Actium (Ἐπιδαύριον πόλεμον Thuc. V 26, 2 is exceptional), Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας a history of Rome (Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι, Hdt. II 99, are accounts by the Egyptians). The neuter pl., like Κορινθιακά, was especially common to designate everything that pertained to a place or its inhabitants. Somewhat different are those cases where adjectives in -ιος, -ία, -ιον are derived from primitive gentilia like Ἑλλήνιος, which had to compete with both Ἑλλην and Ἑλληνικός. To avoid the cacophony of -τέτικός, Καλίκιος and Θρηῆκιος (Θράκιος) were always used. Θρακικός (excepting possibly Θρακικά) belongs to the Byzantine period. There was no objection to Φοινικικός. Βοιωτίος was applied to persons as well as Βοιωτός, and to things according to the above mentioned categories. Pausanias used only Βοιωτία according to the best MSS, nowhere Βοιωτικά. Φρύγια and Λύδια were common. That Θράκιος, Βοιωτίος, Φρύγιος are derived from Θράξ, Βοιωτός, Φρύξ is evident; but Σύριος is an abbreviation of Ἀσσύριος, while Σύρος probably arose through Λευκόσυρος < λευκός Σύριος. Herodotus wrote only Σύριοι; the distinction between this and Σύροι is fanciful (Nöldeke). Ἀράβιος was gradually crowded out by Ἀραψ and Ἀραβικός, though Ἀραβία the country, predominated over ἡ Ἀραβική. In general -ιος forms persisted in geographical treatises and as epithets of gods. Ἰαπύγιος is a rare adjective in prose, it is a noun in ἄκρα Ἰαπυγία, a phrase generally misunderstood. Even more common are derivatives in -νός. In the western region derivatives in -νός were in exclusive use. In the eastern countries derivatives in -ανικός, ηνικός, were rare, which is significant for Aristophanes' use of Σαρδιανικός, Φασιανικός, Κυζικηνικός. D. presents many interesting details of usage and criteria for emendations and in general systematizes and throws light on such a work as Pape's Wörterb. d. griech. Eigennamen.

Eine neue Archimedeshandschrift (J. L. Heiberg). H. had his attention called by H. Schöne to a mathematical palimpsest recorded with a few extracts in Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, Vol. IV, publ. 1899. Recognizing this as a work of Archimedes H. journeyed to Constantinople and discovered on some 118 pages of parchment, written at right angles to a superimposed prayerbook, in two columns, in fairly legible x century minuscles (but a

facsimile page reveals the difficulty of decipherment), large parts of *Περὶ σφαίρας καὶ κυλίνδρου*, nearly the whole of *Περὶ ἑλίκων* and something of *Κύκλου μέτρησις* and *Ἰσορροπικά* in a text only slightly better than the one already known. But important is the Greek text of *Περὶ ἔχουμένων*, hitherto known only through an imperfect Latin version, and most interesting a letter to Eratosthenes, *Hermes*, p. 243-297, in which he unfolds a method which is analogous to that of the modern calculus. Many of Zeuthen's views as to Archimedes' relation to the Integral calculus are substantiated by this hitherto unknown work. The *κοινή* dialect is probably due to a later transcription. H. thinks that by further study many more of the blurred passages will be intelligible. Photographs are available. A German translation with notes by Zeuthen has appeared in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*.

Das Geburtsjahr des M. Brutus (P. Groebe). *Cicero Brut.* 324 says: Hortensius . . . annis ante decem causas agere coepit quam tu (Brutus) es natus. Accordingly, as H. began his career 95 B. C. (*Brut.* 229 and 328), Brutus was born 85 B. C. But Velleius Paterculus II 72, 1 wrote: hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum et XXX annum agentis fortuna esse voluit, which fixes 78 B. C. as the date of Brutus' birth. Nipperdey (*Opusc.*, p. 300 f.), wrongly computed the birthday of Caelius (=88 B. C., cf. *Hermes* XXXVI, p. 612 f.) to have been 85 B. C. and, as Brutus was younger (*Tac. dial.* 17, *Vell.* II 36, 2), decided in favor of 79 B. C. for the date of Brutus' birth (taking *agens*=*natus*), and emended *Cic. Brut.* 324 to *sedecim*, which modern editors have adopted. But Velleius is shown in a table to have erred in some 36 dates; he himself commonly modified them with *fere* or *circiter*. Mommsen (*St. R.* I² 563-576) established against Nipperdey that through Sulla the legal ages for the office of quaestor, praetor and consul were resp. 37, 40, and 43 years; but that in practise the quaestorship was open to candidates in their 31st year, which under the law of the biennium allowed the tribuneship and aedileship to intervene before the office of praetor. Only the younger Cato seems to have held the office of quaestor as early as his 30th year, though Livy, the ultimate source here, may have erred. That M. Brutus was quaestor 53 B. C. is known through *Aur. Vict. de vir. ill.* 82, 3 and from the legitimate interval of nine years before his praetorship in 44 B. C. By adding the necessarily completed thirty years G. estimates 84 B. C. as the latest possible date for Brutus' birth and thus substantiates Cicero's date, 85 B. C.

Der Schlachttag von Karrhae (P. Groebe). *Ovid Fasti* VI 465-469 loosely connects with the festival of Vesta, June 9 (*CIL* I², p. 319), Crassus' defeat near Karrhae and his death, which followed some three days later (*Plut. Crass.* 23-31). As the escape of the fugitives from Karrhae was made about the time of full moon (*Dio XL* 25, 3), the moon being in the sign of Scorpion

(Plut. 29), Crassus' death took place between the 12th and 15th of June. Hence the battle, not Crassus' tragic end (Mommsen, Drumann), fell upon the 9th of June (= May 6th 53 B. C. Julian cal.).

Die Arbeitsweise des älteren Plinius und die Indices auctorum (A. Klotz). K. defends the integrity of Pliny's literary methods against M. Rabenhorst (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 345), who rejects the enumeration of his sources as pure rhetorical embellishments and tries to show that the *naturalis historia* is simply a compilation from the *libri rerum memoria dignarum* of Verrius Flaccus. But there is no contradiction between : *ex exquisitis auctoribus centum* (praef. 12) and the 473 authors named in the indices of book I. The *centum auctores* were actually read, the additional names found in these were mentioned as the ultimate sources in accordance with ancient custom: *Varro et Euhemerus* means Euhemerus in Varro. Likewise 6, 49, *Demodamas . . . quem maxime sequimur* in his merely points to the ultimate source, etc. Klotz's arguments are not all convincing.

Miscellen: A. Wilhelm shows that property exempted from public *ἐνεχυρασία* was still liable for private debt; hence the restoration in B. C. H. XXVIII, p. 281, n. 9, end: *μηδὲ εἰάν τις [ιδίαι συναλλ]άξει* is wrong. With this fragment B. C. H. XXVIII 138, n. 34 connects easily, so that we may read: *μη εἶναι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐνεχυρασίαν μηθενὶ μηδὲ τῶν πρὸς τῇ πόλει σ[υν]η[λ]λαχότων μηδὲ εἰάν τις [ὑσ]τερον [συνα]λλάξει, εἰάν μὴ τις ἰδίαι συμβάληι πρὸς Ἡ . . . στρατον.* That one fragment reads *Ἡγίστρατος*, the other *Ἡρόστρατος* indicates a false reading in one of them.—H. Schenkl rejects v. Wilamowitz' emendation in Suidas s. v. *Χιωνίδης* of *πρωταγωνιστήν* to *πρῶτον ἀγωνιστήν* and shows in the case of *πρωτολογία* the possibility of *πρῶτος* in composition meaning 'the first in time' in later writers; but if the passage is to be regarded as from an early and correct writer then *προαγωνιστήν* would be a preferable reading.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, DE LITTÉRATURE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNES, XXXI (1907).

Pp. 5-6. R. Cagnat, *Ἀρειοί* or *Ἀρειάι*? In J. H. S. xxii (1902), 371, Cronin published an inscription in which Marcellus, the husband of a certain Ancharene, is referred to as priest *θεῶν πατρ[ίων] Ἀρεῶς καὶ Ἀρειῶν*. Cronin did not explain the word *Ἀρειῶν* and Cagnat, who republished the inscription in his *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, accentuated the word *Ἀρείων*, having in mind, as he says, some to him unknown *θεοὶ Ἀρειοί*. Cagnat now thinks that the divinities are female and identifies them with Athena and Aphrodite, both of whom bear the surname of *Ἀρεία*.

Pp. 7-21. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus. Critical notes on Amph. 930; As. 851, 896, 921; Aul. 603, 779; Bacch. 140-142, 149, 298, 331-332, 344, 377-378, 380-381, 411, 424-425, 431, 455, 462, 511, 573, 785, 787, 920-921, 979-981, 1082, 1127.

Pp. 22-27. Victor Magnien, Two Comic Fragments in Plutarch, Pericles, Ch. III. The fragment from the *Xeipores* of Cratinus is not a choral passage as Kock and Blass think, but it originally consisted of two anapaestic tetrameters, which the author undertakes to restore. The citation from Teleclides, Magnien, unlike other editors, refers to two distinct passages of that poet. One of these passages he regards with Kock and others as an anapaestic tetrameter, but in the other he sees not anapaestic but trochaic verse and offers a restoration which consists of a portion of a trochaic tetrameter followed by a complete verse of the same type.

P. 27. Jules Martha, Dative Quo. In addition to the five instances from Cicero of a dative quo furnished by Birt, Archiv XV, 1, 81 sq., 10 other examples are here recorded.

Pp. 28-44. Paul Monceaux, The Works of Petilianus, Donatist Bishop of Constantine (Conclusion. See A. J. P. xxix, 366). Monceaux here furnishes the scant information that he has been able to gather about Petilianus' Epistula II. ad Augustinum, his Liber de schismate Maximianistarum, and his Epistula de ordine partis Donati. He dates the treatise De unico baptismo at about 409 A. D. and prints in full all of the fragments (more than eight pages), the source of which is Augustine's counter-treatise De unico baptismo contra Petilianum. Of the upwards of 150 speeches made by Petilianus at the Conference of Carthage and printed in full in the Reports of that Conference, Monceaux contents himself with mentioning the titles of nineteen of the most important.

P. 44. Louis Havet, Pomponius ap. Non. 477. Read Nescio qui ellam urget, quasi as<serem as>inus, uxorem tuam. ellam (=en illam) is defended against Ribbeck and Lindsay.

Pp. 45-50. Salomon Reinach, Juvenal and Statius. The traditional explanation of Juvenal, Sat. xi, 177-180, is incorrect. After expressing his disgust in Sat. vi at commonplace comparisons of Vergil and Homer, Juvenal himself would hardly have been guilty of the same offence in Sat. xi. Furthermore, as Reinach shows, Juvenal was not fond of Vergil, but, contrary to the general opinion of scholars, he was an admirer of Statius. The carmina of xi, 179 are not the poems of Vergil but those of Statius, who is represented as contesting the palm with pompous (altisoni) Vergil. Altisonus, while conceding to Vergil splendor of diction, is meant to imply the absence of qualities of a higher order. If these conclusions are correct, Juvenal will henceforth

be counted among the enthusiastic admirers of the Thebaid and another name will be added to the list of the obtrectatores Vergilii.

Pp. 51-57. Adhémar d'Alès, The Vienna Tertullian. The Vienna corpus has lately been enriched by a most excellent piece of work, namely volume III of Tertullian, edited by E. Kroymann. The conscientious care bestowed upon the collection and presentation of all the available MS evidence is truly remarkable and Kromayer's acquaintance with the critical work of his predecessors leaves nothing to be desired, but the constitution of the text is characterized by excessive boldness and whilst there have been some brilliant solutions the failures have been more frequent. Nevertheless, the value of the critical apparatus is so great that it alone will always insure for this edition a front rank among works that deal with the establishment of these most difficult texts.

Pp. 58-63. Paul Lejay, Notes on Horace. The correction *ab auaritia* . . . laborat advocated by Bentley and others for *ob auaritiam* . . . laborat in Sat. 1, 4, 26, gives rise to a study of the construction *laborare ab*. The author shows that for Horace and his times the construction must be suspected, and he defends the traditional MS reading against the arguments of Bentley. Sat. 2, 4, 18, *doctus eris* . . . *mersare*, leads to a study of the passive forms of *doceo* with the infinitive. With the participle *doctus* the infinitive is common but is at first confined to poetry; with the other forms, the infinitive is rare. *Doctus sum* with the infinitive is also originally poetical but passes over from poetry into the prose of Nepos, always, however, with a special sense; *docendus sum* with the inf. is found even in the prose of Cicero; *doceor* with inf. is not found in Cicero except for reasons of symmetry. The infinitive with any of the passive forms of *doceo* is foreign to the language of Caesar and the orations of Cicero and, excepting *doctus*, also to Plautus and Terence. In the post-classical period the simple forms of *doceri* are freely used with the infinitive.

Pp. 64-66. Jules Martha, On a Passage of the De Inuentione (1, 4, 5). Read *Quod nostrum illum non fugit Catonem neque Laelium neque Africanum neque horum* (uere dicam) *discipulos Gracchos Africani nepotes* for the absurd traditional reading . . . *neque Laelium, neque horum* (uere dicam) *discipulum Africanum neque Gracchos*, etc.

Pp. 66-67. V. Mortet, Note on a Passage of Vitruvius. Dio Cassius 54, 2 has not the value for dating the treatise of Vitruvius that Morgan, Notes on Vitruvius, p. 9, would assign to it.

Pp. 68-92. Book Notices.

Pp. 93-95. Louis Havet, Palémon-Melqart. In the second line of Plautus, Rud. 160 sq., *Sed o Palaemon, sancte Neptuni comes, Qui hercule (-lis B) socius esse diceris*, Havet proposes to read *Qui h<ic H>ercules Opitulus esse diceris*.

Pp. 96-104. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus (continuation of pp. 7-21). Critical notes on *Cas.* 143, 230, 231, 271, 313, 332, 347, 613 (and *Capt.* 920); *Cist.* 88 (in conjunction with *Andr.* 392, *Most.* 779, *Rud.* 823), 95, 101, 111, 156, 531, 616, 744.

Pp. 105-110. C. E. Ruelle, The Achilles Argument (Aristotle, *Phys.* VI, 9). MSS 1866 (14th cent.) (A), 1935, 1934 (16th cent.) (B), and 1933 (16th cent.) (C) of the Bibliothèque nationale contain unedited commentaries by Theodorus Metochites on various works of Aristotle. Ruelle edits with critical notes that portion of the commentary on the *Physics* which deals with Zeno's first two arguments against the possibility of motion. He adds a brief discussion of the relationship of the MSS, furnishes a French translation of the text, and supplies illustrative passages from Gregory of St. Vincent's *Opus geometricum* (Antwerp, 1647) and Paul Tannery's *Pour l'histoire de la science hellène*.

Pp. 111-133. Paul Monceaux, The Gaudentius Documents. Gaudentius was Donatist bishop of Thamugadi. He was one of the seven Donatist spokesmen at the conference of Carthage in 411, but spoke only once during the entire session. About 420, the tribune Dulcitius, in obedience to imperial orders, resolved to enforce the laws against the Donatists in Numidia and issued two edicts, couched in menacing language, in which he called upon the schismatics to give up their church buildings and to render obedience to the laws. These edicts, which had aroused in the Donatists the determination to burn themselves alive in their churches rather than yield, were followed by a more conciliatory letter to the bishop. Gaudentius hurled back a defiant reply, whereupon Dulcitius wrote to St. Augustine for advice and help. This involved the bishop of Hippo in a controversy with Gaudentius. As to the final outcome of the whole matter and the subsequent career of Gaudentius information is entirely lacking. The writings of Augustine that bear upon these proceedings against the Donatists have enabled Monceaux either partially or wholly to reconstruct most of the other documents that deal with the situation. The titles of the various papers arranged in historical succession are as follows: 1. Dulcitii Edictum I. de Donatistis. 2. Dulcitii Edictum II. de Donatistis. 3. Dulcitii ad Gaudentium Epistula. 4. Gaudentii Epistula I. ad Dulcitium. 5. Gaudentii Epistula II. ad Dulcitium. 6. Dulcitii ad Augustinum Epistula. 7. Augustini Epistula ad Dulcitium. 8. Augustini contra Gaudentium Liber I. 9. Gaudentii ad Augustinum Epistula. 10. Augustini contra Gaudentium Liber II. Of these documents 7, 8, and 10 are printed in St. Augustine's collected works and are not here reprinted; of 1, 2, and 6 only the general contents were ascertained; of 3 and 9 important fragments were gathered; but 4 and 5 have been restored in their entirety.

P. 133. Louis Havet, Ennius ap. Non. 147 (obuarare), a false anapaest. In the first line read *nam consil<iis t>uis* (or con-

sil<iis e>ius) obuarant, but in the next line hic ordo is not to be touched.

Pp. 134-138. Ph. E. Legrand, *Pro machaera turturem* (Plaut. Bacch. 68 sq.). Plautus probably mistook an original *τρίγωνα* for *τρογύρα* and so made a turtle-dove out of a harp. In line 70, the Greek original probably had only the contrast between *palea* and *corolla plectilis*, *scaphium* and *insigne* being additions of Plautus. *Hasta* of line 71 is the translation of the Greek *ἄκων*, *ἀκόντιον*, and *scortum pro scuto* recalls the days of the Attic *ἰφίβοι* and may well go back to the Δις Ἐξαρτῶν. Hence it would seem that lines 68 and 70-72 are not mere expansions of the Greek original but are based on the original itself.

Pp. 139-140. Paul Lejay, *Praemium*, Velleius Paterculus II, lxxxviii, 2. Read *uixit angusti clauī praemio* (for *paene* or *pene*) *contentus*. For *praemium* in the sense of "privilege", compare Horace, Sat. 1, 5, 35 and Ep. 1, 9, 11.

Pp. 140-141. P. de Labriolle, Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, xlv, 4 (ed. Rauschen, *Florilegium patristicum*, fasc. iv, Bonn 1906). Read *agnoscent suam potius <quam> culpam et suorum, <culpam eorum> qui nos non ante praestruxerunt*.

Pp. 142-150. Georges Romain, Plautus, *Captivi*. Interpretation of lines 184, 551, 599, 611-612, 928-930.

Pp. 151-189. D. Serruys, *On Certain Eras used in the Works of the Byzantine Chroniclers*. After defining the mundane era of an author as the number expressing the difference between the year of the world to which that author assigns a certain event and the date assigned to the same event by the Dionysian era, and the Christian era of an author as the year of the world to which he assigns the birth of Christ, the writer proceeds to enumerate the eras that fall within the scope of his article, to wit, the mundane eras of 5492 (Alexandrian era), 5508 (Byzantine era), 5509 (era of the *Chronicon Paschale*), and 5516; and the Christian eras of 5500, 5501, 5506, 5507, 5508, and 5516. The object of the author has been not the investigation of the details of the methods of computation but the study of the origin, development, relationship, and chronological sequence of the various eras. The article concludes with the statement that whilst the origin of the Byzantine era, its parallel use with the Alexandrian era, and its final victory over the latter, are matters of interest primarily to the historian and the chronologist, yet two of the results obtained are of the utmost importance to the philologist in the editing of texts and particularly of the subscriptions, viz. 1. Till the end of the 10th century, the possibility of the use of the Alexandrian era of 5492 must not be questioned, the mark of recognition being the number of the indiction, which must be larger by unity than the

remainder obtained by dividing the number of the year by 15. 2. Until the end of the 13th century, there is always uncertainty regarding the Christian era of an author, and this era is in every case independent of the mundane era. It is only in the 14th century that a restoration on the basis of the Christian era of 5508 admits of any degree of probability.

Pp. 190-198. E. Rey, To What Extent may the Text of Fortunatus be Improved? Leo's edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae* marks a great advance over earlier editions, but in the matter of textual criticism, the editor is too conservative. It should be the constant endeavor of an editor of Fortunatus to present the author in a legible form, but this he cannot do unless he removes the nonsense, barbarisms, and flagrant absurdities that mar the text of the MSS. To aid in the work of purgation, Rey offers a large number of emendations and hints that he has others in store.

Pp. 199-201. Antoine Thomas, The Latin *Sclarea*. This word, which occurs in a culinary receipt appended to Gargilius Martialis, ed. V. Rose (Teubner, 1875), and in a capitulary, an inventory, and a gloss, all three of the 9th century, is not recorded in the majority of the lexica, and is wrongly defined as "pipe" (musical instrument) in all the others except in the posthumous Latin-English dictionary (Cambridge, 1888) of Thomas H. Key († 1875), who correctly defines it as "clary", which corresponds to the French *sclarée*, German *Scharlei*, etc., and is the *Salvia Sclarea* of Linnaeus.

Pp. 202-205. G. Rodier, On a Passage of the *De Finibus*. In 4, 18, 50, *Jam ille sorites <est>, quo nihil putatis esse vitiosius, quod bonum sit, id esse optabile; quod optabile, id expetendum; quod expetendum, id laudabile; dein reliqui gradus . . .*, the MS *vitiosius* is to be retained and Madvig's interpretation is undoubtedly to be regarded as the best that has been offered. But Madvig thinks that there is no warrant here for the use of the term *sorites*, and Hirzel goes so far as to say that Cicero was laboring under a misapprehension as to the real meaning of the word. The truth of the matter is that Cicero well knew the meaning of the word *sorites* and the solution of the difficulty must be sought in the fact that though the argument in question is not a *sorites* but a *συνθετικὸν θεώρημα*, yet the latter resembles the former somewhat, and, roughly speaking, is based upon the same method of procedure, to wit, the introduction of a sufficient number of intermediary terms between the two extremes so as to produce the impression of a continuous transition. The Stoics, whose favorite argument was the *συνθετικὸν θεώρημα*, were in the habit of denouncing the *sorites*, the traditional weapon of their adversaries, and in this passage the opponent of the Stoics is represented as retorting, rightly or wrongly, that now they were

themselves using a sorites. "When you put it that way", says he, "... you are forthwith guilty of a sorites yourselves, a form of argument you consider faulty above all others."

Pp. 206-228. Book Notices.

P. 229. H. Weil, Aeschyl. Eum. 238. Read *προστετριμμένον πάρος* for *προστετριμμένον τε πρός*.

Pp. 230-233. Louis Havet, The Perfect in -ēre in Plautus. The perfect in -ēre is used by Plautus only in elision and when a short syllable is needed before a consonant, otherwise the form in -ērunt is the rule. This principle is useful in textual criticism and is employed by the author in the correction of Men. 1151 and Capt. 824. Terence and other early scenic poets are less rigid than Plautus in discarding needless -ēre forms.

Pp. 233-234. Louis Havet, Notes in Prosody. The Plautine ū of *pecūlatus* is confirmed by the Ciceronian *clausulae certissimumque peculatum* (Verr. 3, 168) and *carere peculatus* (Phil. 12, 12). In Plautus, Rud. 107, for *uirile sexus* read *uirile sēcus*. The passage shows that *e* in *secus* is long. Perhaps, as S. Reinach suggests, *sēcus* is related to *saeculum*.

P. 234. Louis Havet, *novicius, multicius*. To account for the *i* in *novicius* as compared with nominal derivatives *patricius*, etc., Havet supposes that the primitive form was **noui-uīcius*, or more accurately **newo-woikios*. If the word *multicia* (n. pl.), thrice used by Juvenal with *i*, is derived from *multus*, Juvenal must have been misled as to the quantity by the false analogy of verbal derivatives in -*ticius* or perhaps by the quantity of a compound like *trilix, trilicis*.

Pp. 235-240. C. E. Ruelle, The Musical Papyrus of Hibeh. With the view of confirming the opinion of Blass and the English editors that Hibeh Papyri, I, 13, is the beginning of an oration delivered by Hippias of Elis at the Olympian games, Ruelle, in addition to making a few independent observations, presents an array of passages referring to Hippias from the ancient authors, and reëdits the text of the papyrus with critical notes and a French translation.

Pp. 241-250. Paul Monceaux, A Work of the Donatist Fulgentius. Reconstruction of the text of the *Libellus de baptismo*, supposedly the work of a Donatist by the name of Fulgentius. With but slight modifications this text consists of the words spoken by the anonymous Donatist and by Fulgentius in a dialogue that is found among the works attributed to St. Augustine and that figures in Migne's *Patrol. lat.* under the title of *Contra Fulgentium donatistam incerti auctoris liber*. The work just mentioned was probably written between 411 and 420 A. D. and the author was most likely one of the entourage of St. Augustine. Nothing is known of the identity of Fulgentius. That he was not a bishop

would appear from the fact that his name is not found in the list of bishops that attended the great conference at Carthage.

Pp. 251-264. D. Serruys, *The Transformations of the Aera Alexandrina Minor*. The name Alexandrian is applied to several systems of chronology that show a common mean difference of 5492 between their dates and the corresponding dates of the Dionysian or Christian era. The first of these systems, and the parent of the others, is the *Era of Panodorus*, which was originated about 412 A. D. by the Alexandrian monk Panodorus. In opposition to the theory of Unger, who assigned the beginning of this era to Aug. 29, 5494 B. C., Serruys presents an elaborate defence of the view that prevailed before Unger's time, which regarded Aug. 29, 5493 B. C. as the starting point. In regard to the Christian era of Panodorus, Serruys establishes the fact that Panodorus dated Jesus' conception at March 25, 5493 of the Panodorian era and Jesus' birth at Dec. 25, 5494 (= March 25 and Dec. 25, 1 A. D.). According to the current view, Panodorus dated these occurrences one year earlier. *Annianus* modified Panodorus' system so as to make it more conformable to religious tradition. As March 25 was the traditional date of Jesus' conception and resurrection, he started his mundane era March 25, 5492 B. C., 209 days later than the beginning of the Panodorian era. To find his Christian era, Annianus started with the year 5533, in which the Passover fell on Friday, March 23. By counting back 32 years, he gained Wednesday, Dec. 25, 5501 as the date of Jesus' birth. Wednesday is the fourth day of the week, the day on which the sun was created, and is therefore symbolical of the Sun of Righteousness. As Annianus had selected the day of Jesus' conception (March 25) for the beginning of his mundane era, he used the same day, and not the day of the nativity, as the starting-point of his Christian era. The era of Annianus with slight modifications became the official era of the Byzantine Church, and was then known as the *Ecclesiastical Era*. These modifications consisted in the transfer of the beginning of both the mundane and Christian eras from March 25 to March 23. The era used by the majority of the Byzantine chroniclers of the 9th and 10th centuries and specifically by Theophanes, was a compromise between the ecclesiastical era and the civil year. From Panodorus it borrowed the mundane era of Aug. 29, 5493 B. C., and from Annianus the Christian era, which makes the year 1 A. D. equal the year of the world 5501. The chroniclers that employ this system of chronology refer to it as the *ψῆφος κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*. By the *Ἀλεξανδρεῖς* Serruys thinks the Copts were meant and he closes his article with the admonition that we must beware of imitating the Byzantines in applying the archaic and vague name of Alexandrian to several perfectly distinct though related systems of chronology.

Pp. 265-296. Louis Havet, *Notes on Plautus* (continuation

of pages 96-104). Critical notes on Curc. 10-11; 15-17; 21-22; 26; 27-28; 37-38; 39-41; 43; 46; 59-62; 76, 78-79, 80 (in connection with Merc. 512, Ps. 609, 634, Rud. 99, Trin. 891, Truc. 641, Andr. 502); 88 and 71; 96; 110-111, 159; 116, 118; 123-124, 139; 125-127; 129; 131-132 (in conj. with Pers. 622, Ep. 554, Truc. 366, Ht. 397 and 403, Eun. 1009, Ad. 269); 138 sqq.; 142; 175-177; 189; 219; 271; 351-352; 381-382; 438; 486; 537; 547, 548 (in conj. with Rud. 1226, Men. 581, Mil. 791); 554; 567; 614; 618.

P. 297. Jean Lesquier, *λαάρχης*. In an IS published by Botti in Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie, iv, p. 94, occurs the word *ἀλάρχαι*. Strack, Arch. für Pap. II, 548, No. 27, changed *ἀλάρχαι* to *λαάρχαι*. But *ἀλάρχαι* is very likely an incorrect reading of an original *ΛΑΡΧΑΙ* for *λαάρχαι*. The Tebtunis Papyri contain the word *λααρχία*, which means "a contingent of native troops". Hence it is altogether probable that *λαάρχης* is the name that was applied to the commander of a *λααρχία*.

Pp. 298-308. Jules Nicole, Critical Notes on the New Fragments of Menander. The fragments referred to are the ones contained in the Aphroditopolis papyrus published by Lefebvre. Even when at its best the MS does not present a careful text. Mistakes of every kind abound and the mistakes arising from transposition are not the least numerous. Nicole presents more than fivescore corrections.

Pp. 309-328. Book Notices.

Review of Reviews and of Publications of Academies relating to Classical Antiquity.

C. W. E. MILLER.

BRIEF MENTION.

In spite of my recent counterblast against the discussion of translations I find myself obliged to recur to the subject, if it were only to note that the prince of Aristotelian scholars, INGRAM BYWATER, has yielded to the fashion set by other eminent Hellenists and has accompanied his great edition of Aristotle's *Art of Poetry* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) with what may be called an expository translation. A French man of letters, M. LOISEAU, has given us a new Tacitus based on the most improved texts (Paris, Garnier Frères), and then there is a second edition of PAUL CAUER'S excellent treatise, *Die Kunst des Uebersetzens* (Berlin, Weidmann), the first edition of which received the compliment of an adaptation by Professor Tolman in his *Art of Translating* (A. J. P. XXII 105). There are many bulky volumes that the student and the teacher might more readily dispense with than CAUER'S instructive and suggestive little books, his *Grammatica Militans* as well as the work under consideration, and his plaquette entitled *Beigaben zu Ilias u. Odyssee*. Of the *Grammatica Militans* I have often been tempted to write at some length. There is matter enough in it to provoke a discussion as long as that which I have dedicated to Stahl; and there is much in the *Kunst des Uebersetzens* to invite comment. But the translation that has held me longest this time is one that has been brought to the foreground by the recurrence in my cycle of studies to the philosophers, I mean Professor LEONARD'S version of the *Fragments of Empedocles* (Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Company). Empedokles was a real poet, not a poet under compulsion as was Parmenides, whose verses, according to a dominant authority of our day, are the most crabbed and wooden ever perpetrated by a Greek. As a poet Empedokles has found a congenial interpreter in Professor LEONARD, who has certain high qualifications for the office, a soaring imagination and a rich poetic diction. Read apart from the original Professor LEONARD'S translation produces a total effect very much like that of Empedokles himself. But the trouble is that in these *avia Pieridum loca* Professor LEONARD makes all manner of excursions, and one who compares the translation with the text of the fragments, line by line, will be surprised at the liberties he has taken. Of course, a certain amount of poetic padding is expected to fill out the verse. 'Aphrodite' is 'Aphrodite clear', which she has never been to me morning, noon or night; 'whence' is 'from what far coast', 'fate' is 'olden', 'song' is 'festal'. 'Lions' are 'tawny' and 'earth' is 'black'. Feci ego istaec itidem in adulescentia. But Professor LEONARD'S poetic fancy carries him still

farther and his expansions of the original have all the freedom of inspiration. In his Introduction he lays especial stress on the poetry of Empedokles and to prove his thesis some of the specimens are taken from his own verse-translation. Now I have recently commented on the danger of remembering one's own translation and forgetting the original, and while I would not lightly bring such a charge against Professor LEONARD, I am afraid that he is somewhat too much in love with his own renderings when he cites them as specimens of Empedokles' poetic power. 'Night the lonely with her sightless eyes' is a fine line, and moulds itself as closely as the two idioms allow upon *νυκτὸς ἑρημαίης ἀλαώπιδος*, but that cannot be said of all the others and in the body of the translation he renders the two homely words *πτεροβάμοσι κύμβαις* by the resounding line 'waterfowls that skim the long blue sea'. To be sure, we do not know what *κύμβαι* means, but we must translate by some definite word. 'Didappers' will do as well as any other fowl and *πτεροβάμοσι* might be translated 'wingwalkers' after the analogy of 'who walketh upon the wings of the wind'. The 'long blue sea' is simply long blue ink. Still this expansion is nothing to what we find elsewhere, as when *περίρρηγμῖνι βίῳ* becomes 'the surf-swept beaches and drear shores of life'. Such free translations remind me of a farce of Kotzebue's I read sixty years ago, Don Ranudo de Colibrados, in which use is made of the machinery one finds in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and Mrs. Centlivre's *Bold Stroke for a Wife*. 'Alola' in the language of the Ethiopian Pseudartabas means 'Ich wünsche Seiner Hoheit so viele Menschenalter als der Nil Tropfen und die africanischen Wälder Blätter zählen.' Whereupon the gracioso Pedrillo remarks, 'Das ist eine herrliche Sprache für die kurzen Wintertage.'

Apart from this general criticism no end of verbal carping is possible. With all the other translations to go by, it would seem that there would be little chance of actual blunders, and yet Professor LEONARD in his Introduction speaks of the poet's sympathy with 'men and women, the pitied and bewailed', *ἀνδρῶν τε πολυκλαύτων τε γυναικῶν*, and though he has the powerful support of Diels, I do not see how *πολυκλαύτων* can be made to apply to 'men'. The old rendering 'lacrimosarum', 'given to weeping', seems far preferable and then we should have what I have called the 'complementary color' thrown up with *ἀνδρῶν*. The commentators on Horace are fond of calling attention to Horatian 'parsimony', a parsimony sadly disregarded in Lord Lytton's translation, as I pointed out many years ago. It is the phenomenon of which Professor Kellogg has made so much in a recent article on Cross-Suggestion in Tacitus (A. J. P. XXX 310). 'Men must work and women must weep' lies near enough for a modern, but an ancient might think of *κύδει γαίῳ* for the man. Only our poet is

sombre. Again, Empedokles is set down as one of the forerunners of Gorgias and we can well believe it, for his poetry, though true poetry, has a rhetorical cast and his language has a synonymical exactness, as when in fr. 9 he makes a sharp distinction between *θεμία* and *νόμος*, 'Law' and 'Convention', pyrrhic against pyrrhic (A. J. P. XXIX 376). This being the case, the interpreter should be careful not to sacrifice point to metre and *δοιὴ δὲ θνητῶν γένεσις, δοιὴ δ' ἀπόλειψις* ought not to be rendered 'Twofold the birth, twofold the death of things'; for here by *γένεσις* Empedokles means *γένεσις*, not *φύσις*, by *ἀπόλειψις* he means *ἀπόλειψις* and not *θάνατος*, as he says distinctly (fr. 8): *φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀπάντων | θνητῶν οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή*. To be sure, the use of *θνητῶν* involves a contradiction, but what of that? Of course, no English or American translator of Empedokles could fail to notice Matthew Arnold's 'Empedocles on Aetna', and I have in my copy-drawer a paper by a young girl who died before her studies bore full fruit, in which she was at the pains of following up Matthew Arnold's use of the fragments of Empedokles—a rather idle task, according to Professor LEONARD, whose judgment of Arnold as an interpreter of the mind of Empedokles, if one may be allowed to read between the lines, suggests Lepelletier's happy characteristic of Verlaine's enthusiasm for Spanish: 'Son goût fort pour la langue espagnole', says Lepelletier, 'demeura platonique'. It was love without penetration.

Reading over these fragments of Empedokles my grammarian soul longs for a complete statistic of Homer's use of the neuter plural with the verb plural, for it seems to me that Empedokles in conformity with his own doctrine emphasizes the severalty of the plural. Then it is noteworthy that epic poet as he is, he cannot quite shut the door on the plebeian articular infinitive (A. J. P. XXIII 137), though he does not go to the same extent as does Parmenides, and as one looks down on yellow Akragas, one listens with pleasure to the local note of the short syllable in the accusative of the first declension even though it brings back the memorial verse: *ἀ περία Διόφαντε μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει* and the choliambi of Persius.

Modern poets, says Goethe, put a great deal of water in their ink; and complaints of ink, ink literal and ink metaphorical, will never cease. Aniline has become the curse of the writing world. One sighs for the fine old days of nutgalls and a certain astringency comes into the critic's pen as he turns to the metaphorical ink in which so much is written. Doubtless there was abundance of wishy-washy writing in antiquity, and Heaven knows enough dull writing has come down to us from Graeco-Roman times. There were realists then as there are realists now; and we do not

despise antique still life, we do not despise rhopography. True, the lover of literary art finds a delight in comparing and contrasting the different ways in which the antique masters of composition discharge what seems to be a common office, as, for instance, the difference between the narratives of such consummate story-tellers as Herodotos, Lysias and Plato. Historian, orator and philosopher have different aims and different processes, aims and processes that reveal themselves to the analyst of style, whose decimal figures are not less interesting because of the unconsciousness of the artists themselves. But there are those who for a vision of actual life would give up all this ado about art: and the passion for actuality which has found striking expression in Wilamowitz's *Lesebuch* exhibits itself in the interest every one takes in the documents that have been unearthed in Egypt. It is perhaps not going too far to say that the domestic correspondence in queer Greek one finds in the mass of papyri touches many readers more nearly than the elegances of Bakchylides and the new chords that have been struck by Pindar. Last summer I was reading a German novel, a popular 'Gegenwartsroman', and when in sheer fatigue I closed the volume, I began to think how we should prize such a collection of trivialities, if it were only in Greek or Latin. The scene is laid in the Berlin of to-day, the Berlin which has become a *Weltstadt* since the far-off days when my boyish eyes first beheld the glories of the Prussian capital. I have seen Berlin several times since, and the old Prussian capital abides for me the most interesting part of the *Weltstadt*. But the localities of the novel were not unfamiliar. I know the comfort of the Hotel Bristol and the dreariness of Maassenstrasse, but what has led to this train of musing is the minuteness with which the every day processes of city life are described, the lighting of a cigar, the lifting of a window shade, the settling with the 'Zahlkellner', the calling of a droschke. It is literary rhopography in its most tedious form and the 'Gegenwartsroman' becomes a portentous bore. It has, to be sure, its important lesson for those who have witnessed the transformation of the poor and charming Germany of fifty years ago into the powerful and wealthy Germany of to-day, the Germany of the Geldprotz, name and thing unknown to the middle of the last century. The prevalent impression of such a book is that of the type for which the Greeks had so little tolerance, the type of the *περίπλοκος*, the *nouveau riche*. Still what would we not give for a Greek 'Gegenwartsroman' which would solve so many of the problems that we encounter in reading of Greek life? There, for instance, is the matter of clothes. I have read lately that a popular French novelist, Marcel Prévost, if I am not mistaken, shows such familiarity with the details of women's clothes and such taste in the assemblage of them that his help has been sought by the leading houses in Paris. He is a manner of literary Worth, a literary Paquin. But nothing could transcend one woman in that woman's sphere as I found when

I turned from my German novel to MATILDE SERAO's *Evviva la vita* and encountered a clothes-horse, or rather a regiment of *mannequins d'osier*. The eminent Italian redresses every character every time it is brought forward. What a help an antique MATILDE SERAO might have been to the woman-scholar KATHARINE SAUNDERS of Vassar College, who has put together what is to be known of *Costume in Roman Comedy* (New York, The Columbia University Press). The study of costume after all is not simply rhopography, as the author of *Mikrokosmos* shewed long ago, and as the evolutionists have not failed to demonstrate, but the long preface to this *Brief Mention* must suffice for the present.

Stahl has divided the Greek Perfect into the Intensive Perfect and the Extensive Perfect (A. J. P. XXIX 395), the Intensive Perfect recognized in my Syntax (§ 229), the Extensive Perfect, the Perfect that, according to my phrase, looks at both ends of an action, the time between the two being considered as a present. They are both of them in a sense present-perfect. Is there a great gulf fixed between the two, between the perfect hubbub, the perfect quiver and quaver, the perfect vision, the perfect flutter and the perfect that deals with the completion of an action, the maintenance of a result, the perfect that we represent and the Greeks may represent by a periphrasis? The two-point perfect, so to speak, seems to be fairly deducible from the old reduplication, the intensive being the earlier, the extensive the later. At least, this is my way or has been my way of putting a matter which has engaged the attention of Professor MELTZER in a recent number of the I. G. F. XXV 338 fgg. The intensive perfect he establishes triumphantly: the perfect that involves a previous action he considers a later development. The 'subject perfect', he surmises, became 'the object perfect', 'I am a mother' became 'I have borne'. The unity of condition, to put it in my own way, suggested the diversity of times and so the category spread until it became wellnigh universal; and so one who works at syntax stylistically, i. e., from the basis of the spoken language, represented at least after a fashion by the orators, might transfer the feeling of the two-point perfect of later Greek to the line perfect of the earliest time, the perfect which is really a present. The question is a subtle one and MELTZER simply proposes his view as a possible solution.

Herr SCHLACHTER has continued his investigations into the usage of Tenses and Moods in Greek authors, of which some account was given in the Journal XXIX 243 foll. and XXX 105 foll. The latest instalment deals with Thukydides I. G. F. XXIV 3 u. 4. The copy that lies before me I owe to the courtesy of the author,

who has been good enough to make some important corrections. So p. 200, l. 15, for 'Praesensseite' read 'Aoristseite'; l. 19, for 'Herodot' read 'Thukydides' and l. 21, the proportions of subj. pres. to subj. aorist are three-fourths wrong. The occurrence of such errors of the press is fatal to the peace of mind of those who deal with figures and I am sadly reminded of similar slips on the part of scholars whom I had trusted too implicitly (A. J. P. VIII 330). In any case I cannot undertake to give a synopsis of SCHLACHTER's new paper on the same scale as before; and must limit myself to a few points partly of general, partly of personal interest. SCHLACHTER attaches much importance to the affinity of a verb for the present or aorist stem, as the case may be, an affinity which makes itself felt, I may add, in the phenomena of Suppletivwesen discussed by Osthoff in his work on the subject (A. J. P. XXI 474). This affinity seems to SCHLACHTER to have had much more influence on Thukydides than on Homer and Herodotos. A siege to be a siege at all must be a tiresome thing; hence the enormous preponderance of the durative tenses of *πολιορκῶ* or to use my own illustrations, S. C. G. § 302: We should not expect to find *ἀπολλύοιτο* <pure opt.>, and *χαρείη* (Il. 6, 481) is scarce. The general tendency is towards the cursive <durative> forms so that Herodotos, Thukydides and Xenophon constitute a series (A. J. P. XXIX 344). The aor. ind. is more frequently expressed by the participle than are the pres. and imperf. indic. by the durative participle, which SCHLACHTER attributes to the fact that the aor. participle represents more and more the sphere of time rather than the original kind of time <a transfer, one might say, of subordination in action to priority in time>. Especially interesting for Thukydides is SCHLACHTER's conclusion that the remarkable difference he has established in modal structure between the first three books and the last five books points to different periods of composition for the two groups. In the course of his discussion SCHLACHTER takes up the so-called 'perfective' influence of certain prepositions on the character of the verb. The phenomenon is supposed to be of wide reach and has been maintained for Latin and Sanskrit as well as for Greek. *σύν*, *διά*, *κατά*, *ἀπό* only serve to sharpen the time to a point. Stahl accepts this view (A. J. P. XXIX 389) and I find it given as an established fact in less pretentious works than Stahl's. This is no place to discuss the doctrine. Meantime let us pray for greater sensitiveness. We all know that in later times *πρός* was used as a buffer to keep off the dreaded hiatus, but that does not do away with the life of *πρός*. One point of personal interest I may be excused for mentioning. The syntax of my Latin Grammar was based on my Greek Syntax, of which only a small part has seen the light, and my Latin Syntax has all the drawbacks of its Hellenic origin. Now it has happened more than once that since I have come forward more and more as a writer on Greek Syntax, phrases and formulae that I used of phenomena common to both lan-

guages have been discussed as if they were novelties, whereas they have been reposing for some forty years in my Latin Grammar. In my L. G. of 1872 one reads 'with definite numbers, however large, the Historical Perfect must be used, unless there is a notion of continuance into another stage', to which is added in my Greek Syntax 'a notion of interruption'. And it is this rule of the definite number that SCHLACHTER credits me with being the first to formulate. Whether this is so or not, the two exceptions that he cites, Thuc. VI 7, 2: *μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπολιόρκεον* and Hdt. V 72: *ἐπολιόρκεον ἡμέρας δύο* are brilliant illustrations of the correctness of the interruption rule; the first example being followed by *ἐκδιδράσκουσι* (hist. pres.) and the second by *ἐξέρχονται* (hist. pres.), whereas SCHLACHTER attributes the exception to the durative character of *πολιόρκω* itself emphasized above.

By a sad irony of fate I was greeted on my return to my editorial work by two publications, which lay side by side on my table, the tribute of the pupils and admirers of KONSTANTINOS KONTOS on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his professorate and the mourning number of the *Ἀθηναῖα*, which records the loss on the 16th of July last (O. S.) of the founder of that periodical, which proudly claims the rank of one of the leading journals of Europe, the loss—to use the words of his eulogist—*τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ χρηστοτάτου τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἑλλήνων, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη κλεισάντων τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἀνδρῶν*. It is after all a becoming exit—this answer to the call that greeted the ears of Diagoras. It was said of one of old 'fortis vir in sua republica cognitus'. What higher praise for a scholar, if that republic is the republic of letters? And the name of KONTOS was known wherever Greek was known and loved. Much of his work lay in glossology into which comparatively few have followed him, but of those few Hatzidakis alone would suffice to make the career of a teacher worth while.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.—P. 107, l. 30, The Snarley-yow critic is the Saturday Review, Nov. 24, 1906; p. 108, l. 13, for XXVIII read XXVII; p. 355, l. 11, for 'Athos' read 'Ēthos'; cf. Burnet's Plato, Parmen. 132 D, where for *αὐκ* read *οὐκ* and A. J. P. V 400, l. 19; p. 358, l. 17, read 'allucinazione'. Long Italian words are a snare to compositor and proofreader alike. Think of such a monster as 'particolareggiatamente,' for which the author actually apologizes. *Rivista di Filologia*, Apr., 1909, p. 233; p. 359, l. 10, for XXXII read XXIII; comp. A. J. P. XXV 483 footn.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH.

Baker (C. McC.) and Inglis (A. J.) High school course in Latin composition. In 2 V. and 8 pts. New ed. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 60 cts. net and 55 cts. net.

Caesar (C. J.) The Gallic War; bks. i-vii; ed. by A. L. Hodges. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 18+522 pp. il. maps, cl., \$1.25 net.

Elmore (J.) Latin prose composition. Boston, *Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co.*, 1909. 8+152 pp. 12°, \$1.

Livy. Book ix; ed., with introd., notes, etc., by W. B. Anderson. New York, *Putnam*, 1909. 7+276 pp. 8°, cl., 75 cts. net.

Oxford English Dictionary. Reissue in quarterly parts. [October pt. of V. 7, Prophecy-Pyxis.] New York, *Oxford University Press* (Amer. Branch), 1909. 1478-1676 pp. Pap. \$1.48.

Plantus. The Trinummus, with introd. and notes by H. R. Fairclough. New York, *Macmillan*, 1909. 34+118 pp. 12°, cl., 60 cts. net.

Seldenadel (C. W.) First written grammar of the Bontoc Igorot language. Chicago, *Open Court Publishing Co.*, 1909. 500 pp. il., \$5.

Sidey (T. K.) The participle in Plantus, Petronius and Apuleius; Chicago Diss. Chicago, *University of Chicago Press*, 1909. 76 pp. 8°, pap., 50 cts. net.

Stawell (F. M.) Homer and the Iliad; an Essay to determine the scope and character of the original poem. London, 1909. 8°. 338 pp. 10s. 6d. net.

Tyng (E. McJ.) Latin prose exercises for second year work. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1909. 11+182 pp. 12°, cl., 60 cts.

FRENCH.

Bourciez (E.) Éléments de linguistique, in 5°. *C. Klincksieck*. 5 fr.

Goelzer (H.) Le latin de saint Avit, évêque de Vienne (450-526), in 8°. *F. Alcan*. 25 fr.

Hariri. Les trois dernières séances. Texte arabe publié avec le commentaire d'Achcharichi, traduction et notes par A. Raux, in 8°. Paris, *E. Leroux*. 3 fr.

GERMAN.

Becker (Petrus). De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus. (91 S.) gr. 8°. Bonn, *H. Behrendt*, 1909. m. 1.50.

Bechtel (Frdr.) Aeolica. (VII, 68 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*, 1909. m. 2.

Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edunt E. Kalinka et A. Zingerle. gr. 8°. IV. Zingerle (Ant.) Übersicht üb. philologische Handschriften aus tirolischen Bibliotheken.—Müller (Guldo). Zur Würdigg. Polvāna.—Lechner (J.) De codice Aenipontano 579 quo continentur Ovidii remedia amoris. (104 S.). Innsbruck, *Wagner*, 1909. m. 2.

Fehleisen (G.) Präparation zu Homers Odyssee. 2. Heft: Buch V-VIII. 4. Aufl. (40 S.) 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 60.

Festgruss, Innsbrucker, v. der philosophischen Fakultät dargebracht der 50. Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner in Graz. (III, 201 S.) gr. 8°. Innsbruck, *Wagner*, 1909. m. 5.

Festschrift, der 50. Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner dargebracht v. Mittelschulen der Kronländer Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain u. Küstenland. (III, 223 S.) Lex. 8°. Graz, *Styria*, 1909. m. 5.

Στρωματεῖς. Grazer Festgabe zur 50. Versammlg. deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner. (III, 172 S.) gr. 8°. Graz, *Leuschner & Lubensky*, 1909. m. 8.

Gruhn (Alb.) Der Schauplatz der Ilias u. Odyssee. 1. Heft. Die Lage der Stadt Troja. (61 S. m. Karte.) Lex. 8°. Berlin-Grunewald (Hubertusbaderstr. 10), *Selbstverlag*, 1909. m. 2.

Iselin (L. E.) Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende. (IV, 135 S.) gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*, 1909. m. 3.60.

Král (Jos.) Porsons Gesetz. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom griech. Trimeter. [Aus; "Sitzungsber. b. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss."] (30 S.) Lex. 8°. Prag, *F. Řivnáč*, 1909. m. 40.

Libani opera. Recensuit Rich. Foerster. Vol. V. Declamationes I-XII. (VI, 568 S.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 12.80.

Merguet (H.) Lexikon zu Vergilius m. Angabe sämtlicher Stellen. (In 7-8 Lfgn.) 1. Lfg. (S. 1-80.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig-R., *Rich. Schmidt*, 1909. m. 5.

Meyer (Eduard). Theopomps Hellenika. Mit e. Bellage. (X, 391 S. m. 1 farb. Karte.) gr. 8°. Halle, *M. Niemeyer*, 1909. m. 8.

Nöldeke (Thdr.) Geschichte des Qorāns. 2. Aufl., bearb. v. Frdr. Schwally. 1. Tl. Über den Ursprung des Qorāns. (X, 262 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *Dieterich*, 1909. m. 11.

Palumbo (V. D.) Grammatica del greco volgare. (VIII, 258 S.) 8°. Heidelberg, *J. Groos*, 1909. m. 3.20.

Pedersen (H.) Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen. I. Bd. Einleitung u. Lautlehre. 2. Tl. (XIV u. S. 357-544.) gr. 8°. Göttingen, *Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht*, 1909. m. 7.60.

Philodemi περί τοῦ κατ' Ὀμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως libellus. Ed. Alex. Olivieri. (X, 88 S.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 2.80.

Platon's Timaios, Kritias, Gesetze X. Deutsch v. Otto Kiefer. (225 S.) 8°. Jena, *E. Diederichs*, 1909. m. 6.

Plini Secundi (C.) Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Post Ludov. Iani obitum recognovit et scripturae discrepantia adiecta iterum ed. Carol. Mayhoff. Vol. II. Libri VII-XV. (XIV, 592 S.) kl. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1909. m. 8.60.

Primitiae Czernovienses. Festgabe zur 50. Versammlg. deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner in Graz 1909, beg. v. I. Hilberg u. J. Luthner. (IV, 131 S.) gr. 8°. Czernowitz, *H. Pardini*, 1909. m. 3.60.

Reckendorf (H.) Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen. (XII, 176 S.) gr. 8°. Giessen, *A. Töpelmann*, 1909. m. 12.

Statius (P. Papinius). Silvae. Varietatem lectionis selectam exhibuit Gregorius Saenger. (VIII, 232 S.) 8°. Petropoli, 1909. Leipzig, *Stammel & Co.* m. 2.

Study-series, Semitic, ed. by Rich. J. H. Gotthell and Morris Jastrow jr. 8°. Leiden, *Buchh. u. Druckerel vorm. E. J. Brill*. Nr. XI. Mishnah treatise, the, Sanhedrin, ed. with an introduction, notes and glossary by Dr. Sam. Krauss. (XIII, 61 S.) 1909. m. 2.50. Nr. XII. Maimonides: Se-

lections from the Arabic writings, ed. with introduction and notes by Israel Friedlaender. (XXIII, 180 S.) 1909. m. 4.

Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Einleitg. u. Anmerkgn. v. Johs. Hertel. 2. Tle. (X, 159 u. IV, 159 S.) Lex. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. m. 16.

Triandaphyllidis (M. A.) Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur. (38 u. 192 S.) gr. 8°. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1909. m. 6.

Wendorff (Frz.) Die aristokratischen Sprecher der Theognis-Sammlung. (II, 84 S.) gr. 8°. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909. m. 8.

Witkowski (Geo.) Geschichte des literarischen Lebens in Leipzig. (XXVI, 483 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. m. 16.

ITALIAN.

Bassi (I.) e Cabrini (P.) Manuale di letteratura latina. Vol. II. Torino, 8°, p. 448. L. 4.

Ermini (Filippo). Il centone di Roba e la poesia centonaria latina. Roma, 8°, p. 168. L. 7.

Pullè. Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica. Suppl. al Vol. V. Pisa. L. 5.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Abbott (Frank Frost). *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome. Essays and Sketches.* New York, *Charles Scribner's Sons*, 1909. \$1.25.

— Vulgar Latin in the *Ars Consentii de Barbarismis.* *Classical Philology.* Vol. IV, No. 8. July, 1909.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Texts, Documents and Extracts chiefly from the MSS in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. *Classical Series.* Part XI. *Inventa Italarum.* A Contribution to the Textual Criticism of Cicero. By Albert C. Clark with three facsimiles. Oxford, *At the Clarendon Press*, 1909.

Aristophanes and others. By Herbert Richards. London, *Grant Richards*, 1909. 7s. net.

Bodrero (Emilio). *Eracinto. Testimonianze e frammenti.* Torino, *Bocca*, 1910.

British School at Athens, Annual of the. No. XIV. Session 1907-8. London, *Macmillan & Co., Ltd.* 25s.

Burgundians, The Linguistic and Ethnographic Status of the. *Runic Studies.* By George Hempl. *Stanford University*, 1909.

Caesar. *The Gallic War.* Bks. I-VII. Ed. by A. L. Hodges. New York, *The Macmillan Co.*, 1909. \$1.25 net.

Calvin and the Reformation. Four Studies. By E. Domergue, August Lang, Herman Bavinck, Benjamin B. Warfield. New York, *Flaming H. Revell Co.*, 1909.

Christ (W. v.) *Geschichte der gr. Litteratur.* 5. Aufl. Unter Mitwirkg. v. Otto Stählin, bearb. v. W. Schmid. II. Teil. *Nachklassische Periode d. gr. Litteratur.* 1. Hälfte. München, *C. H. Beck (Oskar Beck)*, 1909.

Clark (A. C.) *Fontes Proseae Numerosae.* Oxonii, *E Typographeo Clarendoniano*, MCMIX. 4s. 6d.

Dihlgo (J. M.) *Roosevelt y la ortografia inglesa.* Habana, 1909.

Drexl (Franz X.) *Achmets Traumbuch. Einleitung u. Probe eines kritischen Textes (Münchener Diss.).* Friesing, 1909.

Duff (J. Wight). *A Literary History of Rome.* New York, *Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons*, 1909. \$4.

Euripides. *The Phoenissae.* Ed. by A. S. Pearson. Cambridge, *At The University Press.* New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1909. 75 cts.

Français Fonétique (Le). *Revue Trimestrielle.* Directeur, Louis Tesson, @ 50 cts. Paris, *Amat*, 1909.

Hadzsits (G. D.) *Significance of Worship and Prayer Among the Epicureans.* (Trans. of Am. Philological Association, Vol. XXXIX, 1909).

Hamilton (George L.) *Theodulus: A Mediaeval Textbook.* Reprinted from *Modern Philology.* Vol. VII, No. 2. October, 1909.

Haupt (Walter C.) *Die Poetische Form von Goethes Faust. E. metrische Untersuchung.* Leipzig, *Rudolf Haupt*, 1909.

Hellenic Herald. Sept., 1909. London, *C. Poupitts.* 10s. per ann.

Henderson (Ernest F.) *A Lady of the Old Régime.* New York, *The Macmillan Co.*, 1909.

Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie. Herausg. v. F. Leo u. Carl Robert. XLIV. Band. 4. Heft. Berlin, *Weidmannsche Buchhandlung*, 1909.

Horace. The Satires. With Introduction and Notes by Edward P. Morris. New York, *American Book Company*, 1909. \$1.

Jackson (Carl Newell). Classical Elements in Browning's Aristophanes' Apology. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XX, 1909.

Jonson (Ben). The English Grammar. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Alice Vinton Wallo. New York, *Sturgis & Walton Co.*, 1909.

Köster (August). Das Pelargikon. Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Akropolis von Athen. Strassburg, *J. H. Ed. Hertz*, 1909. 8 m. 50 pf.

Loiseau (L.) Tacite. Traduction Nouvelle. Mise au courant des travaux récents de la philologie. Préface de L. Hild. Tome II. Dialogue sur les orateurs. Vie d'Agricola. Des Moeurs des Germains. Histoires.

Μελέτη ('H.) Μηνιαῖον δημοσίευμα. Δεύτερος, Σεπτέμβριος. ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1909.

Merrill (E. Truesdell). The City of Servius and the Pomerium. Classical Philology. Vol. IV, No. 4. October, 1909.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte u. deutsche Literatur u. für Pädagogik. Herausg. v. J. Ilberg u. B. Gerth. Zwölfter Jahrg., 1909. XXIII. u. XXIV. Bandes 8. u. 9. Heft. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*.

Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. Nr. 5/6. Helsingfors, 1909.

Nitze (William A.) The Fisher King in the Grail Romances (Reprinted from the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXIX).

Nordionische Stele mit Beiträgen von Paul Jacobsthal. Herausg. v. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Abhandlungen der königl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften vom Jahre, 1909. Mit 2 Tafeln. Berlin, 1909.

Oxford English Dictionary (The). Ed. by Sir James A. H. Murray. PROPHECY-PYXIS. (Vol. VII.) Oxford, *At the Clarendon Press*. New York, *Henry Frowde*, 1909. Treble Part. 7s. 6d. \$1.90.

Plinius. Briefe des jüngeren P. in Auswahl. Für d. Schulgebr. herausg. u. erklärt v. Mauriz Schuster.

1. Teil. Einleitung u. Text. geb. 1 m. 50.

2. Teil. Kommentar. geb. 1 m. 20.

Wien, *F. Tempsky*. Leipzig, *G. Freytag*, 1910.

Pöhlmann (R. v.) Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte. 4. verm. u. verb. Auflage. Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Herausg. v. Iwan v. Müller. III. Band. 4. Abteilung. München, *C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung*, 1909. geb. 5 m. 80.

Rand (E. K.) Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence. (Classical Philology, Vol. IV, No. 4.) October, 1909.

Reiley (Katharine C.) Studies in the Philosophical Terminology of Lucretius and Cicero. (Columbia Un. Diss.) New York, *The Columbia University Press*. London, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1909. \$1.25.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Herausg. v. A. Brinkmann. N. F. LXIV 4. Frankfurt a. M., 1909.

Saint Avit, Le Latin de, évêque de Vienne (450?-526?). Par Henri Goelzer avec la collaboration de Alfred Mey, Université de Paris. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres XXVI. Paris, *Félix Alcan*, 1909. 25 fr.

Schultz (Wolfgang). Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise, gesammelt u. bearbeitet v. W. S. Erster Teil. Die Rätselüberlieferung. Mythologische Bibliothek III 1. Leipzig, *J. C. Hinrichs*, 1909. 6 m.

Seager (Richard B.) Excavations at Mochlos, Crete. Reprinted from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XIII (1909), No. 3.

Seldl (Otto). Der Schwan von der Salzach. Nachahmung u. Motivmischung bei dem Pleier. Dortmund, *Ruhfuss*, 1909.

Shorey (Paul). Aeschylus fr. 207 and the Satyr Chorus. (*Classical Philology*, Vol. IV, No. 4.) October, 1909.

Sidey (Thomas K.) The Participle in Plautus, Petronius, and Apuleius. (Chicago Dr. Diss.) Chicago, *The University of Chicago Press*, 1909. 83 cts.

Spieker (Edward H.) On the Use of the Dactyl after an Initial Trochee in Greek Lyric Verse. (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XXXIX, 1909.)

Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. XV. July, 1909. To the University of Leipzig on the Occasion of the Five Hundredth Anniversary of its Foundation from Yale University and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1909. Published under the auspices of Yale University. For copies (\$3) address J. C. Schwab, New Haven, Conn.

Philological contents:

Clark (Charles H.) Some Itala Fragments in Verona; Cook (Albert S.) Notes on Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity; Hopkins (E. Washburn). Gods and Saints of the Great Brāhmana; Lang (H. R.) Communications from Spanish Cancioneros; Morris (E. P.) An Interpretation of Catullus VIII; Oertel (Hanns). Contributions from the Jāiminiya Brāhmana; Perrin (B.) The Austere Consistency of Pericles, Plut., Pericles IX-XVI; Reed (E. W.) The Poems of Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax; Schevill (Rudolph). Swift's Hoax on Partridge, the Astrologer, and Similar Jests in Fiction; Torrey (Charles C.) Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel; Warren (F. M.) Constantine of Fleury 985-1014 A. D.; Wright (H. B.) Herodotus' Source for the Opening Skirmish at Plataea.

Value of Humanistic, particularly Classical Studies as a Training for Men of Affairs. A Symposium. *School Review*. June, Sept., 1909.

Van Deman (Esther Bolse). The So-called Flavian Rostra. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XIII (1909), No. 2.

Universidad de la Habana. *Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias*. Julio de 1909.

INDEX TO VOL. XXX.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Abbott's Society and Politics in
Ancient Rome, | 451-456 | Ansonius, Codex Veronensis of, | 100 |
| Abicht's Herodotos V u. VI
(rev.), | 87-91 | Auxentius identified, | 99 |
| Achilles Argument, | 468 | Bande, Henri, | 220 |
| Acropolis of Athens, D'Ooge's
(rev.), | 330-337 | Bellum Hispaniense, | 217 |
| Adhémar d'Alès, | 467 | Blon, Later Echoes of, | 274-277 |
| Aera Alexandrina Minor and its
Transformations, | 472 | Bithell's Minnesingers (men-
tioned), | 357 |
| <i>Enum.</i> 238 (emended), | 471 | BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE. Re-
view of Leopold v. Schroe-
der's <i>Mysterium u. Mimus</i>
<i>im Rig-Veda</i> , | 78-83 |
| Aeschylus' Agamemnon and
Shakespeare's Macbeth, | 111 | Blunders, | 230 |
| Date of the Extant <i>Prome-</i>
<i>theus</i> of, | 405-415 | Boethius de consol. phil. 2, 7, | 462 |
| Alcidamas as opponent of
Isocrates, | 103 | Boesch's <i>De Apollonii Rhodii</i>
<i>Elocutione</i> , | 207-210 |
| Alkman, Soma offering in | 188-195 | Book, Form of the ancient,
Influence of, | 98 |
| American Archaeological Expe-
dition to Syria, | 199-207 | Books Received, 116-120; 241-
244; 366-370; 484-6 | |
| Anaxagoras, The <i>ἀσέβεια</i> of, | 460 | Brachylogy, Tacitean, | 310-321 |
| Animal Names and Effigies,
Ancient, | 322-331 | Brief Mention, 104-113; 225-
236; 353-361; 474-480 | |
| Antigone, The libation in the, | 226 | Brutus, Birth year of, | 463 |
| Antisthenes and Lysias, | 462 | Bucolic Poets, Later Echoes of
the Greek, | 245-283 |
| Aphrodite and the Dione Myth, 37-53 | | Bywater's Aristotle's Art of
Poetry (mentioned), | 474 |
| Apollonius Rhodius, Language
of, | 207-210 | Byzantine Chroniclers, Eras in, | 469 |
| Appendix Probi, | 93 | Caesar's Anticato and Cicero's
Cato, | 104 |
| Apuleius, Lexical notes on, | 215 | Caesarum Epitome, Latinity of, | 341 |
| Archimedes of royal stock? | 104 | Calendar, Hindu in Curtius, | 99 |
| A New MS of, | 463 | Canius a Gadibus, | 102 |
| Archiv für lateinische Lexi-
kographie u. Grammatik,
92-98; 214-219; 338-344 | | CAPPS, EDWARD. On the Text
of Menander's <i>Epitrepontes</i>
with Notes on the
Heros, | 21-37 |
| 'Αρείοι or 'Αρείαι, | 465 | Carrhae, Date of Battle of, | 464 |
| Aristophanes: | | Carter's Huelsen's Roman For-
um, | 210-212 |
| <i>Pax</i> 433-440, | 98 | Catullus LXVIII, | 103 |
| <i>Lysistrata</i> 535-38, | 98 | Cauer's <i>Kunst des Uebersetzens</i>
(mentioned), | 474 |
| <i>Ranae</i> , | 102 | Cesareo, Placido, Death of, | 358 |
| <i>ἄγῶν</i> in, | 98 | | |
| <i>βωμολόχος</i> in, | 98 | | |
| Asoka's Fourteen Edicts, 284-
297; 416-429 | | | |
| Attius Labeo identified, | 99 | | |

- Chansons de Gestes and the roads to Italy,** 221
Charity that Begins at Home, 196-198
Chiro's Mulomedicina, 340
CHURCHILL, WILLIAM. Duplication by Dissimilation, 171-182
Cicero, Cato, c. 11
 De Finibus 4, 18, 50, 470
 De Inventione 1, 4, 5, 467
 De Oratore III 4, 461
Ciris, neither by Gallus nor by Vergil, 104
Ciris and Vergil, 99, 459
Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland, 139-153
Cltarchus not a Contemporary of Alexander, 98
Comic Fragment, Greek, 102
 Fragments in Plut. Pericl., c. 8, 466
Corinna, 99
Cornelianus identified, 100
Cornelius Vitalis identified, 99
Correspondence:
 SKRAT, WALTER W., 351-2
Crete, Neolithic Culture in, 101
Cross-Suggestion, 310-321
Curtius, Q., 8, 9, 35 explained, 99
- Dalmeyda's Bacchae of Euripides (mentioned),** 226 foll.
Diodorus and the Excerpta Vaticana, 100
Dlog. La. VI 15, 162
Dione Myth, Aphrodite and the, 37-53
Dissimilation, Duplication by, 171-182
 Consonantal, 346
D'Ooge's Acropolis of Athens (rev.), 330-337
Duenos Inscription 124-138
Duplication by Dissimilation, 171-182
- EASTMAN, C. R.** Recent Literature on Ancient Animal Names and Effigies, 322-330
EBBLING, HERMAN L. Report of Hermes, 459-465
Elizabethan Drama, Schelling's (rev.), 212, 213
Ellis, Robinson, on Latin, 360
Empedocles, Leonard's (mentioned), 474
English Rhythm, Basis of, 83-87
Ennius ap. Non. 147, 468
Epic distraction (ἀπόω), 99
- Euphemism in Latin,** 96
Euripides, Bacchae, ed. Dalmeyda, 226
 Codex B (= Vaticanus 909), 102
Évangile des Femmes, 219
- Faliscan IS.,** 100
FAY, EDWIN W. Synthesis Dolorum Dresselliana, 124-138
FITCH, EDWARD. Review of Boesch, De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione, 207-210
Florus 1, 1, 3, 341
Fortunatus, Text of, 470
FOSTER, B. O. Propertius III 24, 54-60
FRANK, TENNEY. Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland, 139-153
FRASER, J. The Saturnian Metre, 430-446
Fulgentius, the Donatist, 471
- GARNETT, JAMES M.** Review of Schelling's Elizabethan Drama, 212, 213
Gascony and Catalonia, 345
Gaudentius Documents, 468
Gelasius as a Latinist, 214
GILDERSLERVE, BASIL L.:
 Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb, 1-21
 See also *Brief Mention.*
Glossary, A Paris, 461
Grail, Quest of the Holy, 224
Grammar, Osler on, 103
GRAY, LOUIS H. Review of Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon, 456-458
Greek Bucolic Poets, Later Echoes of, 245-283
 Ethnica in, 459-462
 Epic Distraction (ἀπόω), 99
 Law, Compurgation in, 103
 Literature, Recognition Scenes in, 371-404
 Optative in Polybius and Philo, 105
 Perfect, Intensive and Extensive, 473
 Present and Aorist Imperative, 235
 Verb, Syntax of the, 1-21
Greek:
 ἐντυχασία, operation of, 465;
 Zeús Καταβάτης, 101; *ισογραφία*, 462; *-κός* Formations in, 459, 462; *λαόρχης*, 473;

- ψυχρόν and ψυχρότης, 281;
 ὀψύγιος, a reduplication from
 stem of ὑπός, 104
- HADZSITS, GEORGE DEPUK:**
 Aphrodite and the Dione
 Myth, 37-58
- HAMILTON, G. L.** On Ludwig
 Traube's posthumous work, 113
- Hegesippus,** 342
- HEIDEL, W. A.** Charity that
 Begins at Home, 196-198
- Hermes,** Report of, 459-465
- Herodotus II 16,** 104
 Abicht's, 87-91
 Tenses in, 105
- Hexameter and Latin Silver
 Prose,** 96
- Hippocrates, περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώ-
 που,** 461
- Homer, Sigmatalism as shown in,**
 72-77
- Horace, Serm. II 1, 86,** 99
 Notes on, 467
- Hostius Capito, identified,** 99
- HOWES, GEORGE EDWIN.** Re-
 view of Abicht's Herodotus,
 87-91
- Iambic Dipody in English,** 356
- Iceland, Medieval, Classical
 Scholarship in,** 139-152
- Iliad, Topographical Problems
 of,** 460
- Inscription, Duenos,** 124-138
- Inscriptions, Latin, at the Johns
 Hopkins University, 61-71;**
 153-170
- Jebb's Theophrastus (men-
 tioned),** 229
- Jordanes, Latinity of,** 94
- Julius Suavis identified,** 100
- Justinianus, Language of the
 Emperors in Codex J.,** 96
- Juvenal, The new verses,** 95
 11, 177-80, 466
 15, 90 (em.), 104
- KEIDEL, GEORGE C.** Report of
 Romania, 219-224; 344-350
- KELLOGG, GEORGE DWIGHT:**
 Cross-Suggestion: A Form of
 Tacitean Brachylogy, 310-321
- Kontos, Konstantinos, Death
 of,** 480

**Krumbacher on the New Greek
 Thesaurus,**

112

Latin:

Ac before gutturals, 298; ac-
 cipetrina, 217; admittere
 = virum ad se admittere,
 218; agellus, 340; agricola,
 341; albarus, 339; almen=
 alimentum, 195; ampla=
 ansa, 218; amusus, 342;
 animaequitar dare, 338; anx-
 io, 340; *aster, 341; Biduom
 and triduom, 343; Caspe-
 tum, 217; campana = bell,
 97; carrus = Charles' Wain,
 341; cathedra = femina, 219;
 commoram = coram, 339;
 conresco, 216; condec-
 billis, 218; conqexi fr. con-
 quinscere, 218; Dextrator,
 343; diffidens with abl., 299;
 dignus with inf., 299; diplo-
 ma (fem.), 95; dum and
 donec, 97; Em, 95, 97;
 emere = take, 218; epitome,
 338; en (interj.), 340; ex-
 cedere modum, 299; Ferens
 (absol.), 342; funerare, 343;
 Gluma, gluttit, 340; Igitur
 and itaque (position), 299;
 infrugifer, 340; in- priva-
 tivum, 102; ipse etiam, 341;
 Loci, 300; longe, 300; Lu-
 cania, 338; Lucuna, Lucun-
 tulus, 93; lupa and lupanar,
 93; Magnanimus, 214; man-
 iculus, 214; merere ut, 300;
 meridie, 217; metuere (with
 inf.), 300; miscere (con-
 structions of), 300; mora-
 clum, 94; multo tanta plus,
 bis tanta plus, 97; multum
 (w. compar.), 301; Namque,
 302; ne and non, 96; nec=
 ne quidem, 303; necesse est
 ut, 303; necessis, 339; ne-
 cessus, 217; nescire w. inf.,
 308; neve and neu, 303;
 nolout, 304; *Obulcus, 216;
 odi, 216; opter, 339; oric-
 nia, 342; orula, 340; Pacisci
 ut, 304; paricida, 217;
 plenus (constr.), 304;
 plueret (constr.), 304; -por
 not from puer, 218; post-
 quam and posteaquam, 304;
 praedo = hunter, 95; prae-

- terquam and praeterquam
quod, 305; priusquam and
antequam, 305; prohibere
aliquam aliquam re, 306; pro-
mulsis, 97; propitius comp.
propior, 341; proventare,
215; pullus = gallus, 217;
Quamquam w. subj., 306;
quamvis, 308; quasi, 94;
que—que, 306; quin and
non quin, 302; quisquam
(of things), 307; quisque
(pl.), 307; quo (dat.), 466;
quodlibet, 96; quotiens, 94;
Recusare w. inf., 307; refert
and interest, 308; replum-
bare, 99; rutilus, 214; Sala-
mentarius, 340; Salus,
341; sclarela, 470; Septem-
bris, 218; signum, 214;
similitudinarie, 340; si-
multer, 95; sopro, 92;
stolus, 339; studere (const.),
308; suadere w. inf., 308;
Tabulae, 99; tamquam, 94;
tollor = homo, 339; tem-
perare (w. dat.), 308; thyrs-
sa (pl.), tutarchus, 103,
215; turdus = turgidus, 98;
Uber, ubera, 343; ubi pri-
mum, 309; ut qui, 309;
Vas pl. vases, 96; velle ut,
309; velum, 95; veri sim-
ilis, 309; versa vice, 309;
vicatim, 215.
- Analogical formations in -el-
lus, -ella, -ellum, 338
Euphemism in, 96
Inscriptions at the Johns Hop-
kins University, 61-71; 153-170
Perfect in être, 471
Prose, Imitation in, 215
Prosody, 471
Silver Prose, Hexameter and, 96
Syntax, Notes on, 298-309
LEACH, EMORY B. Notes on
Latin Syntax, 298-309
Leonard's Empedocles (men-
tioned), 474
Lex Manciana, 92
Ligurian, Traces of, 349
Loiseau's Tacitus (mentioned) 474
Ludwich's Homerischer Hym-
nenbau, 234
Lycophron's Alexandra, when
composed, 103
Lycurgus, Story of, 461
Lysias, Antisthenes and, 462
- MACRAE, D. A. The Date of
the Extant Prometheus of
Aeschylus, 405-415
Manilius I, 25-29
Margites, Story and Name of, 102
Martial, Lemmata in, 342
Mansehra Redaction of Asoka's
Fourteen-Edicts,
284-297; 416-425
Maurice's Numismatique Con-
stantinienne (mentioned), 360
Mavortius = Quirinus, 100
Mellor et Ydoine, 346
Meltzer on the Greek Perfect
(mentioned), 478
Menander's Epitrepontes and
Heros, 21-37
Περικειρομένη,
Critical Notes on the New
Fragments, 473
Metrical Rhythm, 83-87
MICHELSON, TRUMAN. Linguis-
tic Notes on the Shāhbāz-
garhi and Mansehra redac-
tions of Asoka's Fourteen-
Edicts, 284-297; 416-429
Meaning and Etymology of
Sāmāpam, a Gīrnār word,
183-187
MILLER, C. W. E. Report of
Revue de Philologie, 465-473
Moods of the Greek verb, 1-21
Mosaic reliefs unknown in
Rome, 103
Moschus, Later Echoes of, 277-283
Moulton's Prolegomena to the
Grammar of the New Testa-
ment (mentioned), 106 foll.
Mummius, Titulus, 339
Musical Papyrus of Hibeh, 471
MUSTARD, WILFRED P.:
Later Echoes of the Greek
Bucolic Poets, 245-283
Report of Rheinisches Mu-
seum, 98-104
Mutzbauer's Grundlagen der
griechischen Tempuslehre
(mentioned), 358
Mysterium u. Mimus im Rig-
veda, 78-84
- Nicias in Plutarch, 462
Novatianus, 96
- Optative in Polybius and Philo, 105
Origen and Novatian, 97
Osler on Grammar, 108

- Oxyrhynchos, The O. Hellenica,
not by Theopompus, 102
- PERRIN B. Recognition Scenes
in Greek Literature, 371-404
- Persian Lexicon, Tolman's An-
cient (rev.), 456-458
- Petilianus, 466
- Papyrus Berolin. N. 4, 461
- Photius' Lexicon (emended), 461
- Pindar, I 2, 8; P. 2, 80, 858
Nem. 1. 232
- Plato as opponent of Isokrates, 108
Codex Q, 100
- Plato's Theory of Love and the
respective dates of Phae-
drus and Symposium, 110
- Plautus, Bacch. 68, 469
Captivi, 219
Rudens, 160
Trinummus 1108, 94
- Plessis, La Poésie Latine (rev.),
447-451
- Pliny's Literary Methods,
and Cluvius Rufus, 339
- Plural, Poetical, among the Ro-
mans, 342
- Plutarch:
Eplatie of Lamprias a forgery, 100
Lives, Earliest collection of, 100
Pericles, c. 3, 466
- Polybius, Optative in, 105
- Pomponius, 466
- Porphyrus, the poet, 101
- Prentice's Greek and Latin In-
scriptions, 199-207
- Probi Appendix, 93, 95
- Propertius III 24, 54-60
- Ptolemy, a psychologist, 215
- Raoul de Cambrai, 345
- Recent Publications, 114-116;
237-248; 362-365; 481-3
- Recognition Scenes in Greek
Literature, 371-404
- Rees, Kelley, So-called Rule of
Three Actors in the Classical
Greek Drama (mentioned), 111
- Reik on Optative in Polybius
and Philo, 106
- Renart le Contrefait, 346
- Reports:
Archiv für lateinische Lexi-
kographie u. Grammatik,
92-98; 214-219; 338-344
Hermes, 459-465
Revue de Philologie, 465-473
- Rheinisches Museum für Phil-
ologie (1908), 98-104
Romania, 344-350
- Revue de Philologie, Report
of, 465-473
- Reviews:
Abbott's Society and Politics
in Ancient Rome, 451-456
Ablecht's Herodotos V u. VI, 87-91
Boesch's De Apollonii Rhodii
Elocutione, 207-210
D'Ooge's Acropolis of Athens,
380-387
Huelsen's Roman Forum, tr.
by Carter, 210-212
Omond's Metrical Rhythm, 88-87
Plessis' Poésie Latine, 447-451
Prentice's Greek and Latin
Inscriptions, 198-207
Recent Literature on Ancient
Animal Names and Effigies,
322-331
Schelling's Elizabethan
Drama, 212, 213
v. Schroeder's Mysterium u.
Mimus im Rig-Veda, 78-84
Thomson's Basis of English
Rhythm, 83-87
Rhaetian language, 348
Rheinisches Museum, Report of,
98-104
- Rhopography, Ancient and
Modern, 476
- Rhythm, Basis of English, 83-87
- Rig-Veda, Mysterium u. Mimus
im, 78-84
- Robin's Théorie Platonicienne
de l'Amour (mentioned), 110
- ROBINSON, DAVID M.:
Review of Prentice's Greek
and Latin Inscriptions, 199-207
Review of D'Ooge's Acropolis
of Athens, 381-387
- ROLFE, JOHN C.:
Report of Archiv für latein-
ische Lexikographie u.
Grammatik, 92-98; 214-
219; 338-344
- Roman Comedy, Costume in, 478
Forum, Huelsen's (rev.), 210-212
- Romania, 219-224; 344-350
- Romans, Poetical plural among
the, 342
- RUDMOSE-BROWN, T. B.:
Review of Omond's Metrical
Rhythm: Thomson's Basis
of English Rhythm, 83-87
- Rufus Verginius identified, 99

- Rutherford's Scholia Aristophanica (mentioned), 332, 359
- Sāmpaṁ, Gīrnār word, Meaning of, 183-187
- Samoan, Duplication by dissimilation in, 171-182
- Sardinian, Ego in, 223
- Saturnian Metre, 430-446
- Saturnians of Tuditanus (C. Sempronius), 102
- Saunders, Costume in Roman Comedy (mentioned), 478
- Schelling's Elizabethan Drama (rev.), 212-213
- Schema Pindaricum, 228
- Schlachter on Tenses in Herodotus, 104
- in Thucydides, 478
- Schlutter, Skeat on, 351, 352
- v. Schroeder's *Mysterium u. Mimus im Rig-Veda* (rev.), 78-84
- SCOTT, JOHN A. Sigmatism as shown in Homer, 72-77
- Seneca, Epitaph of, a Christian poem, 102
- Tragicus, Interpolated Texts of, 460
- Shāhbāzgarī Redaction of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts, 284-297
- Shakespeare's Macbeth, Aischylos' Agamemnon and, 111
- Sickle episode in Tristan, 220
- Sigmatism as shown in Homer, 72-77
- SKEAT, WALTER W.:
Correspondence, 351-352
- SMITH, KIRBY F. Review of Plessis' *Poésie latine*, 447-451
- Snakeskins drawn over a stick, 104
- Soma Offering in Alkman, 188-195
- Sophocles, Al. 186, 228
- Stahl's Syntax of the Greek verb, 1-21
- Statius, *Silvae*, Title of, 103
- Juvenal and, 466
- Suidas s. v. *Χλωιδης* (discussed), 465
- Sword as symbol and guardian of chastity, 220
- Synthesis Dollorum Dressellana, 124-138
- Syntax of the Greek verb, 1-21
- Syria, American Archaeological Expedition to, 199-207
- Tabula Bantina, 101
- Tacitean Brachylogy, 310-321
- Tacitus:
Ann. 6, 9, 342
- Hist. 1, 81, 95
- Terence, *Adelphi* 83 (em.), 97
- Phormio 352, 219
- Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, xlv 4, 469
- Theocritus, Later Echoes of, 245-274
- Thomson's Basis of English Rhythm (rev.), 83-87
- Three, The number, 234
- Thucydides, Methana in, 99
- Tenses in, 478
- Tibullus I 6, 56; II 2, 7; 3, 4; 3, 71, 104
- Tironian notes, 214
- Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon (rev.), 455-458
- Trambe's *Zur Paläographie u. Handschriftenkunde* (mentioned), 113
- Translation, 353 foll.
- Translations and Translations, 474
- Tristan, Sickle episode in, 220
- Tutillius differentiated, 100
- Valerius Flaccus, MSS of, 99
- Velleius Paterculus II, lxxxviii, 469
- Varro de L. l. vii 81, 461
- Verb, Greek, Syntax of the, 1-21
- Vergil, Aen. 1, 589, *similis* = *assimilatus*, 342
- and Ciris, 99, 459
- his Hell, 103
- Vie de S. Eustache, 219
- Vitruvius, Date of his treatise, 467
- WILSON, HARRY LANGFORD:
Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University, 61-71; 158-170
- Abbott's Society and Politics in Ancient Rome, 451-456
- Carter's Huelsen's Roman Forum, 210-212
- Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne* (mentioned), 360
- WILSON, WINIFRED WARREN:
The Soma Offering in a Fragment of Alkman, 188-195
- Zeugma, 94

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLS. XXI-XXX.

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>ABBOTT, FRANK F. Review of Clark's <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia</i>, xxvii 214-5</p> <p>ALLEN, KATHARINE. The Date of Cicero's <i>Cato Maior de Senectute</i>, xxviii 297-300</p> <p>ALLINSON, FRANCIS G. Review of Fowler's <i>Lucian</i>, xxvii 455-8</p> <p>AUSTIN, F. M. <i>Cacophony in Juvenal, Horace and Persius</i>, xxiv 452-5</p> <p>BASORE, JOHN W. Review of Van Wageningen's <i>Album Terentianum and Scaenica Romana</i>, xxix 228-7</p> <p>BATES, WILLIAM N. Review of von Mach's <i>Greek Sculpture</i>, xxv 208-9</p> <p>BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE. Corrections and Conjectural Emendations of Vedic Texts, xxvii 401-17</p> <p>Etymology of <i>πρτοβυς</i>, xxix 78-81</p> <p>Obituary of Alfred William Stratton, xxiii 351-8</p> <p>On some Alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Characters, xxv 1-14</p> <p>On the Wedding Stanza, <i>Rig-Veda</i>, x. 40. 10, xxi 411-9</p> <p>Reviews: Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, xxi 823-7</p> <p>Schroeder, <i>Mysterium und Mimus im Rig-Veda</i>, xxx 78-83</p> <p>BODDICK, WILLIS H., on Fuchs, xxv 109</p> <p>BOLLING, GEORGE MELVILLE. Beginning of the Greek Day, xxiii 428-435</p> <p>Contributions to the Study of Homeric Metre, xxviii 401-410</p> <p>An Epic Fragment from Oxyrhynchus, xxli 63-69</p> <p>Etymologies: <i>Ὀδυσσεύς</i>, xxvii 65-7</p> <p><i>σθένορ</i>, xxi 315-6</p> <p><i>καίροι</i> with the Participle, xxiii 319-21</p> | <p>BONNER, CAMPBELL. Note on Aristophanes, <i>Acharnians</i> 947, xxi 433-7</p> <p>BRIGHT, JAMES W. Review of Bond's <i>Complete Works of John Lyly</i>, xxv 201-206</p> <p>BROWN, T. B. RUDMOSE. Review of Thomson, <i>The Basis of English Rhythm</i>; Thomson, <i>The Role of Number in the Rhythm of Ancient and Modern Languages</i>; Omond, <i>Metrical Rhythm</i>, xxx 83-7</p> <p>BROWNE, WILLIAM HAND. Notice of Gregory Smith's <i>Specimens of Middle Scots</i>, xxiii 472-3</p> <p>BUCK, CARL D. The Source of the So-called Achæan-Doric <i>κονή</i>, xxi 193-6</p> <p>Review of Brugmann's <i>Griechische Grammatik</i>, xxi 317-23</p> <p>CAPPS, EDWARD. Chronological Studies in the Greek Tragic and Comic Poets, xxi 88-61</p> <p>Epigraphical Problems in the History of Attic Comedy, xxviii 179-99</p> <p>On the Text of Menander's <i>Epilepentes</i>, xxx 22-37</p> <p>The Plot of Menander's <i>Epilepentes</i>, xxix 410-31</p> <p>Review of Wilhelm u. Kalbel, <i>Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen</i>, xxviii 82-90</p> <p><i>ὑποκριτής</i> and <i>τραγῳδός</i> in Schol. Dem. De Pace 6, xxix 206-11</p> <p>CARTER, JESSE BENEDICT. Review of Huelsen's <i>Jordan's Topographie von der Stadt Rom im Alterthum</i>, xxviii 324-9</p> <p>CHASE, FRANK A. Review of Fessels' <i>Present and Past</i></p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon, and Callaway's Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, xxiii 322-31
- CHURCHILL, WILLIAM. Duplication by Dissimilation, xxx 171-82
- Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Value, xxix 83-84
- Obituary of Hiram Bingham, xxix 505
- Root Reducibility in Polynesian, xxvii 369-400
- CLEMENT, WILLARD K. Elmer's Treatment of the Prohibitive—A Rejoinder, xxii 87-96
- Prohibitives in Silver Latin, xxi 154-69
- COMPARETTE, T. LOUIS. The Reorganization of the Municipal Administration under the Antonines, xxvii 166-83
- COOK, ALBERT S. Boccaccio and Seneca, xxviii 200-4
- COOPER, LANE. Review of Cook's Higher Study of English, xxviii 217-20
- COWELL, GEORGE. Correspondence, xxiv 288
- DODGE, LOUISE. Cicero ad Atticum, xxii 489-41
- DODGSON, EDWARD SPENCER. Pierre D'Urte and the Bask Language, xxiii 151-84, 443-5
- EARLE, MORTIMER LAMSON. De Thucydide I 1-23, xxvi 441-54
- EASTMAN, C. R. Recent Literature on Ancient Animal Names and Epigrams, xxx 322-31
- EBELING, HERMAN L. Report of Hermes, xxiii 332-9; xxiv 344-8, 471-5; xxv 219-24, 468-73; xxvi 225-30, 474-80; xxvii 342-7; xxviii 95-9, 467-73; xxix 487-92.
- ELLIS, ROBINSON. Culex 867-8 and Ciris 66, xxvi 437-40
- New Conjectures on Parthenius' *Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*, xxiii 204-6
- Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's Comedies of Menander, xxix 179-85
- Notes on the newly Discovered Elegy of Posidippus, xxi 76-7
- ELMER, H. C. Reviews: Bennett, Critique of Some Recent Subjunctive Theories, xxi 80-91
- Clement, Prohibitives in Silver Latin, xxii 80-7
- FAIRBANKS, ARTHUR. The Chthonic Gods of Greek Religion, xxi 241-59
- FAY, EDWIN W. Etymologies, xxviii 488
- Greek and Latin Etymologies, xxvii 306-317
- Latin Etymologies, xxiv 62-74
- Studies in Etymology, xxv 163-183
- Etymology and Slang, xxi 197-9
- 'Εξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, xxix 201-5
- Further Notes on the Mostellaria of Plautus, xxiv 245-377
- The Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs, xxv 369-89; xxvi 172-203, 377-408.
- On Sundry Confines, xxviii 411-8
- Reviews: Denison, Nautl, xxix 484-6
- Lidén, Studien zur altindischen u. vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte, xxi 112
- Lodge, Lexicon Plantinum, xxiii 211-5
- Synthesis Dollolorum Dresselliana, xxx 121-38
- FITCH, EDWARD. Reviews: Boesch, De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione, xxx 207-10
- Seaton's Apollonius Rhodius, xxii 326-31
- Sidgwick's Eumenides of Aeschylus, xxiv 200-3
- v. Willamowitz-Moellendorf's Bucolici Graeci, and his Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker, xxvii 336-41
- FLICKINGER, ROY C. The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence, xxix 308-15
- FLOR, GEORGE T. Correspondence, xxix 248-9
- Review of Hægstad's Hildin-akvadet, xxiv 465-8

- FOSTER, B. O. *Propertius III*
24, xxx 54-60
Review of Butler's *Propertius*,
xxvi 467-73
- FOWLER, FRANK H. *On Greek*
and Latin Negatives, xxi 443-5
- FRANCE (WRIGHT), WILMER
CAVE. Review of W. Koch's
Kaiser Julian der Abtrün-
nige, xxi 456-9
- FRANK, TENNEY. *Classical*
Scholarship in Medieval
Iceland, xxx 189-52
The Influence of the Infini-
tive upon Verbs Subordi-
nated to it, xxv 428-46
Latins. Germanic Modal Con-
ceptions, xxviii 273-86
The Use of the Optative in
the Edda, xxvii 1-32
- FRASER, J. *The Saturnian*
Metre, xxx 480-446
- FRAZER, PERSIFOR. *Felspar*
> *Feldspar*, xxix 82-3
- GARNETT, JAMES M. *Reviews:*
Bradley, The Making of Eng-
lish, xxv 211-2
Bright's Gospel of St. John
in West-Saxon, xxix 842-4
Huyse's Beowulf, xxix 844-6
Murray, New English Dic-
tionary, xxiv 85-9; xxv
463-7; xxviii 456-60.
Schelling, Elizabethan Drama,
xxx 212-3
Sedgefield's King Alfred's
Boethius, xxii 215-6
Stevenson's Asser's Life of
King Alfred, xxv 209-11
Thorndyke, Tragedy, xxix 846-7
Toller, Outlines of the His-
tory of the English Lan-
guage, xxii 214-5
Wright's Westcott's History
of the English Bible,
xxvii 451-4
- GERIG, JOHN L. *Review of*
D'Arbois de Jubainville's,
Faraday's, and Windisch's
Translations of the Cattle-
Raid of Cooley, xxix 847-852
- GILDERSLEEVE, BASIL L.: *Eu-*
polis ap. Poll. 10, 186,
xxix 112
Notes on the Evolution of
Oratio Obliqua, xxvii 200-208
- Obituary Notices: Richard*
Claverhouse Jebb, xxvi 491
T. R. Price, xxiv 239
Problems in Greek Syntax,
xxiii 1-27, 121-141, 241-260
Report of Rheinisches Mu-
seum, xxi 99-103; xxiv 349-52
Reviews: Abbott, Johannine
Grammar, xxvii 825-35
Bréal, Pour mieux connaître
Homère, xxviii 208-17
Cesareo, I. due Simposi,
xxiii 446-57
Stahl, Syntax of the Greek
Verb, xxix 257-79, 389-
409; xxx 1-21.
Temporal Sentences of Limit
in Greek, xxiv 388-407
Timotheos, The Persians of,
xxiv 221-30
The Vocative in Apollonius
Rhodius, xxiv 197-8
Brief Mention: Accusative,
Syntax of the, xxii 108
Allen's Iterative Optative,
xxiv 366
Archiv für Stenographie,
xxiii 110
Bardsley's Dictionary of
English and Welsh Sur-
names, xxii 471
Bayfield's Sophokles' Elek-
tra, xxii 350
Bevan's Prometheus Bound,
xxiii 467
Bismarck's Letters and
Speeches, xxvii 110
Bithell's Minnesingers, xxx 857
Brackett's Temporal Sen-
tences in Herodotus, xxvi 489
Bréal's Sémantique, xxi 476
Un problème de l'histoire
littéraire, xxiv 353
Brugmann's Kurze ver-
gleichende Grammatik,
xxiii 109
Bruns on Dionysios, xxv 356
Buecheler, Franz, Death of,
xxix 247
Butcher's Harvard Lectures
on Greek Subjects, xxv 483
Bywater's Aristotle's Art
of Poetry, xxx 474
Cauer's Kunst des Ueber-
setzens, xxx 474
Cesareo, Placido, Death of,
xxx 358

- Champault, Phéniciens et
 Grèce en Italie d'après
 l'Odyssée, xxvii 360
 Chicco's Congiunzione
 Cum, xxvi 486
 Ciaceri's Lycophron, xxii 344
 Concrete Style, Defence of,
 xxix 239
 Conjectural Emendation,
 xviii 347
 Conybeare and Stork's Selec-
 tions from the Septua-
 gint, xxvii 104
 Cornford's Thucydides
 Mythistoricus, xxviii 356
 Croiset, M. Aristophane et
 les parties à Athènes, xxvii 355
 Dalmeida's Bacchae of Eu-
 ripides, xxx 226
 De la Grasserie, De la caté-
 gorie du genre, xxvii 360
 On Pronouns, xxviii 230
 Demosthenes, his Style,
 xxvii 232, 233
 Demoulin's Epiménide de
 Crète, xxii 346
 Dictionnaire général de la
 langue française, xxi 353
 Diels' Herakleitos von
 Ephesos, xxiii 345
 Diels and Schubart's Didy-
 mos Chalkenteros, xxv 478
 Dittmar's Studien zur latein-
 ischen Moduslehre, xxiii 231
 Doctoral Dissertations, xxix 113
 Drerup's Isokrates, xxviii 112
 On Goodwin, xxiii 109
 Earle's Oedipus Tyrannus,
 xxii 227
 Medea, xxvi 111
 Ellis, Robinson. Corres-
 pondence of Fronto and
 Marcus Aurelius, xxv 358
 Engelmann's Tragischer
 Atlas, xxi 234
 Fuchs on Temporal Sen-
 tences of Limit, xxv 109, 231
 Gaidos on the apple, xxii 470
 Gaspar's Essai de chron-
 ologie pindarique, xxi 470
 Gegenstandlos, xxx 111
 Gloth and Kellogg's Index
 in Xenophontis Memo-
 rabilia, xxi 354
 Goethe's Poems, xxiii 110
 Gomperz, Ueber die Com-
 position der <platon-
 ischen> Gesetze, xxiii 471
 Goodwin, Demosthenes de Co-
 rona, xxii 223
 Midiana, xxvii 232
 Grammatical Gender, xxv 103
 Greek: ἀγῆ, xxviii 109;
 αἰγιόψ, xx 111-112; ἀτῆ,
 xxviii 111; δημιουργός, xxi
 235; διά, xxiv 104; xxvii
 231; ἔξω and σχῆμα, xxii
 238; ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός, xxi
 353; καθάπερ and ὥσπερ, xxii
 349; λόγοι, xxvii 480; μετά
 and σύν, xxi 232; οἱ dat.,
 xxviii 237; ὀφθαλμός and
 ὄμμα, xxi 475; οὐτός and
 ὅδε, xxviii 235; xxix 375;
 οὐχ ὅπως, xxii 248; πρην,
 xxi 231; xxvii 235; xxx
 228; ψυχρόν, xxx 231, 359;
 ὥστε, xxi 111.
 Greek Article, xxi 352
 Fut. Part., xxviii 111, 353
 Genitive (εἰς διδασκάλου), xxii 108
 ignored, xxvii 235
 Imperatives, xxiv 481; xxx 235
 Perfect, xxx 478
 Opt. w. ἄν, xxviii 484
 Periphrasis in, xxi 353
 Reflexive Pronouns, xxviii 236
 Sphere of Metaphor, xxx 231
 Tenses in, xxvi 112
 Grieb's German-English, Eng-
 lish-German Dictionary,
 xxiii 467
 Griffin's Dares and Diety,
 xxviii 487
 Hale's Experiment, xxvii 103
 Harder's Schulwörterbuch
 zu Homer, xxiii 112
 Harvard Studies in Classical
 Philology, xxi 475
 Hatzidakis, Die Sprachfrage
 in Griechenland, xxvii 236
 Headlam's Interpretations of
 Pindar and Aeschylus,
 xxviii 106
 Hefelbower's Croiset, xxvii 115
 Helbig's Ἰκτεῖς Athénienes,
 xxiv 483
 Hiller v. Gärtringen, Ausgra-
 bungen in Griechenland, xxii 223
 Hirschel, Der Eld, xxiv 490
 Hoeft Prize for Latin Verse
 Composition, xxii 111
 Hübner, Emil, Death of, xxii 113
 Hyalop's Andromache, xxi 232
 Il. 19, 92 (text), xxiii 232

Imelmann's *Donec gratus*
eram tibi, xxi 108
 Interpretations and Authors, xxx 225
 Italian Editions of Greek
 Classics, xxiv 108
 Jäger's Homer u. Horaz im
 Gymnasialunterricht, xxix 118
 Janell's *Quaestiones Platon-*
icae, xxii 348
 Jebb's *Bacchylides*, xxvii 478
 Death, xxvi 491
 Essays and Addresses, xxviii 479
 Theophrastus, xxx 239
 Justin Martyr and St. Paul, xxix 241
 Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épi-*
daure, xxi 107
 Kenyon's Papyri with regard
 to Textual Criticism, xxvi 114
 Kirchhoff, Death of, xxix 499
 Kontos, Death of, xxx 480
 Kriekers on the Greek Imper-
 ative, xxx 284
 Kromayer's *Antike Schlacht-*
felder, xxiv 359
 Krumbacher on the New The-
 saurus, xxx 112
 Kultur der Gegenwart, xxvii 110
 La Roche, Beiträge zur griech-
 ischen Grammatik, xxv 109
 Latin and Greek Subjunctive, xxv 481
 Latin as a vehicle, xxx 350
 Latin Inf. as a Noun, xxvi 118
 Latin Pronunciation, xxiii 470
 Legrand's *Étude sur Théocrite*, xxi 350
 Leo, on the Originality of
 Latin Literature, xxv 480
 Leonard's *Empedocles*, xxx 474
 Lentner on *ὄρος, ὄδε, ἐκείνο*, xxix 375
 Linguistic Studies and the In-
 terpretation of Literature, xxv 232
 Ludwig's *Homerischer*
Hymnenbau, xxx 234
 Macé, on Latin Pronuncia-
 tion, xxvii 107
 Mahaffy's Progress of Hellen-
 ism in Alexander's Empire, xxvi 490
 Marchant's First Book of
 Thucydides, xxvi 488
 Marx on Metre, xxix 368, 502
 Mazon's *L'Orestie d'Eschyle*, xxiii 470

Meisterhans, Grammatik der
 attischen Inschriften, xxi 473
 Merrill's Latin Hymns, xxv 484
 Merry's Peace, xxi 329
 Meyer on Neologisms in Ger-
 man, xxii 232
 Monro's *Odyssey*, xxiii 234
 Death, xxviii 478
 Moulton's Prolegomena to the
 Grammar of the New Testa-
 ment, xxx 106
 Murray's *Euripides*, xxiii 110
 Rise of the Greek Epic, xxix 117
 Mutschbauer's Grundlagen der
 griechischen Tempuslehre, xxx 358
 Nairn's *Herodas*, xxv 237
 Navarre's *Essai sur la rhétor-*
ique grecque, xxi 472
 Nestle, *Euripides der Dichter*
der griechischen Aufklärung, xxiii 111
 New Testament Greek, xxx 280
 Nilsson's *Causalsätze im*
Griechischen, xxviii 354
 Osgood's *Classical Mythology*
of Milton's English Poems, xxi 234-5
 Osler on Grammar, xxx 108
 Osthoff, *Suppletivwesen der*
indogermanischen Sprachen, xxi 474
 Ouvre, *Les formes littéraires*
de la pensée grecque, xxv 233
 Oxford Scriptorum Classi-
 corum Bibliotheca, xxiii 110
 Oxyrhynchus Papyri, xxii 118
 Pailis' Version of the *Iliad*, xxi 233
 Papyrus, Th. Reinach, xxvii 106
 Pascal's *Graecia Capta*, xxvi 487
 Pindar's First Nemean, xxx 232
 O. 4, 18, xxix 503
 Paean, xxix 119, xxx 112
 P. 5, 17, xxi 475
 Style, xxvi 114, 360
 Plato, *Phaedrus 267 A*, xxvi 361
 Potential, xxiii 107
 Preuss's *Index Isocrateus*, xxvi 237
 Profumo on the Neronian
 Conflagration, xxvi 486
 Quatrains of Hall, xxv 359
 Ramorino's *Persius*, xxvii 103
 Rees, The So-called Rule of
 Three Actors in the Classi-
 cal Greek Drama, xxx 111
 Reiter's *Euripides auf Tauris*, xxi 112

- Reik's Optativ bei Polybios
u. Philo, xxx 105
- Reitzenstein's Hellenistische
Wundererzählungen, xxviii 238
- Renan on Style, xxvi 361
- Retrospect, xxiv 486
- Rhopography, Ancient and
Modern, xxx 476
- Richards' Notes on Xenophon
and others, xxviii 485
- Robert's Studien sur Illas,
xxii 467
- Roberts's Demetrius on Style,
xxiv 101
- Robin's Théorie platonicienne
de l'Amour, xxx 110
- Rosenberg's Westermann's
Demosthenes, xxv 225
- Rutherford's Scholia Aristo-
phanica, xxx 359
- Sampson's Deer's Bill of Fare,
xxviii 238
- Sandys' Demosthenic Series,
xxi 118
- History of Classical Scholar-
ship, xxix 499
- Jebb's Theophrastus, xxx 229
- Schlachter's Tempora und
Modi bei einzelnen griech-
ischen Schriftstellern,
xxix 243; xxx 105, 478
- Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexi-
con, xxiii 467
- Schwartz on Pindar, xxvii 483
- Seymour's First Twenty Years
of the American School of
Classical Studies at Athens,
xxiv 109
- Life in the Homeric Age,
xxix 118
- Death, xxix 123
- Sharpley's Aristophanes'
Peace, xxvii 229, 486
- Mimes of Herodas, xxvii 229
- Sheldon and White, Concord-
ance to the prose works and
canzoniere of Dante, xxvi 486
- Smith's Der vorchristliche
Jesus, xxix 440
- Smith's Studies in English
Syntax, xxvii 358
- Solar Myth, xxix 117
- Stolz's Ralling Accusation, xxii 350
- Summer standstill of the
American Scholar, xxvi 358
- Syntax a procession, xxvi 242
- Taccone's Antologia della
melica greca, xxv 353
- Bacchillide, xxvii 481
- Tebtunis Papyri, xxiv 109
- Thompson's Meno of Plato,
xxii 111
- Thukydides, Editions of, xxvi 483
- Timotheos, The Persians of,
xxiv 232
- Tolman's Art of Translating,
xxii 105
- Translations, xxx 353
- Usener, Death of, xxvii 102
- Vahlen, Festschrift, xxii 229
- Vahlen's Ennius, xxiv 483
- Opuscula Academica, xxviii,
232; xxix 500.
- Van Leeuwen's Aristophanes,
Pax, xxvii 486
- Van Wijk on the Greek
Genitive, xxiii 235
- Vessereau's Rutillius Nama-
tlanus, xxvi 488
- Walker's Sequence of Tenses,
xxi 109
- Well's Études sur l'antiquité
grecque, xxi 233
- Wheeler on Grammar, xxv 355
- Whitney and the Printer, xxiii 234
- Wilamowitz's Griechische Lit-
eratur, xxvii 357
- Perser des Timotheos, xxiv 110
- Reden u. Vorträge, xxii 231
- Wilhelm on *eros* and *ἐκπαιδεία*,
xxi 353
- Wilson's Memoir of D. B.
Monro, xxviii 476
- Wright's English Dialect
Grammar, xxvi 487
- Wright, John Henry, Death
of, xxix 498
- Wunderer's Polybios-For-
schungen, xxiii 349
- Zeitart and Zeitstufe, xxiii 106
- Zucker on the Xenophontean
Use of the Article with
Names of Persona, xxiv 483
- GOODSPEED, EDGAR J. Greek
Ostraca in America, xxv 45-58
- A Martyrological Fragment
from Jerusalem, xxiii 68-74
- A Medical Papyrus Fragment,
xxiv 327-9
- A Papyrus Fragment of Iliad
E, xxi 310-4
- GRAY, LOUIS H. and SCHUYLER,
MONTGOMERY. Indian
Glosses in the Lexicon of
Hesychios, xxii 195-203

- Indo-Iranian Studies, xxi 1-22
 Review of Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon, xxx 457-8
 GRIFFIN, NATHANIEL E. The Greek Dictys, xxix 329-35
 GRUENER, GUSTAV. Report of Journal of Germanic Philology, xxi 334-43; xxii 456-61
 GUDEMAN, ALFRED. Review of Bornecque's S  n  que le Rh  teur, xxiv 337-40
- HADZSITS, GEORGE DEPU  . Aphrodite and the Dione Myth, xxx 38-53
 HAMILTON, GEORGE L. Reviews: Althoff's Waltharii Po  sis, xxvii 459-60
 Brandon, Robert Estienne et le Dictionnaire Fran  ais au XVI   Si  cle, xxvi 863-4
 Chamard's du Bellay, xxvi 119
 Grandgent, Introduction to Vulgar Latin, xxviii 358
 Phonology and Morphology of Old Proven  al, xxvi 364-5
 Kastner, History of French Versification, xxv 206-8
 Macaulay's Gower, xxiv 204-7
 Rand's Johannes Scottus, xxviii 241
 Sandys, Classical Scholarship, xxv 447-53
 Schofield, English Literature, xxviii 460-6
 Traube, Zur Pal  ographie u. Handschriftenkunde, xxx 113
 HATFIELD, JAMES TAFT. Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm M  ller, xxiv 121-48
 HAUPT, PAUL. Ecclesiastes, xxvi 125-71
 Some Germanic Etymologies, xxvii 154-65
 HEIDEL, W. A. Charity that Begins at Home, xxx 196-8
 Epicurea, xxiii 185-194
 Notes on Philolaus, xxviii 77-81
 Reviews: Diels' Vorsokratiker, xxiv 456-65
 Hirzel, Themis u. Dike, xxix 213-23
 Pascal, Morte e Resurrezione in Lucrezio, xxvi 362-3
 Studi Critici sul Poema di Lucrezio, xxiv 332-5
- H  MPL, GEORGE. Etymologies, xxii 426-31
 The Vowel-Sounds in 'are,' 'father,' 'rather,' '(n)either,' 'key,' xxi 488-42
 HENDRICKSON, GEORGE L. Accental Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries A. D., xxix 280-302
 Cicero's Judgment of Lucretius, xxii 438-9
 Horace, Serm. I 4: a Protest and a Programme, xxi 121-42
 The Literary Form of Horace, Serm. I 6, xxiii 388-99
 Literary Sources in Cicero's Brutus and the Technique of Citation in Dialogue, xxvii 184-99
 The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style, xxvi 249-90
 The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters, xxv 125-46
 HOBING, CHARLES. Vic   Pota, xxiv 323-6
 HOPKINS, E. WASHBURN. Limitation of Time by Means of Cases in Epic Sanskrit, xxiv 1-24
 The Ocean in Sanskrit Epic Poetry, xxi 878-86
 HOWES, GEORGE EDWIN. Review of Abicht's Herodotos, Buch V u. VI, xxx 87-91
 HUMPHREYS, MILTON W. Report of Revue de Philologie, xxi 217-23; xxii 337-43; xxiii 224-30; xxiv 212-5, 841-4; xxv 342-50; xxvi, 100-7; xxvii 97-101, 225-7.
 Review of Kobert, Welche dem Menschen gef  hrlichen Spinnen kannten die Alten? xxii 471-2
- JANNARIS, A. N. Plato's Testimony to Quantity and Accent, xxiii 75-83
 JOHNSON, C. W. L. Review of Weil et Reinach, Plutarque, De la Musique, xxi 331-3
 JOHNSTON, CHRISTOPHER. Reviews: Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Konyun-

- jik Collections of the
British Museum, xxii 442-3
Littmann's *Safâ-Inschriften*,
xxiii 215-6
Maclean, Dictionary of Ver-
nacular Syriac, xxiii 112-3
Noeldke, *Kurzgefasste*
Grammatik der syrischen
Sprache, xxvi 243
- KEIDEL, GEORGE C. *An Aesopic*
Fable in Old French Prose,
xxii 78-9
The Editio Princeps of the
Greek Aesop, xxiv 304-317
Notice of Marchiand's L'Orig-
ine della Favola Graeca e i
suoi Rapporti con le Favole
Orientali, xxi 476
Report of Romania, xxii, 101-
4, 217-20; xxiii 219-22,
458-63; xxvi 107-10, 480-5;
xxviii 227-31, 346-50; xxix
233-8; xxx 219-24, 344-50.
- KELLOGG, GEORGE DWIGHT.
Cross-Suggestion: a Form
of Tacitean Brachylogy,
xxx 310-21
Report of Philologus, xxi
844-9, 463-7; xxiii 94-100,
339-44; xxiv 90-6, 216-31;
xxv 92-6; xxvi 250-6, 247-
53; xxvii 347-53; xxviii
341-6; xxix 492-7.
Study of a Proverb Attrib-
uted to the Rhetor Apollo-
nus, xxviii 301-310
- KERLIN, ROBERT T. *Virgil's*
Fourth Eclogue, xxix 449-60
- KIRK, WILLIAM H. *De quoque*
Adverbio, xxi 303-9
Necdum, xxiv 484-5
Notes on the First Book of
the Aeneid, xxv 274-84
Studies in the First Book of
the Aeneid, xxviii 311-23
- KNAPP, CHARLES. *Cicero de*
Officiis I, §§ 7, 8, xxviii 56-65
Correspondence, xxvi 368-9
Reviews: Cichorius, Unter-
suchungen zu Lucilius,
xxix 467-82
Dongan, Disputationes Tus-
culanae, xxvii 111-2
Huelsen, Forum Romanum,
xxvi 217-21
Marx' Lucilius, xxix 467-82
Norden's Aeneis VI, xxvii 70-83
- Plattner, *Topography and*
Monuments of Rome,
xxvi 213-7
- KURBELMEYER, W. *Manuscript*
Copies of Printed German
Bibles, xxii 70-8
The Wenzelbibel, xxi 62-75
- LAING, GORDON J. *Reviews:*
Allen, Treatment of Nature
in the Poetry of the Roman
Republic, xxi 91-3
Heinze, Virgils Epische Tech-
nik, xxvi 330-42
Pais, Ancient Legends of Ro-
man History, xxviii 209-14
- LAIRD, A. G. *ὧς ἔκαστος in Thu-*
cydides, xxvii 33-45
- LANGDON, STEPHEN. *History*
of the Use of εἰς for ἐν in
Relative Clauses, xxiv 447-51
- LEACH, ABBY. *Athenian De-*
mocracy in the Light of
Greek Literature, xxi 361-77
- LEASE, EMORY B. *Livy's use of*
-arunt, -erunt, and -ere,
xxiv 408-422
Notes on Latin Syntax,
xxx 298-309
Notes on the Schmalz-Krebs
Antibarbarus, xxviii 34-55
Reviews: Osiander, Hannibals-
weg, xxii 453-5
Schmalz, Lateinische Syntax
und Stilistik, xxi 448-56
- LEUTNER, W. G. *On οὐτος and*
ὅδε, xxix 373
- LINDSAY, W. M. *The Leyden*
MSS of Nonius Marcellus,
xxii 29-38
The Two Recensions of Plau-
tus, A and PA, xxi 23-37
- LINFORTH, IVAN MORTIMER.
Notes on the Pseudo-Ver-
gillian Ciris, xxvii 438-46
- L(ODGE), G(ONZALEZ). *Mention*
of Radford's Plautine Syn-
thesis, xxviii 115-6
- MACRAE, D. A. *The Date of*
the Extant Prometheus of
Aeschylus, xxx 405-416
- MAGOUN, H. W. *Apām Napāt*
Again, xxi 274-86
- MERCHANT, FRANK IVAN. *The*
Parentage of Juvenal,
xxii 51-63

- Seneca the Philosopher and his Theory of Style, xxi 44-59
- MERRILL, ELMER TRUESDELL. On the Date of Pliny's Prefecture of the Treasury of Saturn, xxiii 400-412
- MERRILL, WILLIAM A. Brief Mention of Housman's Manilius, xxvii 487
- Lucretius 5, 1006, xxviii 66-76
- Some Lucretian Emendations, xxi 188-7
- MICHELSON, TRUMAN. Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka's Fourteen-Edicts, xxx 284-97, 416-429
- The Meaning and Etymology of the Gīrnār Word Sāmīpam, xxx 183-7
- Note on the Achaemenian Inscription, Bh. I, §18, xxii 817-18
- Review of Bennett's Latin Language, xxix 84-93
- MILLER, C. W. E. Historical Tenses in Greek, xxix 245-6
- Metres of Tebtunis Papyri, xxiv 286-8
- οἶτος and ὅδε, xxix 878-9
- Report of *Revue de Philologie*, xxix 859-67
- The Vocative in Apollonius Rhodius, xxiv 197-9
- MILLS, L. H. Daēva is Devā; Aša is Area, xxv 74-80
- Items from the Gāthic Pahlavi, xxi 287-94
- On the non-existence of yemi (yelmi) yehi (yelhi), yeiti, etc., xxiv 318-22
- Zarathushtra and the Logos, xxii 432-7
- MOORE, CLIFFORD HERSCHEL. The Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy in Relation to Obsequens and Cassiodorus, xxv 241-255
- Review of Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, xxix 482-4
- MOORE, FRANK GARDNER. Notes on the Cato Maior, xxiii 436-42
- MORRIS, E. P. Review of Landgraf's *Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, xxv 85-9
- MUSTARD, WILFRED P. Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets, xxx 245-83
- Report of *Rheinisches Museum*, xxi 468-9; xxii 835-7, 464-6; xxiii 222-4; xxv 97-102, 473-7; xxvi 858-7; xxvii 222-5; xxviii 100-6; xxix 228-33; xxx 98-104.
- Reviews: Dyboski, *Tennysons Sprache u. Stil*, xxviii 117
- Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, xxviii 857-8
- Root, *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*, xxvi 221-4
- Tennyson and Homer, xxi 148-58
- Tennysonianism, xxiii 817-819
- Tennysonianism, xxiv 111
- Virgil and the British Poets, xxix 1-32
- Virgil's *Georgics* transposed, xxii 473
- NEWHALL, BARKER. Report of *Hermes*, xxi 94-8; xxii 220-6
- NUTTING, H. C. Cicero pro Sulla, 18, 52, xxix 816-21
- Cicero's Use of Subjunctives in *si*-Clauses, xxi 260-78
- The Order <and Modes> of Conditional Thought, xxiv 25-39, 149-62, 278-303
- Review of Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar*, xxv 828-32
- Unreal Conditional Sentence in Cicero, xxviii 1-10, 158-78
- The Unreal Conditional Sentence in Plautus, xxii 297-316
- ORTEL, HANNS. On the Association of Numerals, xxii 261-7
- Review of Sommer's *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- u. Formenlehre*, xxvi 89-98
- OLIPHANT, SAMUEL GRANT, *εἰς ὅς* or *εἰς ὅς*, xxviii 419-23
- OSGOOD, CHARLES GROSVENOR, JR. Report of *Englische Studien*, xxi 228-8; xxii 97-101; xxiii 100-5, 468-6; xxiv 476-9; xxv 213-9, 337-42; xxvii 473-8; xxix 107-12.
- Reviews: Fife, *Wortschatz des Englischen Maundeville*, xxviii 90-4
- Hall's *King Horn*; Lumby and McKnight's *King Horn*, xxiii 207-11
- Harris' Translation of Seneca's Tragedies, xxvi 843-6

- Holbrook, Dante and the Animal Kingdom, xxiv 209-11
- OUSSANI, GABRIEL. Pusey and Gwilliam's Tetraevangelium (rev.), xxiii 216-8
- PERRIN, B. The *itépeiai* of Helianicus and the Burning of the Argive Heraeum, xxii 39-48
- Recognition Scenes in Greek Literature, xxx 371-404
- PERRY, E. D. Obituary of Mortimer Lamson Earle, xxvi 454-6
- PETERSON, W. Transposition Variants in Cicero's Verrines, xxviii 125-52
- The Vatican Codex of Cicero's Verrines, xxvi 409-36
- PLATNER, SAMUEL BALL. Correspondence, xxvi 366-7
- The MSS of Cicero's Letters in the Vatican Library, xxi 420-32
- Notice of Fiske, Politics of the Patrician Claudii, xxv 360-1
- The Pomerium and Roma Quadrata, xxii 420-425
- PRESCOTT, HENRY W. Notes and Queries on Utopias in Plautus, xxix 55-68
- PRINCE, J. DYNLEY. Notes on the Modern Minni-Delaware Dialect, xxi 295-302
- Report of Beiträge zur Assyriologie, xxi 103-6; xxii 461-4; xxiv 96-100; xxv 102-3.
- RADFORD, ROBERT S. Contraction in the case-forms of *Deus* and *meus*, *is* and *idem*, xxix 336-41
- On the Recession of the Latin Accent in Connection with Monosyllabic Words and the Traditional Word-Order, xxv 147-62, 256-73, 406-27
- The Prosody of *Ille*. A Study of the Anomalies of Roman Quantity, xxvii 418-37; xxviii 11-33
- Review of Schlicher, Origin of Latin Rhythmical Verse, xxv 359-60
- RAND, E. K. Chronology of Ovid's Early Works, xxviii 287-96
- A Harvard MS of Ovid, Palladius and Tacitus, xxvi 291-329
- RICE, JOHN WESLEY. Notes on the Septuagint Text of II Sam. 7: 23 and Isa. 42: 21, xxii 318-20
- On the Septuagint Text of I Sam. 20: 3 and the Epistle of Jeremiah 26, xxi 445-7
- RICHARDSON, LEON J. On the Form of Horace's Lesser Asclepiads, xxii 283-96
- RIESS, ERNST. Studies in Superstition, xxiv 423-40
- ROBINSON, DAVID M. Ancient Sinope, xxvii 125-53, 245-79
- Inscriptions in Athens, xxviii 424-33
- New Inscriptions from Sinope, xxvii 447-50
- Notes on the Delian Choregic Inscriptions, xxv 184-191
- Reviews: Argive Heraeum, xxvi 457-66
- Chabert, *Épigraphie grecque*, xxviii 358-9
- D'Ooge, The Acropolis of Athens, xxx 331-7
- Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, xxix 93-8
- Die Hellenische Kultur, xxvii 112-4
- Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften*, xxviii 360-1
- Poulsen, *Dipylongräber u. Dipylonvasen*, xxviii 340
- Prentice, Greek and Latin Inscriptions [in Syria], xxx 199-207
- Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, xxviii 359-60
- ROBINSON, JAMES J. Review of Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, xxii 210-4
- ROGERS, JAMES DENNISON. The Language of Tragedy and its Relation to Old Attic, xxv 285-305
- ROLFE, JOHN C. Obituary of Wölflin, xxix, 503-5
- Report of *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie u. Grammatik*, xxvii 90-7, 216-22, 461-73; xxviii 221-6, 336-41, 473-7; xxix 99-107, 358-9; xxx 92-8, 214-9, 338-44
- Some References to Seasickness in Greek and Roman writers, xxv 192-200
- SANDERS, H. A. The Annals of Varro, xxiii 28-45
- SANDERS, HENRY N. Note on Soph. Ajax 143, xxi 77-8
- SCHLICHER, JOHN J. The

- Moods of Indirect Quotation, xxvi 60-88
 Word Accent in Early Latin Verse, xxiii 46-67; 142-150
 SCHLUTTER, OTTO B. Gildas Glosses, xxix 432-48
 Review of Henry's *Lexique Étymologique des termes les plus usuels du Breton Moderne*, xxii 382-4
 Some Celtic Traces in the Glosses, xxi 188-92
 SCHUYLER, MONTGOMERY and GRAY, LOUIS H. Indian Glosses in the Lexicon of Hesychios, xxii 195-202
 SCOTT, JOHN ADAMS. Additional Notes on the <Greek> Vocative, xxvi 32-48
 Effect of Sigmatism as Shown in Homer, xxx 72-7
 Sigmatism in Greek Dramatic Poetry, xxix 69-77
 The Vocative in Aeschylus and Sophocles, xxv 81-4
 The Vocative in Homer and Hesiod, xxiv 192-6
 SEATON, R. C. Correspondence, xxiii 114
 SHEAR, T. LESLIE. A New Rhodian Inscription, xxix 461-6
 Review of Furtwängler's *Aegina*, xxviii 329-35
 SHORRY, PAUL. Aristotle's *De Anima*, xxii 149-64
 Review of Patin's *Parmenides im Kampfe gegen Heraklit*, xxi 200-16
 SHOWERMAN, GRANT. Ancient Religions in Universal History, xxix 156-71
 Cicero's Appreciation of Greek Art, xxv 306-14
 Reviews:
 Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, xxii 448-53
 Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, xxiv 207-9
 Hepding, *Attis*, xxvii 83-9
 Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, xxiv 75-85
 SIEHLER, E. G. The Collegium Poetarum at Rome, xxvi 1-21
Θετικώτερον, xxiii 283-94
 De la Ville de Mirmont's First Philippic, xxiii 113
 SKEAT, WALTER W. Correspondence, xxx 351-2
 SLAUGHTER, M. S. Notes on the Collation of Parisinus 7900 A, xxiii 84-6
 SMILEY, CHARLES N. Ulpian *ὁ κειτούκετος*, xxix 322-3
 SMITH, CHARLES FORSTER. Character-Drawing in Thucydides, xxiv 369-87
 SMITH, KIRBY FLOWER. Marston's Malcontent, xxvii 318-24, 487
Mutare Pulces. A Commentary on Lucilius, Non. 351, M, xxii 44-50
 Obituary Notices: Morris Crater Sutphen, xxii 392
 Minton Warren, xxviii 489
 Reviews: Brandt, *De Arte Amatoria*, xxiv 468-70
 Ehwald's Ed. of Haupt's *Metamorphosen des Ovidius*, xxv 91
 Fabia, *Onomasticon Taciteum*, xxii 112
 Gradenwitz, *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum*, xxv 89-90
 Hussey, *Handbook of Latin Homonyms*, xxvii 237
 Huvellin, *Tablettes Magiques*, xxiii 473
 Pichon, *De Sermone Amatorio*, xxv 90-1
 Plessis, *Épitaphes*, xxvi 365
 La Poésie Latine, xxx 447
 Roscher, *Ephialtes*, xxii 233
 Rothstein's *Propertius*, xxi 460-3
 Schulze's *Römische Elegiker*, xxii 321-6
Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, xxii 203-10
 Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, xxv 338-6
 Zieliński, *Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, xxv 453-63
 Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich, xxii 165-94
 Source of Ben Jonson's 'Still to be Neat', xxix 133-55
 The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia, xxiii 261-82, 362-87
 Tennysonianum, xxiv 112
 SPYER, J. S. *Μαυότραυ*, xxii 441
 SPIEKER, E. H. Review of Smyth's *Greek Melic Poets*, xxi 327-31
 STAMBLE, R. B. The Ablative Absolute in Livy, xxiii 295-312, 413-27

- The Ablative Absolute in the Epistles of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and Fronto, xxv 815-27
Causal Clauses in Livy, xxvii 46-58
- The Gerund and Gerundive in Livy, xxvii 280-305
- The Greek in Cicero's Epistles, xxi 387-410
- The Historical Attitude of Livy, xxv 15-44
- The Nominative of the Perfect Participle of Deponent Verbs in Livy, xxiv 441-6
- Notes on Servius, xxi 170-7
- Temporal Clauses in Cicero's Epistles, xxviii 434-49
- STRETT, J. R. SITLINGTON. The Torch-race, xxii 393-419
- STRONG, HERBERT A. Note on the Hispanica Famina, xxvi 204-12
- Plantina, xxviii 205-7
- Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Act III, Sc. II, xxvii 67-9
- SUTPHEN, MORRIS C. A Further Collection of Latin Proverbs, xxii 1-28, 121-48, 241-60, 361-92
- TERRILL, GLANVILLE. The Apodosis of the Unreal Condition in *Oratio Obliqua* in Latin, xxv 59-73
- THOMPSON, SIR E. M. *Catulliana*, xxi 78-9
- TOLMAN, H. C. A Critical Note to col. 4, l. 76, of the Behistan Inscription, xxix 212
- TUPPER, JAMES W. Review of Boas' Works of Thomas Kyd, xxiii 87-93
- VAN BUREN, A. W. Rolfe's Sickness in Antiquity, xxviii 487
- VAN DEMAN, ESTHER BOISE. Notes on a few Vestal Inscriptions, xxix 172-8
- WARREN, MINTON. Reviews: Eitrem, Observations on the Colax of Menander and Eunuch of Terence, xxviii 116-7
Macé, *De Emendando Differentiarum Libro*, xxii 111
Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*, xxii 112
Thulin, *Italische Sakrale Poesie u. Prosa*, xxviii 116
- Wessner's *Donati Commentum Terenti*, xxiv 335-7
- Stele Inscription in the Roman Forum, xxviii 249-272, 373-400
- WHEELER, ARTHUR LESLIE. Hieremias de Montagnone and Catullus, xxix 186-200
- The Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin, xxiv 163-91
- WILLIAMS, T. HUDSON. Authorship of the Greek Military Manual attributed to Aeneas Tacticus, xxv 390-405
- WILSON, HARRY LANGFORD. The Bodleian Fragments of Juvenal, xxii 268-382
- Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University, xxviii 450-5; xxx 61-71, 152-70
- A New Italic Divinity, xxviii 450-455
- On Gayley's Projected Bureau of Facsimiles, xxv 485
- Reviews: Abbott's *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*, xxx 451-6
Supplement to Cagnat's *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, xxvi 243-4
- Carnoy, *Latins d'Espagne*, xxv 114
- Cesareo's Juvenal, xxiii 331
- Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, xxiv 362
- Festschrift zu O. Hirschfeld's Sechzigstem Geburtstag, xxiv 485-6
- Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, xxx 210-2
- Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, xxx 360-1
- Curtis' *Ancient Italy* by Ettore Pais, xxix 379-80
- Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, xxvi 98-9
- WILSON, WINIFRED WARREN. The Soma Offering in a Fragment of Alkman, xxx 188-95
- WINSTEDT, E. O. A Bale MS of Consentius, xxvi 22-31
- WOLCOTT, JOHN D. Early Parallelisms in Roman Historiography, xxiii 313-6
- WOOD, FRANCIS A. Etymological Miscellany, xxi 178-82; xxvii 59-64
- The IE. Root *SELO-*, xxiv 40-61
- Some Derived Bases, xxiii 195-203

THIS VOLUME DOES NOT
CIRCULATE

THIS VOLUME DOES NOT
CIRCULATE

